













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL.  
1876.

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"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."  
SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.  
GÖTTE.

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# WESTMINSTER

AND

## FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY 1, 1876.

### ART. I.—FOREIGN LOANS AND NATIONAL DEBTS.

*Foreign Loans. Report from the Select Committee on Loans to Foreign States, together with the Proceedings of the Committee and the Minutes of Evidence.*

THE year 1875 will be memorable in the history of Finance as marking the close of one chapter and the opening of another. ~~The last thirty~~ years have witnessed many political and economical changes. The fall of the monarchy of July in France in 1848 ushered in a series of revolutions and of wars which have involved in their vortices almost every country in the civilised world, and concurrent with these events there have been vast economic and industrial movements. The gold discoveries of California and Australia have materially altered the relative values of the precious metals, while the inconveniences of distance and time have been annihilated by the Railway and the Telegraph. One of the great results of these agencies has been the stimulation to an extraordinary degree of the use of credit in prosecuting the arts of peace, as well as in carrying on and afterwards repairing the ravages of war. The extent to which this utilisation has been carried will be perceived when we mention the fact, that in 1848 the National Debts of the world amounted, after their creation some 150 years before, to 1731 millions, while at the close of 1875 they cannot be computed at less than 4600 millions of pounds sterling. Vast as these figures are, there is no reason to calculate with certainty that an end has

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been put to their onward march ; and thoughtful men have occasionally asked, Is this system sound ? How long can it go on ? When will it end ?

Recent occurrences have drawn attention to the subject, and the time seems opportune for considering it in some of its more important bearings. But, before we proceed to give some account of National Debts generally, their origin and history, their steady growth, present stupendous amount, and probable further increase, and to present some considerations arising out of the facts disclosed, we propose to pass in review the principal matters touched upon in the Report of the Foreign Loans Committee.

On the 23d February 1875, it was ordered by the House of Commons "that a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the circumstances attending the making of contracts for Loans with certain Foreign States, and also the causes which have led to the non-payment of the principal moneys and interest due in respect of such Loans." As is well known, the facts which led to this inquiry were the several defaults of the States of Honduras, Costa Rica, Paraguay, and San Domingo, preceded and accompanied by circumstances which led to the suspicion of gross fraud. These circumstances have been investigated and reported on by a Committee of rare talent and sagacity, and the result is given in a Bluebook of 720 pages folio. In the beginning of October came the Turkish default, bringing with it the apprehension of similar disasters, and at the end of November Europe is startled by the purchase by the British Government of three-fifths of the Suez Canal shares from the embarrassed Khedive. No one at all conversant with the subject can disconnect these events, or fail to perceive that the Turkish decree of spoliation and the Canal transaction are only the legitimate outcomes of the late parliamentary inquiry. And there will be other consequences of this exposure to which we will not now further advert than to express our extreme satisfaction at the effect it has produced in opening eyes and ears that would not have been opened by any other means, and thereby saving millions to our credulous fellow-countrymen.\*

It would be impossible to give apter illustrations of the position we shall take up than these two recent events. In the case of Turkey, a career of excessive borrowing has brought about a collapse in twenty years, while in the case of Egypt eleven years have been found sufficient to lay so intolerable a burden on its resources, as to necessitate a transaction unprecedented as

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\* The losses during the last three years in speculative loans cannot be less than 60 millions sterling.



regards its nature and probable political effects, and which has been resorted to as a means of gaining a short breathing-time. It is beyond the scope of the present article to advert more particularly to this interesting topic; but we may remark in passing, that as regards our national interests in the Eastern question, this transaction, entered into not from any narrow mercantile spirit, but from high political considerations, appears to offer a solution free from many of the perils and anxieties that have been hitherto held to be inseparable from it, and as such, we cannot but commend the action of our Government.

Before we take the Bluebook in hand, however, let us render our tribute of thanks and admiration to that Select Committee, and especially to him who, in spite of the passive resistance of the indifferent, and the strenuous and truculent opposition of the interested, most courageously persevered until he had torn aside the curtain behind which the conspirators worked, and had exposed their villainy to an astonished world. Who can read without a thrill of sympathy those words addressed to his constituents at Taunton?—"I scarcely realised what was to befall me. Before obtaining that Committee, I was warned of much; I was told that certain of these speculators were powerful and unscrupulous, and, although they had different forms of worship, they had but one faith and one creed. Mammon was the common object of their idolatry, and their faith would unite them all against any one who threatened to stay their evil career. This warning I had, and I knew that I should have this power to encounter; but of some things I had no warning and no anticipation. I had made no count of those outer circles—of those coteries which, gathering at rich men's tables, however those riches may have been obtained, are willing to gather up the crumbs which from time to time fall therefrom, and to live thereon. I had taken no heed of the extent to which the exertions of these men would be carried to shield their patrons; of how in the lobby of the House of Commons, how by anonymous writing, how in private life, they would attack with any weapon which malignity could devise and slander point, I had made no reckoning; and against such odds I had to make head and to hold my own." And bravely he held his own. With a tact and temper beyond all praise, he fought against the would-be assassins of his character—comrades of contractors—bluff baronets whose "simple good-nature" made them the unconscious but apt emissaries to find and fetch the instrument which it was trusted would prove to be the death-dealing dagger. The struggle has ended in a complete triumph. Discomfited, baffled, exposed, some of the actors have fled the country; others, beset by ominous law-suits, are said to be

winding up and preparing for flight ; others, whose misdeeds should call up a blush on the cheek of humanity, are still walking in our midst, with hearts ill at ease but with mien unabashed; while others, again, hitherto shielded by diplomatic immunity, have been omitted from civic banquets, in preparation, it is to be hoped, for a still more marked degradation. All honour to Sir Henry James !

The loans which formed the subject of inquiry were raised for four "States" respectively, as follows :—

Honduras,	1867,	.	£ 90,000	
Do.,	1867,	.	1,000,000	
Do.,	1870,	.	2,500,000	
			<hr/>	£3,590,000
Costa Rica,	1871,	.	1,000,000	
Do.,	1872,	.	2,400,000	
			<hr/>	3,400,000
Paraguay,	1871,	.	1,000,000	
Do.,	1872,	.	2,000,000	3,000,000
			<hr/>	
San Domingo,	1869,	.	.	£757,700
			Total,	<hr/> £10,747,700

Default on these loans took place as follows :—Honduras in 1872 ; San Domingo in 1873 ; Costa Rica and Paraguay in 1874 ; and the Committee report, that with one unimportant exception, in no case has the borrowing Government repaid any portion of its indebtedness incurred in respect of these loans, except from the proceeds of the loans themselves. It may be asked, How can such things be ? The answer will be found in the Committee's Report, and to it we refer those who would obtain a thorough knowledge of the facts. It is difficult to condense it with advantage, but there are certain salient features which we can extract, and which are sufficient for the object we have in view. We are told that the whole of these loans were ostensibly raised for works calculated to develop the industrial resources of these countries, and that by means of exaggerated statements in the prospectuses, the public were induced to believe that the material wealth of the contracting States formed a sufficient security for the repayment of the money borrowed. The Committee show that a very small proportion of the sums raised was applied to the above-mentioned purposes, the balance of the proceeds being, for the most part, abstracted and misappropriated, notably in the case of the Honduras loans, the methods by which the loans have been introduced affording opportunities for collusive action between those who issued them and the

immediate agents of the contracting States which it was difficult to detect. And these opportunities seem to have been thoroughly utilised. Given, on the one hand, in the words of the Report, "a credulity and cupidity in certain classes of the community, which blinded them to the danger of embarking in such speculations;" and on the other, a band of conspirators, the sole aim and object of whose existence was to enrich themselves, if necessary, in violation of every dictate of morality, every principle of honour, and to use in their nefarious schemes every modern appliance of fraud—what wonder is it "that those who thus trusted have fallen a prey to those who, by trading on their credulity, obtained their money, and then betrayed their interest." The Committee bring clearly into light these means and appliances—the glowing prospectus, the dealings before allotment, the false and misleading contractor's certificates to the Stock Exchange, the manipulation of markets under "secret agreements," the abstraction of outrageously large commissions, and other malversations—all are displayed in the Report and in the Evidence. In the latter we learn that while the highest commission charged by Messrs Barings is 2 per cent. on the nominal value of a loan, and that they know nothing of markets being "made," or of stock being issued at lower prices to sub-contractors; on the other hand, we find that the parties referred to think nothing of abstracting 10, 20, or even 30 per cent. for their share to begin with, the miserable balances after this being still further attenuated by percentages and charges under every conceivable head.

Turning for a moment from this *exposé*, let us consider what the Committee had to propose by way of future safeguards. They state that "the first remedy that suggests itself is to leave the matter in the hands of the Stock Exchange, or to remodel in some respects its rules and constitution; but that it is a voluntary society, having 2000 members, existing for the purpose of buying and selling, to which all its other functions are subordinate, and that such a body can hardly be interfered with by Parliament without its losing that freedom of self-government which is the life and soul of the institution." After some remarks on the constitution of the Stock Exchange Committee, they go on to state—"Nor have your Committee observed, in the evidence of members of the Stock Exchange which has been given before them, any very keen appreciation of the evils of the present manner of manipulating loans, or any fertility of resource in devising remedies. Your Committee fear, therefore, that the remedy, if any, for the evils disclosed will not be provided by the members of the Stock Exchange, neither does it appear that strict rules for their guidance can be laid down by



the Legislature; yet your Committee believe that if some of the suggestions made in this Report be fully acted on by the Committee of the Stock Exchange, considerable protection will be secured to the public." Later on we shall make a few remarks on this passage, but we pass on to the remaining conclusions of the Committee. It was suggested by some witnesses that the evils complained of might be met by legislation rendering illegal all contracts before allotment; but the evidence against this course was overwhelming, and it was only necessary to show its futility by referring to the experience of the repealed Sir John Barnard's Act, and to the fact of Leeman's Act\* being violated with impunity every day. The Committee reject the proposal, and advance an argument which is unanswerable, based on the broad ground that in all cases where a contract is made illegal for some reason which does not carry with it a moral taint, a legal debt is changed into a debt of honour, and thus the payment, instead of being prevented, is made more certain. The Committee then proceed to consider the more technical questions connected with "settlements" and "quotations," and the principles which should govern the grant of them. They attribute something of the evil to the proceedings of the Stock Exchange Committee, "which gives, by granting a quotation, a certain *prestige* to a loan, which neither the very slight and superficial investigation on which the grant of a quotation is founded, nor the nature of the tribunal, seem to warrant." The principal cause, however, with which all others sink into relative insignificance is, in their opinion, the means employed in order to induce the public to apply for a loan, and they refer, for a striking delineation of these proceedings, to the evidence of Mr Scott, and the counter-testimony of Baron Erlanger and Mr Albert Grant, in which we see exposed the machinery of the "syndicates," and the manipulation of markets by the process of "buying back" stock with the money of the allottees, under "secret agreements" with the agents of the borrowing States. Respecting this operation they say, "It is manifest that the fact of this 'buying back,' if known, would materially affect the judgment of the public with respect to the value of the loan." They then pass on to the system of "drawings" lately in vogue, which is similar in its "effect to the old lottery schemes, and which has tended to increase speculation, until it has become gambling,"—the issue price of loans to States of doubtful solvency being frequently from 20 to 30 per cent. below the amount

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\* It is possible, however, that should such extreme circumstances recur as took place in 1866, this Act might be of advantage. In ordinary times it is a dead letter.

contracted to be repaid, and the drawings commencing sometimes before all the instalments are paid. They then pass on to consider the question of compulsory registration of Foreign Loans, a Bill for which, brought in by Mr Sheridan, had been referred to them. They dissent from the principle of the proposed measure, and give reasons for doubting its practicability were it to become law. They "prefer the plan of requiring certain matters to be stated in the prospectus, which appears to them to afford the best security for full disclosure which the case admits of." They think that the principle of the Companies Act of 1867 might be applied, and that a prospectus should state, among other things—

1. The authority of the borrowing State.
2. The public debt of the State.
3. The revenue of the State for the preceding three years.
4. In case of special hypothecation, a full statement of the revenues, lands, forests, public works, or other property upon which the proposed loan is secured, and of prior charges, if any, upon such security.
5. A statement that no part of the proceeds of the loan is to be applied in buying back any of the stock, or (as the case may be) the amount, if any, which the borrowing Government reserves to itself the right to repurchase and cancel.
6. The funds out of which the interest is to be met during the next five years.

The Committee then proceed to state that they have been much impressed, in the course of their inquiry, with the great importance of the functions exercised by the agent or contractor for a foreign loan. They advert to cases of something closely resembling repudiation, based upon the alleged misconduct of the agents in this country, and "they submit to the wisdom of Parliament whether it is proper that an office, on the due exercise of which depends in no small degree our good understanding with the borrowing country, and our reputation for honesty and good faith, should be exercised by any person who may choose to undertake it, or, worse still, to whom the representative of some petty or insolvent State may choose to intrust it." And in conclusion, they "express their conviction that the best security against the recurrence of such evils will be found, not so much in legislative enactments as in the enlightenment of the public as to their real nature and origin."

It will be seen, therefore, that the Committee endeavoured to probe thoroughly the causes of the evil complained of, and that they have put forth what they considered should be done in the way of future prevention. Their work has been ably performed;

nevertheless, we think that in their account of these causes they have omitted to mention one potent agency—that of the Press. And the Press has played a certain part in these transactions. Every one at all conversant with City affairs knows what that part has been in many cases ; and the recent removal from his post of one of the principal City editors was a practical comment that no one could misunderstand. One example of the sort of aid given by a portion of the Press shall suffice. The evidence shows that in July 1869, Messrs Peter Lawson & Co., acting for Mr Hartmont, issued the San Domingo Loan for £757,700, and offered it to the public at 70 per cent. The loan was badly received, and in October of the same year only £15,000 had been taken by the public at this price. Nevertheless, under a certificate that £158,700 had been allotted, application was made to the Stock Exchange for a settlement and a quotation. With regard to the quotation, that was granted to the extent of the £178,700 said to be allotted. This was an uncomfortable state of affairs ; so, about the end of the year, application was made to an eminent firm of brokers for their aid in disposing of the balance. The result of their efforts was that a syndicate was formed, with Messrs Bischoffsheim at the head, and with this syndicate was effected one of the most astounding transactions on record. While Messrs Lawson & Son were offering the loan to the public at 70, they gave away to this syndicate “the call” of the unissued portion thereof—£571,000—for three months forward at 55, or 15 per cent. below that price. The contract being made, Messrs Lawson again apply to the Stock Exchange for a quotation of the whole loan, stating that the total amount thereof had been “disposed of,” and that application, to the amazement of the Select Committee, was granted. And now comes into play the agency of which we have spoken. It is obvious that nothing but the direct necessity would have compelled Messrs Lawson to give away, without consideration, so valuable an option as the call of half a million of stock for three months, at 15 per cent. below the nominal market price. It is evident that their means of floating the loan were exhausted, and that they were stranded with it. Not so, however, with the syndicate. They had ways and means unavailable to the Scotch firm. As we have stated, a quotation of the whole of the loan had been granted, and this fact is made known in the City article of the *Times* of January 25, 1870, in the following terms :—“The Committee of the Stock Exchange have to-day granted a quotation for the full amount of the San Domingo 6 per cent. loan of £757,700, introduced in July last by Messrs Lawson, on the certificates of the agents of Messrs Peter Lawson & Son that the balance of the bonds not originally allotted is



now placed. It is understood that these bonds have been taken up by a body of capitalists who are probably influenced by the treaty now being negotiated with the United States for the lease of Samana Bay, as well as by the rumours in circulation pointing to an annexation of the whole republic. In the latter case, it is assumed the obligations of the 6 per cent. loan will be undertaken by the United States Government." Comment on this is hardly necessary ; it is sufficient to state that this delicate master-stroke of finance resulted in a sale of the larger portion of the stock to the public, at prices ranging from 71 to 64 per cent. !

As to what the Committee consider should be done by way of preventives, we have seen that the first remedy that occurred to them was to leave the matter in the hands of the Stock Exchange, but that, on account of the peculiar constitution of that body, they considered it was unfit for the exercise of judicial powers in such cases ; and as, moreover, they did not observe in the evidence of the members any very keen appreciation of the evils, nor any fertility in devising remedies, they feared that the remedy, if any, would not be provided from that quarter. Here, we think, some injustice has been done by the Committee. In stating that they had not observed any very keen appreciation of the evils in the evidence of the members, they, to our mind, have wronged at least two of their number ; while in the complaint that follows, that they saw no fertility of resource in devising remedies, they seem to have entirely overlooked or undervalued as complete a system of procedure before the Stock Exchange Committee as it was possible in reason to frame, the scheme of which was the suggestion of one of these two members. And this seems to be the more remarkable for the following reasons. Throughout the Report there runs, like a thread, the feeling that the powers of Parliament are unable to grapple with these Protean forms of fraud. Again and again seems to wail up the cry, " Oh, if we could only get the Stock Exchange to do this and that ! " And so it is. There are things beyond the reach of Act of Parliament, and the Committee are too acute not to be aware of this, and too honest to attempt to hide it ; and as they doubt the willingness of the Stock Exchange to afford protection, they are driven to the only other alternative, which is, that the recurrence of these evils will best be prevented by enlightening the public as to their nature and origin. We cannot help thinking this conclusion to be somewhat lame and impotent, and that it proceeds from an inadequate notion of the power and the will of the Stock Exchange. In our opinion, power as regards these matters is centred, and centred solely, in this institution, which is unique, and so constituted that it re-

sembles a machine which at one time can be brought to act with the force of a Nasmyth's hammer, or can be manipulated so as only just to crack a nut. What greater proof could be given of its power than the fact that in 1855, during the Russian War, when that Government had entered into negotiations on the Continent for a loan, subscriptions for which were about to be opened in Amsterdam, Berlin, and Frankfort, the Committee of the Stock Exchange, scenting the transaction, simply added the following rule to their list:—"The Committee will not, after the restoration of peace, recognise or allow the quotation of any loan raised by a Power whilst at war with Great Britain;" and the intelligence being immediately transmitted abroad by our Foreign Office, the negotiations collapsed, the enemy was deprived of the sinews of war, and there is reason to believe that his consequent exhaustion did much to bring the war to a successful conclusion on our part. To this body, therefore, must the public look in future for all that can be done by way of protection, and they await with interest the changes in their rules which are called for by these revelations, for it is plain that the regulations under which for fifty years settlements and quotations have been granted, although stricter than those in force in any foreign bourse, are utterly insufficient to meet the devices of that highly-developed animal, the modern financier.

And here, perhaps, we ought to state what, in our opinion, is the proper course to be pursued by way of preventing these evils. In devising a remedy, we must keep in mind that the loans in question were raised for petty States, the ostensible reason for borrowing being the necessity of developing their resources by the construction of railways or other industrial works. This is an object desirable in itself; and in countries where capital and enterprise are wanting, it is a legitimate and often a profitable operation to introduce them. Experience, however, shows that in industrial enterprises the utmost economy is necessary, and that every penny raised for such purposes should be expended on them honestly, in order to obtain an adequate return. But in these cases we find that industrial development was only the mask or pretence under which these loans were raised, and that their concoctors troubled themselves but little on that point. They had a very different object in view. In order, therefore, to prevent in future such occurrences as we have witnessed, it appears to us that our checks should be applied where dishonesty is likely to creep in. The Committee's Report and the Evidence show these weak places. We take them to be:—

1. The appointment of improper persons to act as Agents or



Contractors, leading to the making of contracts and agreements, whether open or secret and collusive, whereby preposterous commissions are secured, "buying back" bonds before allotment out of the funds raised is permitted, and every sort of malversation practised.

2. The inefficiency and incompleteness of the present Stock Exchange procedure.

It is impossible, in our opinion, to attach too great importance to the appointment of agents. Every test should be applied to ascertain their *bona fides*, for on this and on what is involved in it will depend in a great measure the fulfilment of the promises held out. If, as we learn, the highest commission charged by Messrs Barings is 2 per cent., and we find that 5, 7, or 10 per cent. are proposed to be taken out of the proceeds of a loan without any risk being run by the contractor, we may fairly conclude that these latter figures are exorbitant. On the other hand, if we find that the contractor has taken a loan or some portion of a loan "firm," but that he has taken it some 20 or 30 per cent. below the issue price to the public, which is his measure of the risk run by him, it seems clear that he must have a poor opinion of the speculation in itself, and that motives of self-interest will cause him to consider and care for, not so much the prosperity of the State and the bondholders, as the quick realisation of as large a profit as possible to himself. And the Evidence shows the working of this system. The public, therefore, have a vital interest in being fully informed on these matters, and we cannot imagine better machinery for ascertaining the truth as regards them than the Committee of the Stock Exchange. That body might refuse to entertain any application for "settlement" and "quotation" until it has been satisfied on these points, and the mere knowledge of the existence of a rule to this effect would, we think, prevent the inception of fraudulent loans. This, however, should not be the only check. The due application of the funds raised is another vital point, and, in the cases of petty States, we see no means of securing this but by the appointment of trustees on the part of the bondholders, as suggested by one of the Stock Exchange witnesses. In the absence of these, we see no sufficient safeguard, except, perhaps, the eliciting under statutory declarations and publishing all facts relating to the existence of contracts, secret or otherwise, for market operations, the amount of bonds *bonâ fides* applied for by the public at the issue price, and everything else that might be held to be material in the respective cases. And for these purposes, as we have said, we cannot imagine a more appropriate tribunal than the Committee of the Stock Exchange.

As regards legislative action, the Committee limit their proposals to requiring certain statements in the prospectus of a loan, the particulars of which, under six heads, we have already given. (See *ante*, p. 7.) But of these six requirements it was justly remarked by an eminent member of the Stock Exchange, in a paper read before the Social Science Congress in October, that the *first* is now always set out in every prospectus, with every circumstance of date and detail, and with an invitation to a closer inspection ; that the *second* and *third* are given in the "Statesman's Year-Book," and are accessible to every one ; that the *fourth* is now complied with, and with every possible parade, in all cases where any hypothecation is now given ; that the *fifth* is the only novel suggestion, and should be productive of advantage, although the Report itself shows how this provision could be evaded ; and that the *sixth* is hardly a practical suggestion, it being only in the case of the worst loans that provision for future dividends is made at the outset. We cannot expect much, therefore, from legislative action in this direction ; but there was one point brought before the Committee by one of the Stock Exchange witnesses to whom we have referred, which appears to have been passed over in silence, although of great importance. This is the unsatisfactory state of the law as regards the difficulty of bondholders obtaining redress against fraudulent contractors. It was admitted by the Committee, in their remarks on the enormous sums abstracted from the Honduras Loans, that a remedy for such proceedings ought to be found in the tribunals of the country ; but it is notorious that in the majority of cases the remedy is not found. If a holder gets his bond direct from the contractor, and an allegation of fraud can be substantiated, he can obtain redress by litigation, which, to say the least, is a costly and dangerous procedure. On the other hand, if the holder obtains his bond by purchase in the market, he has no remedy. And the question is asked, Could not some short Act be passed, putting the holder of a purchased bond in the same position as regards obtaining redress by means of the law as if he had bought from the contractor direct, but, of course, subject to his being able to prove that he was influenced to purchase on the faith of the statements put forward in the prospectus ? To the lay mind there seems to be a glaring defect here, and in our opinion some attempt should have been made to repair it by a committee containing such conspicuous legal ability. Possibly, the vast proportions to which the inquiry swelled precluded a consideration of this important matter ; and we regret this, for the present state of the law allows a loophole for escape of which the fraudulent avail themselves daily.

We have spoken of the modern financier as a highly-developed

animal, and of some of the devices used to obtain his ends. In the words of the Report, "the problem which men of this class undertake to solve is, Given such a loan, to provide that the whole of it shall be subscribed for," and the processes by which the result is obtained are clearly shown. Let us now turn to some of the utterances given in the evidence. Mr CHARLES WARING "thought that it would not affect his judgment as an intending subscriber to be told that a Government got only 64 out of 80 in a prospectus." "He saw no sort of reason why the Government should tell the public what commission they are going to pay." "Even if £160,000 were made out of £800,000, he did not think it affected the security upon which the public lends its money. He saw no reason why they should not subscribe as readily knowing the fact as not knowing it." "He thought it was dealing fairly with the public if a Government brings out a loan at 80, and at the same time sells it, say at 60." "He did not think the Government practised any deception on the public by this." "It was not underhand." "He did not think it affected the security." Finally, when asked by the Chairman, "Are they not deceived in this respect, that the Government holds out that it will not take less than 80, while it takes 60 under the supposition?" we read that the witness made no answer. Mr ALBERT GRANT, questioned as to his opinion of the effect likely to be produced on the public mind if such facts were known, replies, "That would depend entirely upon the temperament of the man having money to invest, and the view he would take of it." "It was a question of degree." "He could not say whether the margin between 64 and 80 is larger than usual." He admitted that "the public did not know that in this case (Paraguay), when the Government asked for £800,000, they were only intended to receive £640,000; whether a knowledge of this would not materially affect the judgment of the public was a question of the view and the temperament of the person." When asked, "Do you think that people would give 80 if they knew that other people could get it for 60?" he replies, "I do not think it would have any material effect upon the private subscribers." When asked, "Does not the extent to which the borrowing Governments are paying premiums (for negotiating the loan) have a direct bearing upon the value of the bond?" he says, "It would influence him as an expert beyond all question, but he did not know that it affected the value of the article." He has to admit, however, afterwards, that "it would tell on the value to an expert, but he did not think one of the public would bother himself within certain limits whether the contractor got 5, 10, or 15 per cent." "These things have always been secret." "If you were to have every-



thing done under a glass case, you would lose all these things from this country." "It was usual that these secret agreements should exist." "He did not share the opinion of those who thought it desirable to publish any agreements." BARON ERLANGER gives a clear view of the working of this system in the case of the Costa Rica Loan, when, out of the £2,000,000 allotted, £1,400,000 was bought back by his firm on account of that Government within six days of the allotment, and under an agreement with their commissioner Alvarado, which was carefully kept secret from the other contractors Knowles and Foster. Baron Erlanger saw nothing extraordinary in this. "It was a necessary thing to do." "He had undertaken two duties *vis-à-vis* the Government; the one was to insure the placing of £800,000 of bonds, and the other to make the stock marketable." "He thought on the whole the principle of bringing out loans had worked well with few exceptions, not enough for an alteration of the rule." Asked if he had anything to say with reference to the Stock Exchange here as compared with the Bourse at Paris, he prefers the French principle to the English one. "The Bourse in Paris is an open market; the brokers there are ministerial officers appointed by the Government, responsible to the Government, and having to pay a large caution-money; and therefore, their transactions being perfectly open, being before the public, everybody can see what they are doing. He preferred that plan to that of our Stock Exchange; everybody can watch the transactions, and see what is going on." This "suggestion" seems to us an extraordinary one coming from such a quarter.

Several things strike us on reading the evidence of these gentlemen, who, in the language we have quoted, are such "experts" in studying the "views" and watching the "temperaments" of the investor; and, as in Baron Erlanger's case, in performing "duties" which are not only *vis-à-vis* the Governments, but which to third parties seem to be conveniently *vis-à-vis* each other.

It is clear that, unless compelled, contractors will not produce their contracts or publish their agreements. The terms of these, if known, would at once cut the ground from beneath them, and it would be an impossibility to float such loans as were in question. Every motive, therefore, that can persuade or terrify is brought to bear against publicity, the principal one being that "business" would be destroyed, or would leave the country. We have no fear of this. The system of taking 10 to 30 per cent. margin might be destroyed, but it seems to us that the fear of any legitimate business leaving the country is groundless and absurd. Another thing that strikes us is the fact that none of the contractors for these loans, with one exception, seemed to have the slightest faith in the security he offered. Everywhere

among these "experts" there is a determination, sometimes almost frantic, that if possible not a bond shall remain in their possession at figures even 20 per cent. below the price at which they are blandly offering the stock to the public. The exception to which we refer was the case of Messrs Knowles and Foster, and these gentlemen appear to have paid dearly for their confidence, £20,000 over and above all commissions received being lost by them in their efforts to maintain the market by purchases. Their feelings may be imagined when they discovered that the stock they bought came from their co-contractor and "friend," Baron Erlanger, with £96,000 of the bondholders' money at his back, by "secret agreement," against "adverse operations!" We have heard something of a process called dog-eat-dog, but nothing except the ophiophagus swallowing his own kind alive, inch by inch, at all comes up to this.

We must now, however, turn from these matters to consider, as we proposed, the more general questions pertaining to National Debts. Hitherto little attention has been paid to the subject, except by the practical financier on the one hand, and the theoretical economist on the other. We are much mistaken if it does not emerge from this comparatively narrow province into the wider domain of national or general policy, and thus force itself on the cognisance of statesmen, especially British statesmen. It has done so already. A British House of Commons has this year instituted an inquiry into the circumstances attending the making of contracts for loans with certain Foreign States; and the financial default of Turkey, foreshadowing the disintegration of that empire, has set diplomacy in motion, has precipitated the sale of the Khedive's Suez Canal shares to the British Government, and has fluttered every Cabinet from the Neva to the Nile. It will be useful, therefore, to seize on the present juncture as an opportune moment for taking a survey of the situation, and of recording the conclusions at which we have arrived. Let us first take the subject historically.\* Most of the European States were in the habit from remote antiquity of anticipating their revenues by temporary loans to meet emergencies. The Italian Republics were the first to reduce the practice to a system. They were followed by the Spaniards and the French. From Spain the custom was adopted by the Dutch, who achieved by its aid independence and political power, and who introduced it after 1688 into England. Our own funded debt was commenced by William III. to meet the expenses of his war with France, the first transaction of a permanent character arising out of the

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\* For facts and figures up to 1870, we are indebted to Baxter's "National Debts," 1871.

chartering of the Bank of England in 1693, when its capital of £1,200,000 was lent to the public at 8 per cent. interest. The custom of borrowing, however, on the security of taxes, dates as far back as the Conquest, and was carried on by *tallies*, or pieces of wood, notched with the sums borrowed, one part of which was kept by the lender, and the counterpart in the Exchequer, the loans bearing no interest.

The first distinct account of National Debts that can be made up is about 1715. It is as follows:—

1715.	
France, . . . . .	£124,000,000
Holland, . . . . .	90,000,000
England, . . . . .	36,000,000
Spain, Italian Republics, and other States, . . . }	50,000,000
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£300,000,000	

These debts pressed so heavily on the first three nations that France became bankrupt in the next year, Holland fell into decay from excessive taxation on her small population, and English patriots predicted the ruin of their country. A century after our first funding—that is, in 1793—the account stands thus:—

1793.	
Great Britain, . . . . .	£280,000,000
Continent of Europe, . . . . .	202,900,000
United States, . . . . .	15,000,000
British India, . . . . .	8,000,000
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£505,900,000	

The debt of France at this period was but £32,000,000, but it must be remembered that this comparatively low figure was only attained by means of a third national bankruptcy. Our own debt, however, is conspicuous for its comparative magnitude; but the figures which are arrived at on the conclusion of the revolutionary wars are still more striking.

1815-20.	
Great Britain, . . . . .	£902,000,000
Continent of Europe, . . . . .	570,000,000
United States, . . . . .	26,000,000
Latin America, . . . . .	3,000,000
British India, . . . . .	29,000,000
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£1,530,000,000	



France at this period owed but £140,000,000, while Holland owed £144,000,000. France, however, made war support war by unsparing contributions, while England was at once the manufacturer, the merchant, and the subsidiser of half Europe, the result being a debt on her part nearly half as large again as those of all the rest of the world. Our next date is that of 1848.

1848.

Great Britain, . . . .	£820,000,000
Continent of Europe, . . . .	746,600,000
United States, . . . .	47,800,000
British Colonies, . . . .	6,600,000
Latin America, . . . .	60,000,000
British India, . . . .	50,000,000
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	£1,731,000,000

These figures show a slower rate of increase ; but while the debt of Great Britain had decreased, those of the rest of the world show an increase. But the era of political and economic revolutions to which we have adverted commence about this period, and at the next date we shall examine, that of 1870, the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, we find vast changes.

1870.

Great Britain, . . . .	£800,000,000
Continent of Europe, . . . .	2,165,000,000
America, . . . .	765,320,000
Asia, . . . .	104,716,000
Australasia, . . . .	35,744,000
Africa, . . . .	39,655,000
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	£3,911,000,000

And what do we find at the close of 1875 ?

1875.

Great Britain, . . . .	£775,000,000
Continent of Europe, . . . .	2,772,640,000
America, . . . .	774,867,000
Asia, . . . .	131,410,000
Australasia, . . . .	48,607,000
Africa, . . . .	75,365,000
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	£4,577,889,000

Thus, while we find a small but steady decrease in our own debt, we see that the figures of other States are still mounting

upward, the debt of France now standing at £832,000,000,\* independently of what she owes in respect of inconvertible paper.

These figures, however, present but an imperfect view, inasmuch as they only give the nominal capitals. In order exactly to appreciate the real pressure or burden of these debts, we must ascertain, in each case, the annual interest, the national income, and the number of the population. Then, working with these factors, we shall discover the charge per head on the population, and the percentage of charge on the income; and we shall then be enabled to arrive at some correct notions as to the economical effects, and to discuss the question in its moral as well as in its material aspects.

But, what first strikes the observer in these figures is the magnitude of the totals, their constant increase, and their apparent tendency to grow in geometrical progression. Out of fifty-four civilised States (including China) and considerable colonies, only one, Servia, is free from debt, and she, according to a telegram in a public print now before us, has despatched an envoy to Paris for the purpose of raising a loan. We may state broadly, therefore, that the whole world is mortgaged, and that the nations are year by year becoming more deeply involved. To many this may not seem to be a subject for anxiety, but to us the matter appears of very great importance, involving vast interests and momentous issues, and we think, therefore, that it behoves every one who can do so to throw some light into the thickening gloom. Let no one suppose that these are questions of mere pounds, shillings, and pence, and that they can be settled by mere fiscal adjustment. We shall endeavour to show that much more is involved; questions of national honour and of national policy. We are by no means the first to call attention to the subject, but the views of those who have preceded us have been hitherto overruled, and their arguments have been set aside from considerations of temporary expediency, based, as we conceive, on imperfect, and therefore fallacious, generalisation. To those who, like us, assert that a National Debt is a national evil, and that every effort should be made for its reduction, it is replied, It is true that National Debts exist, and that they show a tendency to increase, and that this fact is, taken by itself, an evil, and should be cured; but, on the other hand, there is the set-off that national wealth and population are increasing, so that, judging by experience, the burden will be less and less; and that, therefore, it would be financially inexpedient, and would be an injustice to the present generation to tax it for the benefit

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\* It must not be forgotten, however, that in the middle of the next century the State will come into possession of the railways, value £300,000,000.



of those to come after, who will succeed to an inheritance improved and consolidated by means of these very debts.

In this argument there appear to us to be several fallacies.

In the first place, it is true that wealth and population are increasing; but the question is, Do wealth and population increase in equal ratio to the debts? Let us take six of the principal nations of the world, and compare the figures of 1875 with those of other years, as seen in the respective cases. It will be noticed that Germany finds no place in this table, since the French payments have cancelled the debt, and left the State in the possession of surplus funds.

Countries.	Population.	National Income.	Annual Charge.	Charge per Head of Pop.	Percentage on Income
Great Britain, 1843 .	27,000,000	£ 500,000,000 (£ 18, 10s.)	£ 27,550,000	s. d. 20 5	5.51
„ 1875 .	32,700 000	915,000,000 @ £28.	23,000,000	14 0	2.51
France, . . 1848 .	35,700,000	535,000,000 @ £15.	7,070,000	4 0	1.32
„ . . 1875 .	36,500,000	810,000,000 @ £22.	40,000,000	21 10	4.76
Austria, . . 1848 .	37,000,000	440,000,000 @ £12.	5,500,000	3 0	1.25
„ . . 1875 .	38,000,000	680,000,000 @ £18.	15,169,000	8 0	2.23
Russia in Europe, 1853	60,000,000	360,000,000 @ £6.	6,000,000	2 0	1.66
„ 1875	72,000,000 (?)	540,000,000 @ £7, 10s.	14,000,000	3 10	2.60
Italy, . . 1861 .	22,000,000	260,000,000 @ £12.	4,500,000	4 1	1.73
„ . . 1875 .	27,800,000	415,000,000 @ £15.	19,500,000	14 0	4.70
United States, 1848 .	22,000,000	440,000,000 @ £20.	2,710,000	2 6	0.61
„ 1875 .	44,000,000	1,100,000,000 @ £25.	24,500,000	11 0	2.23

And what is the spectacle presented? In no country but our own do we see that wealth and population have kept pace with debt. In our case the burden has lessened more than half, but in the others is seen an increase of double and treble what it was. And what probability is there that the relative burdens will be less in future? Is there anything in the aspect of affairs to lead to a reasonable anticipation that the course of

borrowing has been stayed, that wars have ceased, or that development of resources will take an accelerating ratio of increase? We opine not. There is not one of these factors that will not, in our opinion, be unfavourably affected. Look round at the spectacle presented in Europe of the nations vying with each other in their armaments, counting their forces by millions of men, and watching each other with jealous eye. Surely there is nothing reassuring here. And if we have to reconcile ourselves to the probability, nay, the certainty, that there will be wars, which will be the means of piling up debt in amounts which it is simply appalling to contemplate, what is there on the other side of the account to balance this liability? Can we reckon on wealth and population keeping pace with it? The supposition seems baseless. The greatest industrial development the world has seen has taken place during the last thirty years, which have been signalised by the utilisation of the railway and the telegraph, and have been marked by the gold discoveries. As we have before observed, the inconveniences of distance and time have, during this period, been annihilated, and the find of gold has materially affected our measure of value. What agencies in the future can we expect of equal potency to the first two? What are the chances of further gold discoveries sufficient to depreciate the value of money as we in our day have seen, and thus diminish the burden of debts? For the last thirty years these agencies have been in operation, and yet production has not increased in the ratio of debt, and unless some means be discovered for redressing the balance, the prospect seems hopeless indeed. And with reference to the gold question, we may quote, as peculiarly applicable, the words of Sir Robert Peel in introducing the Bank Act of 1844—“There is no contract, public or private—no engagement, national or individual, which is unaffected by it. The enterprises of commerce, the profits of trade, the arrangements made in all the domestic relations of society, the wages of labour, pecuniary transactions of the highest amount and the lowest, the payment of the National Debt, the provision for the national expenditure, the command which the coin of the smallest denomination has over the necessities of life, are all affected.”

Although, on the whole, the nations are becoming more deeply involved, there are currents moving in an opposite direction to the general stream. Germany is the only nation which, having entered on a course of borrowing, has been able to shake off the burden, a result, however, which was achieved by means of the French indemnity, which, *pro tanto*, transferred that burden on to the shoulders of the French, and raised their debt to the largest in the world.

The fact, however, stands out that Germany is practically free from debt and in possession of surplus funds, and so far is in an enviable position. Holland, Belgium, and Denmark are wiping off debt, and at no distant day, should not war intervene, will be free. In the United States a debt of £18,000,000 in 1861 was run up to £561,700,000 in four years of civil war, and the last ten years have witnessed a reduction of £118,000,000, by efforts most praiseworthy, but effecting the object by a severity of taxation, and a mistaken system of imposts, that have crippled many branches of industry. And it is strange to find that this people, so proud of its position among the nations, and so anxious to relieve itself from debt, and everything that the condition of debt implies, should suffer themselves to be reproached with the existence among them of a paper currency ten years after the close of the civil war. And here a few remarks on this point may not be out of place. A bank-note or a treasury-note is but a promise to pay a certain amount of coin on demand, and in any well-ordered system of finance there should be practically sufficient coin or bullion to meet these promises. To our mind, there is no valid excuse for allowing the national promises to pay to be at a discount a day longer than is absolutely necessary. The only possible gain to a nation—and it is only a material one—is the annual interest saved on the bullion, which is dispensed with by the over-issue; but against this is to be set the moral element of uncertainty, and almost of gambling, which is imported into every monetary transaction, the manipulations of gold-rings, and all the evils which spring from artificiality. We consider it a reproach, therefore, to our Transatlantic cousins that ten years after the close of their civil war their promises to pay on demand can be bought at 13 per cent. discount. Poverty cannot, as in the case of some other nations, be pleaded in excuse. As we have seen, £118,000,000 have been paid off in ten years, and every effort is being made to reduce still further the interest-bearing portion. We think that they look too much in this direction, to the detriment of what should be done in the other. If any nation is justified in looking into the future, and discounting it, it is the people of the United States. Its wealth and population increase in a ratio more rapid than that of any other nation. At the present moment it has within its borders a population of forty-four millions, and an annual income of £1,100,000,000, and in the course of half a century it will number a hundred millions of inhabitants, with an annual production beyond present estimation, and withal vastly less liability to the curse of war and armaments than other less favoured communities.

We have now to turn to our own country, as the last on the



list of States which are making efforts to reduce their debts. Let us take a glance at our position at the close of the revolutionary wars, and at our condition after a lapse of sixty years, and let us see whether we have or have not fallen short of our plain duty. In 1815 the debt amounted to £902,000,000, and in 1875 it is £775,000,000. In these sixty years, therefore, which, as we have observed, have been marked by the greatest development of wealth the world has ever seen, and by the great gold discoveries, and which have witnessed an unbroken peace of thirty-nine years, we have liquidated only £127,000,000, or at the rate of a little over £2,000,000 a year. It is true that for the last five or six years the rate of redemption has been about £5,000,000, but this we contend to be, under the circumstances, utterly inadequate. Nothing in our opinion can justify this state of things, but the moral certainty that in the time to come our political and economical conditions will be as favourable to us as they have been during the last half-century. In the first place, let us take the question of the precious metals, and consider the influence of the gold discoveries. Our debt being in gold, it follows that, other things being equal, the burden of that debt is measured by the supply: the scarcer the gold the heavier the burden; the more plentiful the gold the lighter the burden. Now, there is reason to believe that the world's stock of gold in 1875 is at least double what it was in 1848, and if there were no other influences to counteract the effect of this, the prices of all commodities would be at least double at the latter period what they were at the former; but the progress of inventions for increasing general production, the increase of population and wealth, the demonetising of silver and the establishment of gold currencies in its stead in several States, have to some extent neutralised the effect of this disturbing cause, and it is computed that the purchasing-power of gold has lessened only 25 per cent. instead of 50 under the supposition. The nation, as a debtor, has had the benefit of this depreciation, and the practical question for us is whether the present state of things is likely to continue, or, if not, what direction will matters take? Statistics show that before the Californian discoveries of 1848 the produce of the old mines was about £13,500,000 a year, but these discoveries raised the total yield in three years, 1849–51, to £24,000,000 a year, and in the next five years, 1852–56, to £38,750,000, the highest point touched, from which the yield has gradually decreased until it now stands once more at £24,000,000. The supply, therefore, is at best stationary, if not falling off; and if we compute the stock in existence to be £1,500,000,000, which we believe to be not far from the mark, the annual increment is but 1·6 per cent.

Is this annual increment sufficient to meet the fresh requirements of currencies and other purposes, and the increasing demands of civilisation, to say nothing of that portion used in the arts, and which, owing to the extrinsic value conferred on it thereby, will not come into circulation as coin except in vastly changed circumstances? The probability is, that the world's requirements for gold—its standard and measure of value—will outgrow the supply, and that, as a consequence, the pressure of the debts contracted by this standard will increase instead of diminish. There are signs, indeed, that this retrograde movement has commenced, and that relative values are moving in a direction the contrary of what we have seen during the last thirty years. We can therefore take no comfort from this aspect of the question, so let us look at the probability of a fresh development of industry taking place as a motive for us as a nation putting aside the consideration of the question. What is there reassuring in this quarter? On every side we find competitors in every important branch of manufacture ready to step in and take our place in the markets of the world. But this place can only be retained by our keeping in view the axiom, and acting upon it, that the least indebted nation will, other things being equal, have a distinct advantage in the industrial competition. Hitherto we have possessed natural advantages which have enabled us to produce cheaply, but there are indications that, as we near the close of the century, we must prepare for a commercial struggle such as we have not yet experienced. And when other countries can produce as cheaply as we can—and the margin between us and them is narrow, and tends to disappear—then indeed will our supremacy in commerce depart, and we shall sink into something like the position which Holland now occupies. And with the decline of our commerce will come the falling off of our national income, and, as a consequence, a *pro tanto* increase in the burden of our debt.\* Then, as to the chances of war, no reasonable man

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\* We shall not be considered premature, we hope, in pointing out danger in this direction when we read in the public prints that tires are being delivered in the neighbourhood of Sheffield at prices far lower than those at which they can be produced there—that American calico is sent for sale to Manchester at thirteen-pence a pound, while the same quality cannot be produced there under thirteen-pence halfpenny—that a Halifax carpet firm have removed a large portion of their machinery to the United States, where they hoped to turn out their goods more quickly and profitably—that English black silks have given place to those of France, Prussia, and the Lower Rhine—that Basle has seriously crippled the ribbon trade of Coventry—that the English silk-velvet trade is quite snuffed out, our velvets now coming from Crefeld in Rhenish Prussia—that in the trimming department of our warehouses everything—buttons, braid trimming and beaded trimming, and a thousand other articles—is of almost exclusively German manufacture, and displays a style and finish superior to anything we can produce—that in low wool shawls of certain kinds the Germans give better value

can assume that henceforth we shall escape this scourge, and it therefore behoves us to expect its coming sooner or later, and when it does come, to involve us in amounts frightful to think of, but at present impossible to estimate.

These are some of the material considerations, but there is the moral side of the question, to which we will now turn. We will begin by asking, To what extent, and under what circumstances and conditions, is a State justified in mortgaging the present and future earnings of its people, and their present and future property? To our mind, nothing but the direful necessities of war can justify the course; and when it is pursued, there should be the most rigid determination to redress a state of affairs which, under the most favourable circumstances, must be productive of injustice. To quote the words of the late R. Dudley Baxter:—

“By the adoption of borrowing for war expenditure, capital is diverted from productive investments, and spent on unproductive objects. Instead of being employed in trade or industrial undertakings or improvements, adding a new annual produce to the net income of the nation, this capital becomes a pensioner on the old net income of the country. It is like taking an army of artificers and agricultural labourers from their workshops and fields, to maintain them, and their children after them, without labour, upon the taxes. An unproductive debt, by its absorption of useful capital, prevents improvements, hinders the growth of industrial capital, and stunts the development of a nation; while at the same time, to meet the necessity of paying interest, it imposes additional taxation, and lessens the margin of tax-bearing power of the nation. Borrowing in excessive amounts necessitates heavy taxes, which are difficult to impose without hardship and inequalities, disarranging industry, and raising the prices of necessities, losses which fall principally upon the poor. Owners of property that was not in existence at the time of the loan, and workers who have inherited no property at all from their borrowing ancestors, are obliged by this law of public credit to pay interest, as to the amount of which they have no discretion, and to deprive themselves of com-

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than the English, while in their tissue shawls the French excel the Scotch—that of useful goods, even when originated here, samples are sent abroad, and are imitated and improved upon in such a manner as to displace the patterns—that in fancy dress the best woollen goods are of French manufacture, coming from Roubaix, their beauty of colour and softness of texture excelling the English ones—that beautiful and artistic fabrics resembling sealskin and dogskin, and other fanciful articles which come from Berlin, are used here for ladies' cloaks—that while common and inferior cloths are bought at Leeds, the finer kinds come from Belgium and Germany—that in brocaded silks, from which neckties are made, Germany has displaced Macclesfield, while German brace webs take the place of those which used to be supplied from Leicester—that in fancy handkerchiefs for ladies' neckties the French article is preferred to that made at Paisley or Glasgow—that the silk coverings for umbrellas and parasols are invariably of foreign production;—in fine, that in many departments of trade our supremacy has been not merely threatened, but is actually done away with.



forts, and even necessities, for the cost of services in which they had no share, and probably have derived no benefit. Such a power as this transfers a burden from one set of workers and property to a materially different set of workers and property, and inflicts a great deal of hardship, and often of injustice, upon future generations, more particularly on the poor among them."

We are not wanting in warnings and examples. There is the case of France, which, after passing through three bankruptcies, still owes something like £1,000,000,000 sterling; and in Holland we have a signal instance of the dangers of a huge National Debt, and of perseverance and success in its reduction; while in the United States we have before us an example of a people resolutely determined to free themselves as soon as possible. And yet, we Englishmen of this generation, with sordid Epicureanism, act as if peace and prosperity were perpetual, and are content to pass on to a future generation liabilities which we might easily meet in our present circumstances of wealth and luxury without giving any but a passing thought to the probability that our children will not only be less able than ourselves to bear this burden, but that they may have to incur infinitely more onerous burdens on their own account.\*

Such is our position with regard to our own debt; let us now see how we as a nation stand with regard to the debts of other countries. There is no question that we are the great lenders, and that every other country is more or less indebted to us, and that we draw a vast revenue in the shape of interest on these loans. During the last thirty years, as we have seen, foreign countries have added something like £3,000,000,000 sterling to their debts; and if the borrowing process goes on, it is impossible to form any but the roughest estimate of what the figures may mount to at any given future period. At the pre-

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\* Contrast the present state of things with our condition about the beginning of this century, when wheat was 100s. a quarter, the quartern loaf 2s., coals £4 the chaldron, money being much more valuable than now; when resolutions moved in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury resulted in an agreement, signed by the great majority of the House, that not more than one quartern loaf per week for each person should be permitted to be consumed, in which agreement the House of Commons readily concurred; and when the use of flour for pastry was prohibited in the Royal family. This was a time also when streets and houses were not lighted by gas, steam travelling unknown, and the electric telegraph only dreamt of; when the laws were harsh, the slave trade flourished, the pressgang in active operation, the pillory in frequent use, foot-pads and mounted highwaymen numerous, duelling and drunkenness fashionable, commerce restricted; when taxation was grinding, and the income-tax 10 per cent. on all incomes above £200, a graduated scale being imposed down to those of £60; and when a thousand other evils were rife from which the present generation is free.

sent moment there is great distrust, and for a little time borrowing may be stayed, but the time may again arrive when fresh applications for loans will be made, and we may reckon on being then, as of yore, the principal lenders.

But, as the world becomes more and more indebted to us, will not fresh relations arise from this fact—relations which must influence our temper and our policy, and which therefore should be taken into consideration by the statesman? May we not, to some extent, trace the pacific character of our late dealings in external politics to this cause? And with increase of foreign indebtedness to us, will not the increased stake make us more solicitous for peace, and tempt us occasionally to weigh money against honour, to the detriment of the latter? Will not foreign nations become aware of this, and take advantage thereof, to our possible humiliation? Nay, do they not calculate on it now? Let us for a moment suppose some question arising between ourselves and the United States, involving the issues of peace or war; with what different feelings would each country regard the loan account between them! It is impossible to estimate the amount owed by the United States to Great Britain, but it must be so enormous that the bare contemplation of the loss which would be incurred in case of war would be appalling to us, while a precisely opposite effect would be produced on the other side. To declare war against the United States, in our present financial relations with them, would have to be done, on our part, with the full knowledge that by the act we at a blow deprive ourselves of vast resources, and place them at the disposal of the enemy. The same remarks apply to the case of Russia. Since the Crimean War this state has borrowed in this country alone some £160,000,000 sterling; and should she for the next ten years succeed in issuing her late average of loans, her indebtedness to us will be £300,000,000, the interest on which, in case of war, we should have to make up our minds to lose, besides having to face the inevitable depreciation of the capital, and the probability of a national bankruptcy on her part. And here a few remarks respecting her finances may not be out of place. Ten years ago it would have been nearly true to say that nothing was known of Russian finance. She had then a large deficit, resulting in issues of inconvertible paper. No financial accounts, but only budgets, were published. For 1866 an *account* was for the first time given. The latest is for 1874, a summary of which has just come by telegraph. For 1866 the revenue is put down at £48,500,000, and the expenditure at £57,000,000. For 1874 the revenue is stated to have been £75,500,000, and the expenditure £74,500,000. It would thus appear that a deficit of



£8,500,000 in 1866 has been converted into a surplus of £1,000,000 in 1874. But, assuming the correctness of these figures, it should be borne in mind that this apparent prosperity must be looked upon as in great part owing to the expenditure of £100,000,000 borrowed abroad, and that the year 1875 may tell a different tale. And it must also be remembered that the army and navy display extravagant tendencies, the expenditure for these in 1867 being £20,000,000 ; in 1870, £22,750,000 ; and in 1873, £27,500,000.

In view of these considerations, therefore, it behoves us as lenders to take heed of what we are doing, and to endeavour to appreciate the possible consequences. We appear to be drifting down a stream with gradual but accelerating speed, and those who guide the helm of State should at least make themselves acquainted with the temper of their crew, as well as with the rocks and shallows ahead, so that when the inevitable hour arrives all shall be prepared to choose between one of those two most unpleasant alternatives—the loss of honour or the loss of wealth.

Let us now sum up. We have seen that, as regards the issue of fraudulent foreign loans, the Select Committee, for reasons quoted, express a conviction that the best security against the recurrence of such evils will be found, not so much in legislative enactments, as in the enlightenment of the public as to their real nature and origin. But while we concur in welcoming this publicity, and in thinking that Parliament is comparatively powerless, let us not forget that credulity is undying, and that therefore every possible safeguard should be provided. As we have stated, we believe that due protection can be afforded by the Stock Exchange ; and although the Select Committee fear that the remedy will not come from that quarter, we, who think that power, as regards these matters, is centred solely in that body, believe that there is every probability that the rules under which “ settlements ” and “ quotations ” are granted will be amended so as to meet modern requirements.

As regards National Debts, we hold them to be National Evils, and that, where they are not represented by some industrial work, they become in succeeding generations a machinery by which the fruits of industry are transferred from the pockets of one class to the pockets of another class, whereby great hardship and injustice are inflicted, more particularly upon the poor ; and we hold that, consequently, naught but the dire necessities of war can justify a State in mortgaging the present and future earnings of its people, and the future earnings of their descendants, and that, when the peril has passed, every possible effort should be made to redress the wrong done. We have seen that

of late years the nations have been running a race with each other in the raising of loans for all sorts of purposes, but that a pause in their wild career has been brought about by the revelations of the Foreign Loans Committee, followed by the collapse of Turkey, and the embarrassments of Peru and Egypt. We have seen that during the last thirty years the whole world, with the exception of Germany, perhaps, has become mortgaged, and the figures are still rising. We have noted that this has taken place during an era of vast material development, and we have endeavoured to ascertain whether during this period wealth and population have kept pace with debt, and we find that, on the whole, debt has increased faster than the other two, and, in the majority of cases, presses with ever-increasing burden on national resources. We consider this state of things to be fraught eventually with many and great dangers, inasmuch as, in the time to come, we cannot count on the recurrence of such mighty agencies as have characterised the last thirty years—the existence of which, to some minds, may appear to have justified the incurring of such vast liabilities—but should rather contemplate a period of stagnation, if not of retrogression, and should prepare for all that this involves.

And one of the things involved we hold to be the probable appreciation of gold, in other words, an increase in its purchasing-power; and that, consequently, unless fresh discoveries are made, prices have seen their highest for many a long day, and that debts contracted in gold will, by reason of this movement, tend to press more heavily on the borrowers, and that it will be well if this pressure do not become in time so intolerable as to suggest, by way of solution, something like universal repudiation.

So much for National Debts as a whole. As regards ourselves in particular, we have seen that in the course of sixty years we have reduced our debt from £902,000,000 to £775,000,000, which is a result, in our opinion, utterly inadequate to the means we have had at command; and on moral as well as material grounds we maintain that this generation has failed in its duty. We contend that in acting thus we appear to proceed on the assumption that peace and prosperity are perpetual, and that agencies will be created in future which will operate for us and for our successors as favourably as those which have worked for this generation. These hopes are, in our opinion, fallacious; and we have pointed out that there is in store for us as a manufacturing nation a competition for which we shall not be prepared, unless we divest ourselves of the burden of debt faster than we are now doing.

With regard to Foreign Debts, we have shown that we are the

great lenders, and that, as such, we stand in a peculiar relation to the rest of the world ; that as its indebtedness to us increases, a condition of affairs is created which lifts the questions arising out of them from the province of finance into the domain of national policy, and thus calls for the attention of statesmen. By way of exemplification, we have supposed some question arising between ourselves and such countries indebted to us as Russia or the United States, and we have pointed out the different feelings with which the respective parties would, in such circumstances, regard the loan-account between them, and the probable consequences to us involved in a declaration of war, one of which would be our being obliged to set pocket against principle, to weigh money against honour.

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## ART. II.—OLD CATHOLICISM.

1. *Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches.* By Dr VON DÖLLINGER. Translated by H. N. OXENHAM. Rivingtons. 1872.
2. *Report of the Proceedings at the Reunion Conference held at Bonn on September 14, 15, and 16, 1874.* With Preface by H. P. LIDDON. Rivingtons. 1875.
3. *The New Reformation.* By THEODORUS. Longmans. 1875.
4. "*The Guardian*" Newspaper for August 1875.

[T is now some five years since the dogma of Papal Infallibility was added to the heap of what Mr Bright has called the "ecclesiastical rubbish," and Gibbon, before him, styled the "theological and controversial nonsense" which lumbers the world. It was, after all, but a trifling addition to the general heap—a mere straw upon that portion of it which the Roman Catholic conscience had been accustomed to bear. Yet the effect of straws, under certain circumstances, is proverbial. And we have evidence that a number of the Bishops, enlisted in the work of putting on this particular one, viewed its imposition with feelings of alarm and anxiety. Indeed, the Archbishop of Paris went so far as to say that its weight would break down both the Church and the temporal power.

Upon the whole, these apprehensions have not as yet been justified by the result. To be sure, the temporal power is gone ; but this circumstance has been due, not to the appearance of a new



Catholic dogma, but to that of a new Protestant empire. The Vatican Council had nothing to do with the matter. The fall of Napoleon evidently involved that of the Pope; and it must have involved the fall of a fallible, just as certainly as it did that of an infallible, Pope. But no serious rent has, to the best of our judgment, been made in the Roman Catholic Church. Was such a catastrophe likely? No doubt it is easy to prophesy after the event; but was it not equally easy in this case to prophesy before the event? The fact is, as we have just intimated, and as is indeed clear, that the new dogma made no very serious call upon the credulity of the believer. Every Roman Catholic believed that infallibility resided somewhere in his system. It was either in the Church (a vague term variously interpreted), or in the Pope and the Bishops, or in an Œcumenical Council summoned by the Pope, or in the Pope himself. When, then, an Œcumenical Council summoned by a Pope finally decided that infallibility resided in the Pope speaking as the head and mouthpiece of the Church, and this decision was everywhere accepted by the Bishops, we cannot think—putting ourselves as well as possible into the position of one of the faithful—that we should have been alarmed, or otherwise than relieved, at such a settlement. It must be borne in mind that a fair case had been made out, from the Roman Catholic point of view, for defining this vague article of belief, and for defining it in a particular way. Fresh errors of the most damnable kind were, it was said, almost daily springing up, particularly in Germany. The circumstances of the age made the speedy circulation of these errors an easy matter; and the prevailing spirit of lawlessness, from which Catholics themselves were not entirely free, conduced to their partial acceptance in some cases, and generally to their not being looked upon with the requisite loathing and horror. Under these circumstances, it was necessary that they should be confronted, at their first appearance, by the unmistakable voice of divine authority. If such a voice could only be made to issue out of a Council collected together from the four quarters of the world, it might as well, for all practical purposes, be non-existent. A prudent householder, with incendiaries all about him, will hardly be content to depend on the engines of distant towns and villages; he will, if possible, have a supply of water, an ever-present supply, on the spot. This, we say, was the kind of argument used, and it appears to us to have a certain force. Nothing of the kind could be urged on behalf of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; and if that was immediately swallowed without a why or a wherefore, what could impede the acceptance of a dogma for which such good reasons might be alleged? The only opposition to be expected was from the Roman Catholic Bishops themselves, whose very existence might be said to be threatened. “Bishops,” wrote Qui-

rinus, "remain only as papal commissaries, possessed of so much power as the Pope finds good to leave them, and exercising only such authority as he does not exercise himself. There is no longer any Episcopate." But in the event of these Bishops yielding, as in point of fact we have seen them do, what opposition could be looked for from the inferior priests and their flocks? No doubt, the view which Governments, Catholic as well as Protestant, might take of the transaction was a very different matter, and may have furnished considerations which justified alarm; for, in a political sense, the dogma was no trifle. With this aspect of the question, however, we are not now dealing. As a matter of fact, the straw *did* break down a few theological consciences, and a movement took place which was viewed with reasonable pleasure by liberal Protestants all over the world. Its importance was not, we think, generally over-estimated by them. Still, any move out of Ultramontanism towards the light of day seemed a move in the right direction. And who could tell to what further steps this first one might lead?

We are now in a condition to judge of this Old Catholic movement. The reports of its latest and most important Conferences are before our eyes. We are favoured with an account of the topics debated, the tentative forms of agreement successively put forth, and the final results arrived at. We must frankly say that, with the possible exception of certain "Conferences on Spiritualism," no public discussion more ludicrous or more painful has, in our view, been held in Europe within the memory of living man. Still, we make haste to admit, and shall indeed directly endeavour to show, that, from the Old Catholic standpoint, a debate, and, if possible, an agreement, on such a matter as the Procession of the Holy Ghost was a necessity. What seems deeply mortifying to Englishmen of common sense, besides being a further most significant sign of the direction in which a portion of our National Church is moving, is the presence of some distinguished English ecclesiastics at this and previous meetings of the kind. The Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Gibraltar have openly favoured the movement. There was, indeed, some talk of the Bishop of Lincoln taking the chair at the recent gathering. And, as if this were not enough, we find the *Guardian*—a newspaper favourably known for its moderation not less than for its ability—thus expressing itself in a leading article:—"We cannot but wish that the Church officially could have made some more distinct approaches, and that the English Episcopate might have been more largely and frequently represented." Among other attendants who participated in the debates have been a Dean and a Canon of St Paul's. Unless we have been misinformed, Mr Gladstone takes an interest in the movement



second only to that of Dr Döllinger. It is this aid and assistance given by English theologians to which we would direct particular attention. In view of it, Englishmen are surely entitled to ask rather carefully, "What is Old Catholicism? What is it that these people believe? And what is it that they propose to do? We shall then understand what sympathising with them, to the extent of attending their meetings and making speeches there, and drawing up resolutions, and sitting on committees in their company, really means. In one sense, all of us, who are not Roman Catholics, sympathise with them—that is to say, we unite in congratulating them on their refusing to accept a new dogma, and carrying their refusal to the point of separating themselves from the Romish Church. But if this is all that is meant, how is it that we do not find the Nonconformists represented, who would certainly not have withheld *their* sympathy? How is it that we hear from Canon Liddon of the impossibility of admitting non-Episcopalians to any voice in their decisions? There is evidently something more than this in the wind; and a couple of High-Church Bishops and a High-Church ex-Premier being represented to us as abettors of this new scheme, we should like to be a little better informed than we are now as to its real character." We shall directly consider the use to which the Anglican, and a portion of the Ritualistic party propose to turn the Old Catholic movement; and though we hold their project to be utterly wild and most happily unrealisable, still it will not be without advantage to call attention to it. For the present, let us consider the real position occupied by Old Catholicism at this moment. What it may develop into in the future is nothing to our purpose.

Old Catholicism is just now necessarily a hanger-on of the Greek-Eastern and Russian Churches, which for our ends may be treated as identical, and called the Oriental Church. When the excellent persons who led the van of the movement left their old moorings, they might be excused for not exactly knowing just at first where they were. All they knew was that they had been driven out of their former home: no idea of seeking anybody or anything to unite themselves with presented itself at first to their minds. They rather expected that a good many of their old friends would join *them* in their new quarters. This hope not having been realised—in fact, the whole thing having fallen somewhat flat upon the German mind—the little band naturally began to look out for alliances. In their manifesto of 1871, they proclaimed the identity of their principles with the Utrecht Church, expressed a desire for reunion with the Orientals, and threw out a less decided feeler in the direction of Protestant Episcopalians. But this first *ad interim* position taken up by them was one

which could not in reality attract to itself an alliance of any kind, save, perhaps, that of the handful of people at Utrecht. They professed to be in the position of persons who would have been perfectly contented to remain Roman Catholics, if the dogma of Papal Infallibility had never been promulgated. This involved the acceptance of Papal Primacy, as distinguished from Infallibility (distinctly held, by the by, up to that time by the Church of Utrecht), and at once precluded a more intimate connection with Orientals as well as Anglicans. Add to this, that they accepted the Confession of Faith contained in the Tridentine Decrees. Yet it was evidently their policy to attach themselves to the Orientals. As is well known, there is scarcely a Romish superstition which is not held equally by the Easterns: the principal exceptions being precisely those of the Primacy and Infallibility of the Pope. Other differences, it might fairly be thought by theologians, were capable of yielding to judicious treatment. Accordingly, the Old Catholics, pressed by the necessity of their situation, have been doing little else since their exodus than move steadily in the direction of the Easterns. We have not space to furnish detailed proof of this; but we confidently appeal to the judgment of the dispassionate reader who has followed the movement. The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin has been thrown over, purgatory softened down, the laity admitted to the cup, priestly celibacy, if not altogether abandoned, yet represented as a matter capable of being arranged. The whole standing-point of the body has been carried backwards, so as finally to coincide with the period preceding the disruption of the Eastern and Western Churches—the smaller body gravitating surely towards the larger. All this has doubtless been effected with perfect sincerity; yet it is curious to watch a creed shaping itself in accordance with a policy. At present the Old Catholics are separated from the Orientals by national and geographical, rather than by theological barriers. That is to say, place Dr Döllinger and his German associates in Greece or in Russia, and in the course of a few years they would necessarily become absorbed in the ruling communions of those countries.

But before an agreement could be reached, there remained to be settled one point of supreme importance, as theologians look at points, and this was, of course, the Procession of the Holy Ghost. While the Easterns held that the Third Person of the Trinity proceeded from the First alone, the Westerns held that He proceeded from the First and Second. Whether this constituted “*not* an irreconcilable difference” (and this is how it was styled in the earliest Old Catholic manifesto) is a question which, in view of a proposed union of Churches, must be left to the decision of those concerned. To us the two statements seem to be utterly and hope-

lessly irreconcilable. They appear as conflicting as two statements, one that Sirius has two satellites which revolve round himself alone, the other, that the two satellites revolve round each other, as well as round Sirius. Nor can we conceive how two sets of astronomers, divided for centuries on this point, and anxious to come to terms, could possibly effect their purpose except by one party giving in, or by both of them arriving at the sensible conclusion that neither side knew anything whatever about the matter. We can understand that this difference about the Procession should be deemed "not essential" (the words originally written, and for which "not irreconcilable" were substituted); indeed, we can hardly understand how any sane being can deem that it is essential. One would suppose that two men, or two sets of men, might agree to remain in the same Church, each of whom might openly hold different views on this entirely speculative question. Yet history has proved that this is not so. The Old Catholics, then, were doubtless called upon to try their hands at some sort of "reconcilement." In theology this can usually only be effected by both parties meeting each other somewhere between the points of difference, and enveloping the terms of agreement in a cloud of metaphysical verbiage. And even such an agreement as this can only be hoped for on the ground of the dogmas in dispute having lost their importance in men's minds; which is the same thing as saying that they have ceased to be deemed *essential*. Whether the compromise arrived at on this occasion corresponds to the above description, it is for the reader, who perhaps understands the terms in which it is couched, and not for us, to whom the language of theologians is as the language of the ancient Etruscans, to determine. It has been effected: and, subject to the Churches in the East accepting what has been settled in their name at Bonn, Old Catholics and Orientals may be said to be virtually "reunited."

So far so good. Up to this point we see a number of men whose course of action inspires us with respect. They have suffered, in many cases materially, doubtless in most cases mentally, for conscience' sake. They have tried to do what it was only natural that persons so circumstanced should try to do. They have aimed at allying themselves with other religious communities, holding views not very widely diverging from their own. We have spoken of their debates on the *filioque* as ludicrous and painful: ludicrous in the eye of the sceptic, painful to the sensible Christian. But it is the existence of such a subject of debate, the thought that for ages these inane subtleties should have exercised and divided human minds, rather than the action of the Old Catholics, who have been refining and hair-splitting at Bonn, which raises our astonishment. A controversy on the big-Indian and little-Indian controversy would not be very edifying to the



world at large. But much might be said for it as a matter of policy : that is to say, as the only means of bringing together the divided inhabitants of Lilliput and Blefuscu. And viewed in this light, even the greatest statesmen of those august empires would be justified in assisting at it. We have said that the Old Catholics are too weak to stand alone. Not that their original position might not have been a perfectly good and tenable one, even though only half-a-dozen people in the world had adhered to it. But there is no field in which the gregarious instinct of mankind operates more strongly than in that of religion. In no other field do men feel so anxious to find themselves in alliance with a number of other men, thinking just as they do. The strength of mind—for however puerile a belief may be, the feeling which induces men to hold to it *individually*, when once honestly formed, partakes of strength,—the quality of mind which has enabled some persons to persevere through life in such small companies as those of the Swedenborgians, Irvingites, Dunkers, or Muggletonians, is extremely rare. Isolated from the rest of Christendom, the new band of German and Swiss sectaries would almost inevitably droop and die away. Their prestige would be enormously increased if their tenets could be brought into harmony with those of a Church, one of the most powerful, if not the most ancient, in the world. And a re-adjustment of the Trinity was a small price to pay for the alliance.

Again, so far so good. But here, we say, the simple-minded Protestant will be inclined to ask, “What have any of us to do with this business?” A member of the Scotch Church, or Free Kirk, a Wesleyan, Baptist, or Independent, who asks this question, is immediately able to answer it to his own satisfaction. No representative from any of those Protestant bodies has taken part in the Conferences.\* It is obvious that no union whatever can take place between them and the Old Catholics. The gulf between them is far wider than that which results from differences in Church government. Indeed, they were not invited. A paragraph of the Munich manifesto, already referred to, contained an invitation to the Protestant and Episcopal Churches (“of England and America” was in the original draft) to “come to an understanding” with the new association; and the word “Episcopal,” of course, tells its own tale. It is unfortunately too well known that there are in the English Church a large body of men to whom this would furnish a fine opportunity, under guise of sympathising with those who were throwing off some Romish errors, of airing their own sacerdotal pretensions, and doctrines of apostolical suc-

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\* One Congregational minister attended the Conference of 1874. He does not seem to have said anything. How could he?

cession, Church infallibility, sacramental grace, and the like, which form really the most objectionable parts of the old Romish system. Messrs Döllinger, Reinkens, Huber, and the other gentlemen who issued the invitation, knew this perfectly well; or we should perhaps say, had an imperfect knowledge on the subject; for even they had cause to be surprised. We cannot resist quoting a few sentences from the pen of a clergyman who attended the Conference of 1874, doubtless from feelings of respectful curiosity, for he is not reported as having taken any part in it beyond asking one pertinent question. The way in which he puts the matter appears to us to hit the nail very nearly on the head. We must premise that when the thesis rejecting the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin came up for discussion, the "Anglicans" were the only persons in the assembly who opposed it. Canon Liddon actually divided against it; and Mr Oxenham, an energetic supporter of the Old Catholic movement, who has translated Döllinger's lectures, with a dedication dated "Nativity of Our Lady," used this language, "If we were to accept the thesis in its present form, we should be ourselves erecting a new dogma, and *I for one solemnly protest against so monstrous a procedure.*" \* This is what the Rev. John Hunt, the clergyman in question, tells us:—

"No unexpected eruption of the most terrible elements in nature could have struck the Old Catholics with such utter astonishment as the amendment of the Anglicans, and their speeches on this subject. 'They are nearer Rome than we are,' exclaimed a professor who was sitting next to me, and appealing with an eye of pity for some explanation of the phenomenon. 'Did you never know that before?' I answered. 'The Anglicans have long had their faces as though they would go to Rome, while you are coming from it; you met and spent a night together somewhere, at, I suppose, *the Three Taverns*, but you have long since passed each other.' Bewilderment covered his face as he exclaimed, 'Is it possible?'" †

We will only add to this, that our sympathy with the Old Catholics goes to the extent of hoping that they will soon have got to a point where they will be completely out of reach of the Anglicans as well as the Orientals. We do not think, with Mr Hunt, that they have reached it as yet. We are not sanguine that they will ever do so; and we must deal with them in their present position. Nothing, however, can be more exact than the writer's illustration of two parties meeting, one on their way to, the other on their way from Rome. We should imagine that the Anglicans are the party most likely to move out of reach of the other. However,

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\* Report of the Reunion Conference at Bonn, 1874, Rivingtons, p. 56.

† *Contemporary Review*, November 1874.



taking matters as they are, Englishmen will not share in the astonishment which was excited in the breast of the German professor and his friends by such an outbreak as that of Mr Oxenham. But what, we think, will excite some astonishment in the minds of Englishmen is, that any persons *in high authority* in the English Church should aid these Conferences by their continued presence and counsel.

Three English Bishops have done this, and the most influential of Church organs is lamenting that there have not been more of them. We are not charging upon these Bishops, or any one of them, the extreme views of some of the Anglican speakers; but what, after all, is implied by their presence, personal or epistolary? By "what is implied?" we mean to the ordinary, common-sense, untheological mind, which these prelates must be credited with having some regard for. And when we say by "*their* presence," we mean that of persons whose acts carry with them a sense of representation—directors of their National Church, not actually holding, but virtually supposed to hold, a number of proxies. Nothing less than this, that the differences between the English Church and the Bonn platform are believed by these right reverend personages, and the persons they must be supposed to represent, not to be sufficiently great to bar the hope of "reunion." Now, no terms of reunion are possible between the English, the Old Catholic, and the Eastern Churches which do not include, among others, the following items:—1. The supremacy of the Church in all matters of faith; and its corollary, the denial of the right of private judgment. 2. The acceptance of "Catholic tradition" as the unwritten revelation of God, and as being consequently of equal authority with the Bible. 3. The real presence in the Eucharist. 4. The invocation of saints, and the honouring of their shrines and relics. 5. The invocation, in particular, of the Virgin Mary. 6. Auricular confession, and priestly absolution. 7. Monastic institutions, and the vow of celibacy.

Here are a number of doctrines and practices which, we will venture to say, are looked upon with horror by the mass of the British people, and here are some of our chief pastors (to strengthen whose hands the Bill of 1874 was passed) according them a kind of recognition; for it is idle to say that you do not recognise (which word it is sufficient to use here in the extremely modified sense of not being alarmed at) a doctrine when you consent to parley about union with people who hold it, and who (in the case of the Easterns, at all events) you very well know will not give it up. But we shall have a word or two more to say on this point immediately.

No wonder that the above beliefs and practices are distasteful

to Protestants, for it is obvious that they strike more or less directly at the root of the Reformation. If the new dogma of Papal Infallibility is to be condemned merely for the purpose of transferring infallibility to some other quarter, to the decisions of certain councils, the utterances of certain Fathers, or the voice of some Church or Churches, private judgment being as much ignored under the new system as under the old ;\* if in pursuit of this aim superstitions of the grossest kind are to be tenderly treated as matters of comparatively small moment in view of union, we fail to see the benefit to mankind. We would rather be under one tyrant than a board of tyrants. The infallibility of any body of men seems to us as utterly devoid of a particle of foundation as the infallibility of any one man ; yet this is what the supporters of this Anglo-Catholic-Oriental movement are labouring to bring the world to. No doubt they have a perfect right to act as they are acting : that the most extreme sacerdotal views may be held under cover of the English Church system is too well known ; but it is important that the mass of the people, when called upon to favour "reunion," should know what it means.

This leads us to ask, Is any kind of reunion of Christendom in this sense desirable for mankind generally, or for any portion of it, except the priests ? Is it not much better that there should be healthy diversities of view, as in politics and philosophy, and that men should agree to differ about theology ? Let us suppose an extreme case. Let us suppose that, as the result of an Œcumenical Council, at which delegates from every Episcopal Church attended, the Roman Catholics, with the consent of the Pope, agreed to give way somewhat ; the Anglicans, Americans, Russians, Greeks, and others doing the same. Let us imagine one great Church or Association of Churches to have been founded ; and let us further imagine, by way of making the matter complete, that all the orthodox English, American, and Continental Protestants have consented to come in. Here would be Christian reunion of a kind to satisfy Dr Döllinger and Canon Liddon and Bishop Browne. Now, unless such an association as this belied all history, it would be the most grinding tyranny that ever oppressed mankind. We say nothing of the few thinking men and women who would refuse to bow down to its authority, and who would, in all probability, be persecuted openly. We speak of the wretched people under its sway. A king without a check, or a mob, or any individual, or body or corporation of individuals, wielding power of any kind without

\* At the late Conference, Canon Liddon said *the Church had the duty of deciding what the Scripture meant*. We are, by this time, familiar with such language.

a check, is pretty sure to prove a scourge. A corporate body, not only pretending to, but actually credited with, infallibility, and entirely manipulated by priests, offers a still gloomier prospect. There would be none of those forces which, acting in various, and sometimes in opposite, directions, may be said to keep the moral as they keep the physical world in a state of health, vigour, and sweetness, but simply one dead level of submission (with here and there a whisper of dissent) to the decrees of authority in all matters in any way impinging on theology, and society would stumble along, like Sindbad, with the "Church" perched on its shoulders! This is no imaginary picture: it is that which was furnished by the dark ages; and we should speedily have the dark ages back again. We have often heard with surprise people, who ought to know better, lamenting that Great Britain is split up into so many sects—regretting, for instance, that the secession caused by the Act of Uniformity, the schism of Wesley, the Free Church movement, had not been prevented. To us it seems that a vast part of the happiness and liberty we enjoy is owing to this very circumstance of our religious divisions. Competition is surely the best preventive of monopoly. Take the recent Education settlement, for instance, in respect to which this complaint as to our divisions was often heard, even from Liberal lips. What would have happened if there had been one hugely predominant body, the Anglican Church, in this island? And what would have happened in another direction, if this body had chanced to be Baptist, for instance? Look at the action of the orthodox Nonconformists, as it was. They cried out for a long time for "unsectarian education," which by no means meant unsectarian education, but education which should contain nothing which *they* could complain of; while such persons as Jews and Unitarians were to be submitted by them to the same process as, applied to themselves by the Church, was tyranny of the most odious kind. The absurdity of this position, once seen, drove a great many of them to favour secular education.

It will be said that the kind of union proposed between the Anglican and the two other Churches is not such as is here supposed. Dr Döllinger has said this, and the *Guardian* has lately repeated it. "Nor, again, do many seem to understand what is the nature of the unity at which the Conference aims. It is substantial unity, and not absolute uniformity. If the Greek Church, the Old Catholic Church of Germany, and the Church of England, should see their way to fraternisation, it by no means follows that each shall not retain much of distinctive peculiarity. We, in England, are not bound to adopt the whole system of the Oriental Church, with many points of which we cannot sympathise. Nor do we desire to impose an Anglican stamp on the communions of the East, or the Old Catholics of Germany and Switzerland."



We suppose that, in the opening sentence here, the writer means that there are many persons who do not understand what is aimed at. The grammatical construction would equally carry the sense that there are not many persons who do understand it: which we conceive to be about the real state of the case. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine anything more cloudy at first sight, or, when looked into, more hopelessly absurd. What is meant by "fraternisation"? What is to be the relation of the three Churches to each other after they have undergone this process? In what is it to differ from the present state of things? At present, according to the Bishop of Winchester, "the Old Catholics would be admitted to communion by the English clergy without hesitation. We hold the orders of Catholic priests, whether Old Catholic or Roman Catholic, to be valid, and any one of them could obtain an ecclesiastical office in England under the same conditions as an English clergyman."\* Again, what is meant by "substantial unity"? What is necessary to constitute it, and what may be left alone as a "distinctive peculiarity"? Would there be substantial unity between Churches A, B, and C in a case where all the members of B and C held the dogma of transubstantiation, while nine-tenths of the members of A held transubstantiation to be a monstrous imposture, devised in the interests of priestcraft, and fraught with the most serious practical consequences? If so, why should not A claim the right to speculate in its own fashion on such a harmless point as the Procession of the Holy Ghost? If not, what does A propose to do in the matter of transubstantiation, seeing that B and C will certainly not give in? These are not idle questions. People who are invited to enter into a partnership are entitled to be particular in inquiring about the terms of the partnership. Or put the case thus, in a strictly practical way. Dr Döllinger, the great leader of the movement, urges a reunion of the three Churches, on the special ground of the difficulties in the way of converting the heathen caused by their differences. "Christianity," he says, "presents itself to the intelligent heathen under the repulsive aspect of division and uncertainty."† Well, suppose that this reunion (whatever it may mean) has actually taken place, and that certain Russian and English Church missionaries are labouring in the same locality. The Russian missionary furnishes his catechumens with pictures of the saints, instructs them to invoke the Virgin in periods of trouble, teaches the doctrine of the real presence, confesses and absolves them, plies them with penitential

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\* Report, Bonn Conference, 1874, p. 10.

† Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches, English translation, Rivingtona, p. 29.



works, exhibits relics to their astounded gaze, and the rest of it. What is the English missionary to do under the new scheme? He must either assent to all this openly, in which case we have precisely such a reunion as most Englishmen will think most mischievous, and, as the *Guardian* informs us, is *not* contemplated; or he must assent by implication, on the ground that these things are "distinctive peculiarities," of no great importance—a course calculated, we should say, to bewilder the "intelligent heathen," and on which it is unnecessary to waste words—or he must say openly that they are mischievous delusions. If he does this last, we are just where we are now; there is no reunion, and conversions from heathenism are as much impeded by our divisions as ever.

What we think is plainly aimed at by the Anglican abettors of the movement is this—to form a confederation of Churches, differing in some matters, but whose voice, when united, shall be put forth as authoritative over the members of all. Mr Gladstone (on the supposition of his being a sympathiser) is truly fighting with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other; aiming blows at the Pope with his right, and trying to build up something just as bad as Papal Infallibility with his left. The project is happily a wild chimera. The sturdy Protestantism of England and America will never consent to lay the right of private judgment, the noblest legacy of the Reformation, at the feet of any ecclesiastic, or any body of ecclesiastics.

Just one word, before closing, as to the debates on the "Procession," and the metaphysical propositions to which they have given rise. As we have said more than once, it may have been necessary, as a matter of policy, for the small band of German Catholics to come to some agreement with the Easterns on this matter; but that English clergymen and laymen should have taken part, *for any purpose whatever*, in a discussion recalling those of the Greek market-places in the early ages, must occasion deep regret, not to the sceptic so much as to the sensible orthodox Christian. Imagine Bishop Butler at such a Conference. Would he not have used the same language with regard to the relations of the Trinity as he has used with regard to the Atonement?—"How and in what particular way the Trinity is constituted there are not wanting persons (and Churches) who have endeavoured to explain; but I do not find that the Scripture has explained it. And if the Scripture has, as it surely has, left this matter mysterious, left somewhat in it unrevealed, all conjectures about it must be, if not evidently absurd, yet at least uncertain." Compare this with the dreary discussions about *ὑπαρξίς* and *ἐκλαμψίς*! One *ἐκλαμψίς*, or shining forth of sense in the midst of the general darkness, seems to have manifested itself in the person of a

certain Dr Schaff. He proposed, as Butler would certainly have done, "that the passages of Scripture that tell us the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, but is sent by the Father and Son, were sufficient for the basis of Church union." Dr Döllinger "thought that if Church union could be attained in that way nobody need have come to the Conference." And we would add, that if Church union could *not* be obtained in that way, no member of a Protestant Church ought to have gone to the Conference.



### ART. III.—WHITE CONQUEST.

*White Conquest.* By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. In Two Volumes. London. 1876.

AT the present time there seems to be a good deal of doubt in people's minds as to how history ought to be written. History is without doubt the earliest and the most enduring of the arts, for history in its truest sense merely means a narrative of events which have occurred. It is, indeed, the foundation of all science, of all literature; and without the clay which history secures from the layers of past centuries, the manufacture of poetry, of philosophy, of science, would be impossible.

But history in this sense is no plaything: it is a veritable and valuable guide and teacher, ready, if it be rightly interrogated, to give us not only glimpses of the dim past, but prophetic warning as to the obscure future; for the future is, in many ways, but the inverted image of the past, and we may well learn to deal competently with to-morrow if we know well the nature of yesterday, and note well the mood of to-day. It is not to be doubted, then, that it would be above all things most important to have a real history; and that very circumstance makes it absolutely necessary that the method of history should be carefully scrutinised, and the making of history thoroughly understood. We are all of us in one sense historians. Memory is a book in which innumerable narratives are written. We each of us unconsciously carry forward some traditions, and the best of written histories may be likened to the memory of a race. But men aspire to be more than the unconscious carrier-pigeons of the past: men "look before and after," and it is their "pining for what is not" that makes historians, and gives those persons who

read them their appetite for the varied records of harlequin times. So long as writers confine themselves to simple narratives of trivial events, whether these events have taken place in court or camp, in castle or cottage, little harm can be done by these useless memoirs. But if they presume to call such writings "history," their claims to attention and credence must be more carefully examined. A man who is conversing with his neighbour, who seeks only amusement from their mutual wordy intercourse, may be allowed some licence in his gossiping expatiation. But if he is called upon to assist in the administration of justice—if property, or character, or life is at stake, it is necessary that he should be pledged to speak the truth according to the best of his ability, and that his ability and good faith should be tested by cross-examination. It is true that to a conscientious man all conversation would be on a level with evidence in its truth and accuracy; to a conscientious writer all his narrative ought to approach to the excellence of history. But as all men are not gifted with consciences, it is necessary to see whether the works which pretend to be history are true, and whether the writers who claim to be historians have any title in that regard. It has been found necessary to have an assay-office for the precious metals, and the Press is the assay-office of literature. Here, as in court matters, great interests are at stake. Is not the property of the present in the past in danger if these hands are lawless? Is not the character of past times jeopardised by slanderous writers? Hence the necessity of arriving at some true understanding of the nature of true history.

But the difficulties of writing a real history are excessive. The description even of the trivial is by no means easy, and implies the possession of more than a glib tongue or fluent pen; for, to describe any event or circumstance, a man must be familiar with what is significant in these, and must know how to give due prominence to the true characteristics of the event. A mere catalogue of observations is not really a description, any more than a mere representation of things is a picture. A child would draw the retreating cornice of a house straight, because it knew that it was level; it could not see the dip of perspective through the blaze of fact. In thus setting down what it believed to be its actual experience, it would, in fact, set down what it had never experienced. It would paint an inference. So it might be that a writer, in describing anything—say granite, for instance—might chronicle, as amongst its attributes, its smooth, bright, polished, reflecting surface, and that only because his knowledge of granite was limited by his experience of it in its manufactured state.



Here, then, is one of the difficulties associated with the writing of history. He who would be a historian must know what is significant from what is insignificant. He must make a choice, and the excellence of that choice depends upon his knowledge, his character, his beliefs, his prejudices. To be a perfect historian a man must be perfect.

This necessity has been overlooked. Historians have for the most part failed to understand even the problem they had to solve; and it is consequently not a matter for wonder if they failed to accomplish anything noteworthy. We have said that history was a narrative of events, but it has now become evident that to be good it must be a narrative of select events; and the question of importance in this connection is, to decide according to what rule or standard events are to be selected. To us it seems that, as far as possible, the selection of the events which are to form the material of history should be a natural selection; that is, a selection of the events themselves, rather than by the leanings of the historian—a survival of the fittest in his pages, altogether apart from his whims and wishes. To secure such a result, we must have a high, able man, who is open to the conviction of events, and not already become the slave to some trivial mechanical dialectic—one who has been raised above the common prejudices of the vulgar, who has discarded the superstitions of the ignorant, who is a partisan only of what is good, a believer only in what is true. In him the facts have fair play; in him, if in any man, facts may select themselves. To procure history, then, we must secure a historian. Not every garbled account of the past, not every zealot's view of the present, not every votary's adulations of his creed, not every general's description of his battles, deserves the name of history. History ought to be the articulation of the organised experience of centuries. That articulation, to be perfect, must come from the full lips of a harmonious and perfect man; not through the thin lips of an ascetic, who condemns to-day; nor through the rude lips of those who only live in to-day, and can see no excellence in the sainted past.

But further, when the writer has selected his materials, he must arrange them. This, too, is no easy matter. He has to draw the likeness of centuries on a canvas of minutes. But there is one almost insurmountable difficulty. The events of history come in crowds; he must treat them as individuals. In his narrative he must make sequence do the work of simultaneity. The world or country, whichever he describes, was wide. Events were taking place all over it at the same time. No event was a Melchisedec, without father and mother, or kith and kin; but each had innumerable relations to all the other



events which filled the time. The historian, however, can think of these only in succession. These events were knots, and he can only show the disentangled cords of which their stiff grip was composed. This, then, is almost an infinite difficulty. To give any true conception of the actual facts, the historian must convey the whole impression of this inter-relation and association in time. The facts did not dribble down the bare centuries in thin drops, but flowed down in massive floods. He must give an impression of solid from what is only surface. This is the great art of history, and there is only one method by which this result can be attained. No mere accumulation of incidents will give the impression which is desired so long as all are looked at from the same point of view. To get at the real directions of the bulk of time, we must look at it from various standpoints. We judge of the distance of the sun from the amount of apparent displacement of an object seen from the two different sides of the earth. When, however, we come to deal with the immense distances of the so-called fixed stars, the difference of these two positions is insufficient to be a basis of the calculation, and we have to take the two opposite points on the earth's orbit, which, instead of being 8000 miles apart, are 180,000,000 miles from one another.

Now, in judging of real distance, we are really arriving at a conclusion as to the solid or triply extended nature of the universe; and to arrive at the conception of the extension of history, we must introduce into the study of it, and the writing of it, a sort of moral parallax, which will enable us to correct the false estimates of narrow vision. When we look at a photograph, we lose the idea of solidity, because the picture was taken from one point in space: by taking pictures from two points in space, as far separated from one another as are our eyes, and by looking at these two pictures at the same time, we get back our impression of the solidity of the world, or of the three directions of all objects in space. This is the whole theory of the stereoscope; and in order to allow events to body themselves forth in all their dimensions, in order to introduce the idea of concurrence into our narrative, we must adapt some such method to the study of history. But to accomplish this our historian must have two eyes. He must be a man wide in sentiment, wide in experience, wide in sympathy. He must be able, as it were, to get away from himself. He must, at the same time, be himself and his antipodes. Parallax is impossible to one who is physically chained. Moral parallax is impossible to him who is cribbed and cabined in some narrow dogma, or confined in some trivial prejudice. But the qualities which we have claimed as the necessity of our historian are those which

are the true characteristics of the great man. Of him one-ness is not so much the distinguishing attribute as two-ness or many-ness. The rational man is the man who is divided against himself—in thought, for his conclusions are never so strong as to preclude doubt—in feeling, for his selfishness is never so great as to prevent that rational selflessness—a deep compassion. Nothing is so compact, so self-centred, as ignorance and prejudice. But such gifts as those we have alluded to are rare, and the accomplishment of a real history by such means is exceedingly difficult; so much so, that most writers have despaired of attaining the result, and have contented themselves with treating one department of history with straight reference, and more or less truth and accuracy. It is in this way we have political histories, military histories, ecclesiastical histories, histories of philosophy, histories of literature, histories of painting, histories of art. And each of these is rather a confession of the impossibility of writing history than a fair essay to achieve the object in view; each is rather a collection of material for the production of a history than a history. It would be the combination of these, and many others, into one living whole which would be the true work of the historian—a work which we may well despair of seeing accomplished.

One more preliminary question we may speak of in this place. For a long time it was thought that history was the sum of biographies, and indeed the biographies of one or two men who bulked most largely in the public eye seem to constitute some, at least, of our so-called histories. We have, it seems to us, a creed to thank for this aberration in the method of history. To many people the existence of some single individual is wholly significant. To them ages are reflections of their great man; whereas great men are the foci of the rays of their age. To them the influence of individuals upon periods has been all-powerful. According to the creed just mentioned, great men were the creators, not the children, of their times; and therefore it came about that the study of history was regarded as the study of individuals, and that we find eras and periods labelled with the names of single men or women. These tenets seem to have been connected with a philosophical theory as to the freedom of the will, and that reverence for great men which has found such an ardent advocate, and at the same time such a veritable hero, in Mr Carlyle. It is, however, a question whether this is not the most pernicious method of historical composition. It was founded on the error that the character of the age is created by the cataclysms of the gifted, instead of by the quiet, slow forces of the common. It took for granted that the times were changed by forces from above, instead of from below—which was like believing that the base

of a pyramid depended from the pointed crowning corner-stone, instead of the whole superstructure being supported on the base. And it was indeed on a par with the philosophy which ignored physiology in its reverence for self-probing or introspective psychology. Indeed, the same persons are the advocates of both these pernicious systems. Still it is doubtless true that history has much to do with biography. If it is not the sum of the biographies of an age, it is the essence of them. It is a story, not of individual lives, but a story of the life of races, the life of peoples, the life of nations, and in that authentic record the lives of individuals must weigh for what they are worth. We do not deny the potence of men, but we deny the impotence of conditions. We do not say that history must not have niches for biography, just as architecture has for sculpture; but we do deny that history is nothing more than the biographies of great men, and that when you have found the leaders of a century, you have found the forces of the time, and assert rather that they are the feathers which show the invisible winds of doctrine which blow all things in their broad drift.

Who shall tell the great man of an age? Was it he who took a town, or who made some small invention which lightened the bent back of labour, made nature more and more the slave of man, and man more and more free from the tyranny of nature? Was it he who made laws upon crumbling parchment, or he who, by some discovery, however trivial it might seem at the time, made laws for posterity—laws, too, which have had their efficacy, not in the suffering of any, but in the wealth and happiness of all?

Here, too, we may refer to another error which has found some votaries, and that is the somewhat undue importance which has been attached to histories of laws and constitutions. It was no wonder that writers made their histories full of the drum and fife, the banner and the clash of battles, for to readers such as they got these things were popular; but the writers of legal and constitutional histories had not that excuse for their misdeeds. They were not pandering to the tastes of the vulgar, but they devoted exclusive attention to these questions because they believed that they were indirectly "feeling the pulse" of the people while they were studying the medicines which certain physicians had thought it necessary to administer. They forgot that there was a possibility that they were only studying the ignorance and presumption of the doctor who had prescribed these remedies.

It is doubtless true that something is to be learned from the history of laws, for these are, looked at truly, the expression of the thoughts of mankind as to the conduct of life. Every law



was written on a heart before it was written in the statute-book. And in that laws and observances are the protection of the good against the bad, the outcome of the enduring sentiments of mankind, they have much and real significance to the historian. But the history of laws proves that the *bona fides* of the Legislature is not in every instance to be relied upon, and perhaps on the whole the life of the world is to be better studied in some of the minor matters of the cottage than in the major matters of the senate and the judgment-hall. He who said, "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who makes its laws," said well; and in as true a sense we might well say, that he who reads the songs of a people learns more of their history than he who studies their statute-book.

We have spoken of the writers of history, and their qualification for the task; but something must be said of the readers of history, and of their qualification for the task. He who cannot bring a manly heart to the book cannot understand the history of the heroic. He who cannot bring to the reading much that is in the book will fail to understand its meaning. Men only write and speak to their fellows; to a chimpanzee a Shakespeare is only a man. The reader must have some mind and some heart, otherwise the book was not written for him. It is true that on the book-level we are at our best. Even a mean man, if he has some sparks of generosity in his narrow heart, can feel with the generous action which is not done within his actual peddling sphere. Even the liar can laud truth, and the libertine virtue, when these are in books. But he who can bring no heart need not read—he cannot read about the generous. He who cannot enter into Plato's thought cannot read of Plato's life.

It follows, then, that in this copartnery of reading and writing books we find a compromise. Both the readers and the writers make the books. If the readers bring little to the books, the books will soon become trivial. If the books of a time are noble, there is something excellent, both in the men who indited and the men that perused their pages. In this way it comes, then, that books themselves are a good unconscious history of the intellectual history of an age. If we know a nation's likings, we know at least something of its life. But every writer has some responsibility. Each man is to some extent the teacher of his fellows. He who wields the pen wields a sceptre. He rules a country which may be invisible, but which is none the less real; and although he knows not his subjects, he has his grave responsibilities to them. A writer who merely writes for readers in those days is pretty sure to obtain them; but the duty of each writer of ability would seem to be to write for the best readers he can obtain, and that although he may possibly sell fewer copies of his

book, or get less excellent terms from his publisher. It is only by each man striving strenuously and earnestly to do his best that real excellence can be attained. If each man is content simply to do the best for his own pocket, the world will not advance; for it is through morality that advancement is to be obtained, and morality teaches men that a conscience is a better guide of conduct than a purse, and that the balance at one's publisher's is not the best standard of the literary excellence of the work named at the head of the ledger-page.

Of course there is excuse for the method of writing history or travels—and it is hard to say under which of these heads Mr Hepworth Dixon means his “*White Conquest*” to be classed—which has been adopted by our author. It is the libraries that buy such books, and the majority of library readers want something amusing, something entertaining. Indeed, the book to succeed in these days must be one which is capable of entering into competition with the novels, and it is certain that Mr Dixon's work will do this in more ways than one. We cannot see anything to admire in Mr Dixon's method. Goethe has said that there are three classes of men—the first, and lowest, is content if they see something going on; the second desire to feel; and the third, or highest, is not content unless they reflect. Mr Dixon has written for the first two of these three classes. He fills his pages with purposeless incident, with the most unfinished pictures of land and sea, with crude sketches of men and manners; but from the beginning of his book to the end there is something going on. He certainly is not tiresome. But further, he has written for those who desire to feel. He has accumulated innumerable stories of the escapades of the brigands of Texas and Nevada. He devotes several chapters to the miserable career of a half-caste, Vasquez, who was brutal in his cruelty, cowardly in his attacks, faithless to his friend, and false to his mistress, and who had the advantage of an interview with Mr Dixon before his execution, which took place in March last. But the early part of the first volume of Mr Dixon's book is full of those anecdotes of thieves and murderers which are popular with certain young readers, as may be surmised from the fact that there is a considerable sale of an American sixpenny library, in which the lives of such heroes are sketched, possibly with less regard to grammar, but probably with not less regard to historical accuracy, than that which we find in Mr Dixon's pages. Mr Dixon tells us (i. 75) that “*Lives of Vasquez, Adventures of Vasquez, Captures of Vasquez*, are written for the lowest grade of Mexican and Californian readers,” and thereupon he devotes two chapters at least to the history of this hero, which he has compiled doubtless from these authentic sources,

and which he offers for the perusal of the highest grade of English readers.

Not content with detailing how Moreno, another hero of the road, murdered his chief, Senati, for the sake of the fifteen hundred dollars which were offered for his body, dead or alive, and how he stabbed his comrade Bulvia, who had overheard the pistol-shot which terminated the disreputable career of Senati, and with a good many other stories of a similar kind, Mr Dixon dwells at considerable length, in the same volume, on "Blood-Atonement" (p. 232) and "White Vendetta." In this connection he has ascertained the interesting particulars of some brutal murders which have taken place in Carterville, in Illinois, where it appears that the rule of blood-atonement, or the exaction of a life for a life, an eye for an eye, is the rule of honourable conduct. Here a series of most diabolical outrages have come under the notice of our historian, who has, we doubt not, faithfully reproduced their haggard circumstances in his fluent pages.

Close upon these desultory sketches, which remind one rather of extracts from *Lloyd's Newspaper* than of a sober history which pretends to deal with the interesting problem of the future of the Whites on the American Continent, comes a chapter upon "Red War" (i. 251). In this chapter we find the particulars of the scalping of a gentleman who lived on Blue Ridge, and the carrying off of his daughters by a certain Grey Eagle, a chief of the Cheyennes, and of an attack upon some peaceful Osage Indians and their squaws by a Captain Rickers and his troop of horse, who are not satisfied with having secured their victory by fraud rather than courage, and with having killed four out of nineteen, but who go so far as to scalp, hack, and slash the dead bodies of their foes. All this is set down for us, like the story of the White Vendetta, with vivid power, and we have no reason to doubt the grim accuracy of any of these nice details. Then comes a chapter upon "Cherokee Feuds." Here, too, as might have been expected, there is a good deal of sensational material to be used up. A certain Billy Ross, who is the leader of the Conservative party amongst the Cherokees, seems to have threatened the town of Vinita, which was inhabited by Cherokees who favoured White reforms; and although we do not from our author learn what ultimately became of Vinita, or of the squaws, who were apparently already in the train which was to convey them into safety under the protecting guns of Fort Scott, we have the murder of Boudinot, the history of the Pin League, the shooting of Adair, all in the same short chapter. But for those who desire to feel, and who are not particular about their sensations, these volumes are full of occasions for shudders. In the chapter "Texas and Texans" we



have some lively descriptions of most lawless crime. This is one of the stories, more shortly than it is told by Mr Hepworth Dixon. A negro, named Zete Fly, quarrels with a boy, named Dixon, and shoots him there in the road. Dixon's brother goes to Zete Fly's house, and is shot dead by Zete. Some settlers determine to capture Zete, and deliver him up to justice. To secure their prisoner without danger to themselves, they propose to set his house on fire. The threat has the desired effect, and Zete, having given himself up, is being conducted to Gonzales by two of his captors, when he is taken from them by some seven or eight mounted men. These men, who were masked by the darkness, were the creatures of Judge Lynch. However, Zete's end was not yet. He was rescued from these men by the Blacks after a fight, and although wounded in the skirmish, was carried away by the Blacks, who tended and protected him in a ranche on the plains. Here, however, although surrounded by forty armed negroes, he was not safe. The Whites attacked them, and they ran away, leaving Zete and one man, who were shot dead by the Whites. All this is given with a glib quickness, sometimes even with picturesqueness, which could not fail to recommend a better theme, but which is, it seems to us, but ill used on such ghastly materials. If it was important to indicate the lawlessness of these border-lands, the object could have been effected without half the trouble; and at the best, it scarcely seems an end which demands any, seeing that every English reader is already somewhat conversant with the terrible relations which exist on these border-lands of country and the border-lands of race. But it is not only on that border-land that Mr Dixon finds work for his sensational sketching. Ordinary incidents seem to pall upon his somewhat morbid appetite at once, and he fills even his descriptions of San Francisco with stories of outrage and murder. Mr Dixon, during his residence in California, visited China Town, and after very meagre glimpses of the population, we get this startling bit of narrative:—

“In passing from yard to yard, you catch the slam of doors, the shot of bolts, and feel by instinct that every ruffian standing behind these planks, alarmed by strange footsteps and loud voices in the dead of night, is listening at his door, with hatchet raised to strike, or rifle poised to fire.

“‘Open the door!’ cries your guide in a peremptory tone, stopping in front of a log-cabin. ‘Open the door!’

“‘You foolee me? You foolee me?’

“‘No, no. Open the door!’

“The voice is recognised within, the door is slowly opened, and you peep into the crib—a cupboard as to size, but occupied by five or six

men and women. Heaps of stolen goods are on the floor ; but neither blade nor gun is visible. At another crib we are repulsed. To the inquiry, 'How? You fool me?' we answer as before, 'No, no;' but instead of seeing the door open, we catch the rapid exchange of whispers made.

" 'Go ; you not fool me !' cries a voice, accompanied by the click of a rifle.

" 'Dip and slide,' whispers our companion, and we instantly dip and slide " (ii. 266, 267).

This may be an accurate description of China Town, and Mr Dixon's late ramble may have been quite as intrepid as he describes ; but somehow we incline to the belief that the picture of every door defended by a ruffian, with hatchet or rifle, even on the occasion of our historian's untimely feat, is a little exaggerated, although we see no reason to doubt the truth of his assertion that he did "dip and slide."

We might have thought that such a grim description and such a hairbreadth escape would be enough of sensational incident for one chapter ; but no, only two pages further on we find Mr Dixon sipping tea on Lock Sin's balcony. Suddenly, "a yell comes from the street below."

" 'Excuse me,' says my escort, and before I can reply he is gone from my side. King vanishes like a ghost. Moonface, with knife, escapes just as my escort swoops into the murderous circle ; but the fellow with the hatchet is arrested on the spot, and carried to the city ward. His weapon, when examined, proves to be a long blade, sheathed in a layer of fine cloth, so that, in case of a fatal plunge, the blood might have been removed, and the stainless knife replaced under the white smock, as clean and innocent in appearance as the soft-eyed Asiatic who had plunged it into his neighbour's heart !"

This is all very fine writing, doubtless. The picture of the polite escort, who had, seeing murder and hearing yells in the street below, stayed to say "Excuse me" to Mr Dixon, "swooping" into the circle, which, by a sort of catacresis, Mr Dixon calls "murderous," is, of course, remarkable. The description of the precautions taken by the Chinaman with a view to escape detection "in case of a fatal plunge"—although why the precaution should have been against that one event it is hard to see—is, of course, interesting, but it is all of a piece with much that has the same excellence in these volumes.

But the fact seems to be, that Mr Hepworth Dixon has made up his mind never to allow his reader to think him dull. If he has no incident to glance at, he has some light joke or gentle anecdote to relate. His writing is light and lively, his

sketches slight and quick, his incidents sensational, and his reflections trivial. The whole movement of thought through his pages is rapid. But this intense desire not to weary his readers shows that Mr Dixon has very little faith in the value of the message he has to convey. The ambassador from the world of facts to the court of mind will be received whether he is lively or dull. If a man has something great to tell, he will think less of the necessity to amuse his hearers. Amusement is of use to attract attention when interest fails. In the best period of Gothic architecture the builders were never afraid to have blank wall-spaces ; but when the art had become less excellent, the architects fretted their walls with ornaments. The great men of the middle period of Gothic, strong in the sense of their own power in the perfection of their art, never thought of time serving the eye with bespattered ornaments, but were content to leave passages of broad prose in their great stone poems. The lesser men of the later period, with less high thought, with less real merit, were not satisfied if there were passages even of blank verse in their structures, but jingled every stone couplet, and made up for the want of the essentials of poetry in their work by the adoption of the more poetical forms of expression.

Now, Mr Dixon is a writer who reminds one of that more florid period of architecture. He has very little of importance to convey to his readers, and he has consequently to exert himself to convey that little in such a way as to be most attractive. One can take medicine in spite of its bad taste ; but if one becomes aware that the so-called medicine is simply bread-pills, and that it has no therapeutic value, then its bitterness may be a deterrent from the valetudinarian indulgence. So it is with the medicine of books. If one knows that the thoughts are full of healing, one can take them in spite of occasional weariness. If, on the other hand, one knows that the thoughts are simply inert, one may still partake of them as a luxury if they delight the palate, but will one swallow them if they disgust ? Mr Dixon seems to know that his books can have no permanent value, and he has consequently endeavoured to please and attract those readers who desire to see something going on, and to have the luxury of feeling. He who writes for the ignorant has a chance of having more readers than he who writes for those who have culture.

We said, however, that there were three classes of men, and consequently three classes of readers. And while we have admitted that Mr Dixon has written directly for the first two classes, we cannot overlook the fact that he has pretended to write for the third also. He has assumed an audience amongst those who think as well as amongst those who see and feel. His



work pretends to be a contribution to a very curious chapter of the history of race.

There is no more interesting question than that with regard to the effect and influence of one race upon another. The whole of nature is full of fighting, and the world is only one great battlefield; but it is curious to note that it is to this terrible internecine war that all real development is ultimately traceable. The museum shelves of the strata show the remains of many extinct races of plants and animals, and these races have ceased to be in consequence of the great battles which have raged in the past, battles which rage even now. But not only have certain kinds of plants and animals passed away, and left the world for those of their kin which had more skill to live, but it would seem that the same process is at the present time going on on the higher level of humanity—that certain races are dying out, and leaving their places for races with more pliable, with more capable vitality. It is this phase of history which Mr Hepworth Dixon pretends to deal with in the work before us. It is this victory of race over race which is referred to in the title of his book, and to which he repeatedly refers in the course of his desultory narrative. He distinctly says:—

“A negro cannot stand the impact of free life; the pressure rends and grinds him. All the vital forces of this world are relative, and for twenty centuries Europe has been the nursery of living power. Europe supplies the other continents with life—life in plants and animals, as well as in the higher forms of man. You bring a spruce from Europe to America. That spruce will grow into a forest, and will kill the native trees all round. Import a horse and cow, and they will drive out buffalo and elk. The lower forms give way in the presence of the higher type” (ii. 143).

This passage is, we need scarcely say, full of fallacies; for it is evident that the law enunciated is universally false, that the lower forms do not give way in the presence of the higher, that the success of lower or higher forms depends entirely upon conditions external to the organisation of each, and that “low” and “high,” as used by Mr Dixon, have a meaning only in relation to the conditions in which the organism is placed. Further, we need scarcely say that the horse or cow by themselves would never drive out the elk or buffalo, but that the domestic horse and cow, with man’s assistance, may well introduce conditions into a continent which are incompatible with the continued survival of wild animals. But it is a poetical licence to talk about the meek cow driving out the fierce buffalo, and the docile horse chasing the wild deer. We quote the above passage, however, to show what work Mr Dixon has in hand when he meddles with “*White Conquest.*”

Now it is certain that a thorough treatment of the problems connected with this important question of race would have been a valuable contribution to history; but unfortunately Mr Dixon has not dealt with the subject in a way to commend itself to the student of ethnology, or to anybody who desires more than a smattering narrative of unstable social conditions. He has not formulated any law; he has not even observed or reported any facts which could be useful in this relation. His study of the many ruffraff incidents of border-life seems to have led him to the conclusion that the crossing of breeds is not an advantage to the offspring, and that hybrids generally inherit all the vices of both the races of their parents.\* But this observation has been made repeatedly before. De Warren, speaking of the half-castes of India, says that they inherit more of the vices of both parents than the virtues of either.† But even with regard to the main part of this history—the “White Conquest”—Mr Dixon leaves his reader in very great doubt as to whether there is any real White Conquest after all.

It was certainly unnecessary at this time to write a history in two volumes to say that the Indians are dying out, as it is a fact with which everybody has been familiar for a very great number of years. In that direction the White Conquest has been a certainty for more than a century. With reference to the Blacks, the future seems less definitely foreshadowed. We have seen that in one place Mr Dixon says the “negro cannot stand the impact of free life;” but when he really deals at length with the question, he has nothing so certain to bring forward; indeed, his chapter on “Black Ascendancy” (ii. 134), is full of most interesting questions, to which our author seems unable to give any satisfactory answer. In one place, he says—“Every statist owns that they (the Africans) are not growing under freedom as they grew under servitude;” but then elsewhere, after speaking of the diminution of the number of negroes in the Northern States, he says—“Whether the whole displacement springs from a mere shifting of the Africans from North to South is matter of dispute.” Then again—“Will the Black men under freedom fail as the Red men fail?” (ii. 141). Now this is doubtless a very interesting question, and it is one of the questions which we should have expected Mr Dixon, in dealing with White Conquest, not only to have asked, but to have answered. However, no answer is vouchsafed. His description

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\* Vol. i. p. 65.

† Perier, *Mém. de la Soc. d'Anthrop. de Paris*, vol. ii. 1865, p. 293. See also letter to the *Times* of 9th September 1874, from the Archdeacon of Calcutta; *Macmillan's Magazine*, October 1874, p. 558. See also Waitz, “*Anthropology*,” vol. i. p. 201.

of the Southern States shows that in many of them the Blacks at the present time exercise very considerable political influence. The history of the machinations of Kellogg in New Orleans, some of the features of which were personally observed, and are here picturesquely enough described by Mr Dixon, shows that Presidents of the United States who desire a "third term," although they may have ultimately to "back down," may think it well to conciliate the Black populations even if it is necessary to violate constitutional principles, and become a dictator for the nonce, in order to secure the vote of the coloured people. In passing, we would say that the early chapters in the second of these two volumes, in which the doings in New Orleans in the last days of 1874 and the first weeks of 1875 are described, are perhaps the best in Mr Dixon's work. True, we cannot believe every word he says even in this connection, although he seems to have been an eyewitness of some of the scenes alluded to. There is too much picturesqueness about some of these to recommend the descriptions as accurate; but, on the whole, the sketches are spirited, and the description sufficiently explicit to make the relations of various actors readily understood, while the details are not so numerous as to overload the slight incidents which are, after all, the staple of the story. But we must remember Mr Dixon has undertaken to deal with the Black question. He has stated the problem; and although he has not answered it directly, it would be interesting to discover if he has given the materials for a rational solution.

His description of the condition of South Carolina would, it seems to us, indicate that the Blacks in America are not helpless, that the "impact of freedom" has not done them much harm. As appears from the last census, there are ten Africans to seven Europeans in that State, and though the Whites have majorities in ten of the counties, the Blacks have majorities in twenty-two. But again, Mr Dixon points out that South Carolina is daily becoming more and more the country of the Blacks. He describes a great zone of swamp and savannah, stretching from Cape Fear to the Mississippi, which is the new home of these congregating Africans. "Within this zone," he remarks, "he lives and thrives; and if he has a preference within this zone, it is for the hot and humid regions lying between Columbia and the sea. Climate and produce suit him equally. Squash is cheap, tobacco grows wild, and sugar-canes abound. Here, if anywhere, the negro may hope to make a stand" (ii. 136). This statement of itself is some answer to the question, Must the Blacks fail? and it shows that the Blacks are making a good use of their freedom, and have learned one great lesson—the necessity of propitiating conditions. Here,



then, we hear that the Blacks are thriving ; but against that we must weigh his suggestion that every fact points to the probable decrease of the Black family under freedom (i. 348). "The Whites," he says, "are recruited from Europe ; the Blacks are not recruited from Africa. One force expands, the other wanes."

This is an indication of Mr Dixon's slipshod method of dealing with great questions. In another part of this work (ii. 356), he takes a great deal of trouble to show emigration from Europe to America is coming to an end. He offers some statistics to show that the number of emigrants to the United States has very materially diminished ; he points to the fact that now in England and Ireland you can find many persons who have been to America and have returned as an indication that the tide has turned, and to the fact that Germany has become alive to the drain of emigration upon her human resources, and is about to take means to prevent the continued exodus of her people. Indeed, in so many words, Mr Dixon, forgetting what he had said in the first volume as to the recruiting of the White population, at the end of the second says that the springs from which the increase came are drying up\* (ii. 358), and that that circumstance is a cause of panic amongst the Whites, whose conquest he had undertaken to celebrate. On the whole, then, we find that Mr Dixon shillyshallies with this question, and gives us no reason for believing that there is any probability that the Blacks will be beaten in the struggle for existence which is raging on the Western Continent. One argument he brings forward in support of his belief that the Blacks must succumb to the Whites, and that is, that even in the swamp and savannah of South Carolina infanticide is very common, and that negroes are averse to rearing children. But is that an argument at all ? Infanticide never killed out a race ; indeed, we may say that no race ever died by suicide, but that every dead race has been murdered. Child-murder is a proof that the population is prolific. Infanticide is the result of a too numerous, not of a too sparse, population. But besides, infanticide can be put an end to. If it is so common, it calls for stricter laws, and the more firm and careful administration of justice. One of Mr Dixon's own illustrations shows the futility of his reasoning—"Child-murder, I am told, is now as common in the negro swamp as in a Chinese street" or on a Tartar steppe" (ii. 140). Surely the fact that it is common amongst the Chinese and Tartars shows that it is not destructive of a race, and that it is

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\* "America must lean in future on her own staff, and stand by her own strength ; expecting no more help from Europe than England expects from Germany, or Italy expects from France" (ii. 365).

only where life is prolific that populations are reckless of it. But Mr Dixon's utterances as to the Whites are quite as contradictory as those with regard to the Blacks. We find him in one place saying that Black ascendancy will fail before White science (ii. 143), and prophesying the extinction of the Black races before the White; in another we find him referring to the fact that the birth-rate in America amongst the Whites is rapidly declining\* and to the opinion of able statist and physicians that the White race cannot live on the American soil (ii. 310). Does that look like White conquest? How can America continue her conquest with a dwindling population? How can we hope for White ascendancy with increasing and thriving Black populations?

But there is another important aspect of this subject, which is dealt with by Mr Dixon under the title of the "Yellow Question." Mr Dixon has, it seems, become a little infected with the alarmist spirit of the Western States in connection with the increasing immigration of Chinese into San Francisco. It has, without doubt, become a question of very great importance in the United States, and Mr Dixon has devoted a good deal of space to its miscellaneous discussion. Like all the rest of Mr Dixon's discussions and reflections, the whole question is left ultimately in doubt. He is quite in doubt himself as to the real significance of this increment to the population of the United States, and he is consequently unable to assist his reader to any definite thought on the matter. Still he says quite enough to show that the Chinaman is a most formidable rival to the White man on the American Continent. The fact that he is driving the European out of every workshop, every manufactory, every service, and every trade; the fact that he has the qualities which enable him to do better and more cheaply what the European has only done well, are not to be lost sight of when speculating as to the future of America. Ultimately the fight there, as all over the world, will be to those who are strong in the qualities possessed by the emigrant Mongol. A time will come when those who can work the hardest upon the sparest diet, and still maintain the maximum of health, must be the survivors of the more voracious and less capable workers. The Chinese have proved themselves most apt at learning trades, most industrious in their pursuits, most docile in their service. They live on rice, and are content with a "whiff of opium and a pinch of tea," and can consequently underbid any worker who eats beef and drinks beer, in the labour-market. "John," says Mr

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\* The birth-rate in the United States is lower than that of any country in Europe.

Dixon, "will live and save where Pat must shrink and fall" (ii. 236). It is an admitted fact that the number of Chinese arriving in America is yearly increasing; and even if Mr Dixon has a little exaggerated the numbers from thousands to tens of thousands—even if his friend the senator in Sacramento has over-anticipated the future, which is to bring "tens of millions whence the tens of thousands came,"—the facts are large enough to make the matter one of the utmost importance, and have been thought worthy of some sentences in the President's recent message to Congress. Mr Dixon, with his usual pleasure in indulging in large statements founded upon hasty observations, rather than in accurate inferences from exhaustive and laborious inquiries, speaks thus of the Chinese immigration:—"Under the increase of such an invasion from China, threatening at no distant date to swallow up the civilisation of Europe in the barbarism of Asia," &c. But if that is so, are we not looking forward rather to a Yellow than to a White conquest; if that is so, where is the truth of Mr Dixon's thesis, that "Europe supplies the other continents with life—life in plants and animals, as well as in the higher forms of men" (ii. 143), or of his interesting question, "Are shades of colour grades of power?" (i. 280), which he answers in the affirmative, with a great many loose epigrams. "No white people serve a dusky ruler, and no aristocratic class is black." "In every part of Europe people in the upper ranks are fairer than people in the lower ranks."

So much, then, for the value of our author's main speculation—the speculation as to the future of the White race on the American Continent. We have seen how one of his pages contradicts another; we have seen how he vacillates in his opinions, and how he jumps at his judgments. We have discovered the sparseness of his facts, the inaccuracy of his observations, and the worthlessness of his conclusions; and we have found that the facts which he himself has set forth are in many instances far from compelling to the conclusions at which—when he has any wish in the matter—he would have us arrive. We confess, then, to a feeling of disappointment that the great issues which were hinted at by the title of his book have not been disposed of; that they have, in fact, only been surrounded with a great deal of limp reflection and flippant writing. However well Mr Dixon may have succeeded in making a book for those who want to see and those who want to feel, we cannot say that he has contributed anything for Goethe's third class, or for those who desire to think. Our conclusion, therefore, is, that this is not the way to write history. We spoke of the method of history in an earlier part of this article, and we admitted the great difficulties which lay in the way of



any one who aspired to narrate those large stories which have for their object the making of the past present, the bringing of the distant near. What we have said of "White Conquest" will show that we do not consider that Mr Dixon has succeeded in that difficult task. We look upon his clever sketches and slender thoughts as well calculated to take the place of common novels in idle hands for a not unpleasant hour or two, but his work, as a whole, can never become of permanent value in the library of history. He has somewhat feebly, in his interrogation of the past, derived for us information for the future. The past he deals with is a quite recent past, and yet he does not bring that before us as a master would. A real master would bring us to the past in its reality, and not to the mere fictional ghost of a past which can be vamped up by any lively imagination, and described by any quick pen. Besides, the writer about the past ought to be "upon honour," and we confess that we think Mr Dixon sometimes loses sight of that rule. Again, we think that the writer who would make the distant near, who would bring the *there* here, must make the great endeavour at his peril. If he is to succeed, he must not bring gossip fragments of the foreign home to us—he must not bring us only tales of bandits, of White vengeance, of Red war, of Yellow feuds, and other wild romances; for even if they are not mere travellers' tales, if they are true in fact, they are false in being dissociated from other circumstances with which they were actually associated. He must give us the whole or nothing. We cannot think that Mr Dixon has done this. When he reflects, as he is very fond of doing, upon the large social questions which the scene presents—when he deals with prohibitive legislation in relation to drink (ii. 329), upon education (ii. 340), or on the question of sex (ii. 310), we find him thinking with desultory breadth, and expatiating with conceited inconsequence. He is not gifted by nature with the faculties which enable him to deal strongly with any of these problems; and as most of these are obstreperous enough, it is not a matter for wonder if he fails to conduct the investigations to anything like satisfactory conclusions.

But although in all these respects Mr Dixon fails—although he cannot bring the past to life, although he cannot bring what is not here here, although his speculations upon society and the great questions which are to be studied in connection with that living organism are, for the most part, worthless, and although he has therefore failed to write either a great history or a good book of travels, we cannot deny him the credit of having written a very readable book. That is his merit. Here is his description of San Francisco, which is, we suppose, meant to be very fine—

"Closing the passage by the Golden Gate, a city of white houses, spires, and pinnacles rises from the water-line, and rolling backward over flat and sand-drift, strikes a headland on the right, and surging up two hills, creams round their sides, and runs in foam to yet more distant heights" (i. 254).

Here is a unique description of a tortuous journey—

"From Winnemucca, an Indian camp in Nevada, to Brigham, a prosperous Mormon town in Salt Lake Valley, we *race* and *wriggle* through a mountain district, not more striking in physical aspect than in human interest. *Rolling* on the level of Ben Nevis, with a score of snowy peaks in front and flank, we *climb* through woods of stunted pine, ascending by the Pallisades to Pequop, at the height of Mont d'Or, from which we *slide* by way of Humboldt's Well and the American desert direct to Brigham, in the land of Zion" (ii. 182).

In his description of the Rotunda, New Orleans, he says—

"Persons present—General Sheridan, with his staff; Lieutenant-Governor Penn, Senators, Members of Congress, foreign Consuls, sea-captains, newspaper scouts, orderlies, messengers, telegraph clerks, and other crowds, including two English travellers" (ii. 112).

But Mr Dixon's taste is not better than his style. Here are one or two of his jokes—

"Here you play billiards, there poker, everywhere the deuce" (ii. 113).

This is what he reports of certain White damsels in San Francisco. One reads "in one of Helen M. Coke's rhapsodies that 'kisses on the brow' make the richest diadem for a woman. 'Guess that sort of kisses is rather *thin*,' sneers a girl; 'and I doubt whether Nellie Coke herself likes them very much.'"

"'Guess my husband's got to look after me, and make himself agreeable to me, if he can,' says a pretty young woman in a tone of banter, but a tone that carries much meaning. 'If he don't, there's plenty will'" (i. 166).

This is Mr Dixon's idea of refinement. But notwithstanding the numerous and grave faults in the work before us, there is certainly some pleasant reading in it. If Mr Dixon is content with the success which this can obtain for it, we have no right to complain. We have no doubt that Mr Dixon has done his best, but it is the critic's duty to point out that Mr Dixon's *best* is not *the best*, and to show how it falls short of excellence.

#### ART. IV.—THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAN.

1. *Pre-Historic Times*. By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., F.R.S., &c.
2. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. New Edition, Article "Anthropology." By E. B. TYLOR, F.R.S., &c.
3. *Antiquity of Man*. By SIR CHARLES LYELL, F.R.S.
4. *Man's Place in Nature*. By T. H. HUXLEY, F.R.S.

THE good people of Darlington have lately celebrated a most interesting jubilee, that of the opening of the first railway for general traffic. Tramways had existed previously, and even locomotives had been employed for goods traffic, but in 1825 the first passenger trains were run. If we look around us and see the vast network of railways, not only in our own land, but on the Continent, and not only in Europe, but in Asia, Africa, and America, when we see the iron roads carried over and through lofty mountains, through trackless deserts, and into the heart of countries inhabited by savages, we find it hard to realize the fact that all this is the work of a short half-century, within the remembrance of men still in their prime ; that Gladstone and Disraeli, the Emperor William, the Pope, and many more still capable of holding the sceptre and swaying the destinies of nations, can look back to a time when these things were undreamt of, or, if dimly hinted at by men of science, were laughed at as the impracticable dreams of wild enthusiasts. Yet railways, wonderful as they are, have been surpassed by younger inventions still. Steamships, the telegraph, with its marvellous submarine extensions, the spectroscope and its revelations, photography and its various uses, have all followed in the wake of railways, and each would have sufficed to make a century famous in the annals of progress.

If, then, all these inventions, and many more, have sprung into existence within fifty years, it would seem reasonable to suppose that all the arts of civilization may have been developed within six thousand years, and that the orthodox, in holding fast to the chronology of the Bible as interpreted by Usher, and believing the first man to have been created B.C. 4004, have good grounds for supposing that date to be consistent with the progress made within the historic period and in the present generation ; but, as Sir Charles Lyell says—

“ We see in our own times that the rate of progress in the arts and sciences proceeds in a geometrical ratio as knowledge increases, and so



when we carry back our retrospect into the past, we must be prepared to find the signs of retardation augmenting in a like geometrical ratio ; so that the progress of a thousand years at a remote period may correspond to that of a century in modern times, and in ages still more remote man would more and more resemble the brutes in that attribute which causes one generation exactly to imitate in all its ways the generation which preceded it."\*

And we find, in fact, that science, which has crowded into so narrow a space so many great inventions, has also within the same period opened out a vista stretching back into such an immeasurable antiquity, that the mind fairly shrinks from the contemplation. Backward into the past it has led us, and bid us imagine the earth upon which we live, the sun itself, with all its attendant planets and satellites, comets and aerolites, as a vast nebulous mass gradually accumulating and condensing, gradually shaping itself into the forms we see, gradually cooling and shrinking, till vapour became water, and a fiery molten mass crystallized into rocks, this cooling and shrinking process continuing until, at length, after who can tell how many ages, the earth became fitted for living organisms. These, low and imperfect at first, slowly rising in the scale of being, till man appears,—the grandest and latest work of creation, say the orthodox,—the crowning-point of development up to this present, say the disciples of Darwin ; but it may be, to be superseded hereafter by a still higher and more perfect form.

Anthropologists have not celebrated their jubilee with the railway officials at Darlington, yet they might well have done so, for it is little more than fifty years since their science sprang into being. In the last edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" it had barely a name, in the present it occupies thirty pages, and this is but a sketch, a bare outline of a subject which is practically inexhaustible, the field being wide as the earth, and the time it occupies immeasurable, embracing the real and active present, the past for countless ages, and stretching far away into the unknown future. History is but a speck on the pages of this vast record, antiquity and tradition only useful but imperfect indices to the first chapter; and beyond them stretch page upon page written in firm and indelible characters, awaiting but an able interpreter to yield their marvellous secrets to the world. It is only within the present century that any attempt has been made to decipher this most interesting record, but the crowded room of the anthropological section at the recent meeting of the British Association at Bristol testified to its ever-increasing interest. Formerly, any bold inquirer who ventured to glance beyond the historical preface, as in-

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\* *Antiquity of Man*, cap. xix. p. 377.

terpreted by authority, was scouted as an atheist. To have openly asserted a belief that the earth and man had existed more than six thousand years would have called down such a storm of ecclesiastical censure, and such a chorus of lay ridicule, that a sentence of excommunication in Romish times would have been nothing to the opprobrium with which the bold innovator would have been visited. It is amusing to take up an old book of Natural History, and to see with what self-complacency the author sets to work to account for facts which thrust themselves before his eyes, but are not to be explained by the limited amount of scientific knowledge at his command. Thus fossil forms are constantly described as strange freaks of Nature, reproducing the forms of living organisms in stone; or a legend is forthcoming to account for them, as in the case of the ammonites, which, as we all know, were once serpents, deprived of their heads and turned into stone by the prayers of St Hilda; whilst the bones of extinct mammals occasionally found figure as the skeletons of giants slain by knights of renown. When at the beginning of the present century men began to study with interest the monuments and written histories of Eastern nations, and found in them records carrying back history to a remote past beyond the days of Noah and of Adam, the scholar just learning his alphabet smiled contemptuously from the height of his superior knowledge upon the fables of these benighted heathens, and treated the cycles of Egypt, the astronomical records of China and Chaldea, or the Yugs of India, as the inventions of a boastful and designing priesthood, anxious to enhance thereby the glories of their national history. Yet the discoveries of modern science in geology, astronomy, and ethnology go far to prove that the traditions of these ancient peoples, however derived, after making due allowance for Oriental allegory and poetic hyperbole, are not far from the truth. Take, for instance, the almost universal tradition of the aqueous origin of the earth slowly rising from the ocean; whether fished up from the depths by Maui, or called into being by Brahma, or hatched by doves from the mundane egg in Assyria, the tradition is the same, of a period of watery chaos, in which human life had no part, a time in which the gods reigned, and after an immense interval created man. Take, again, the vast cycles of Egypt, wherein the stars returned to their places after a circle of constant change, only to start again on their unwearied march; or look at the traditions of Babylon respecting the monstrous forms at first created, from which sprang those we now see, and observe how closely these three traditions, held by the most civilised peoples of the ancient world, correspond with the discoveries of geologists, astronomers, and ethnologists in our own day, the difference between the two being, that whilst with the ancients these things were matters of

belief founded upon vague tradition, with ourselves they are worked out slowly and laboriously by the sure deductions of science, and are being gradually built up upon such a solid basis of truth, that no future storms will ever be able to undermine or make a breach in the structure. The scientists of the present day are wise master-builders, and know the necessity of laying a firm foundation if the superstructure is to last; hence many stones apparently sound have been rejected on account of some flaw, and replaced by others firmer and more substantial, until the building begins to show itself in all its fair and massive proportions, capable of resisting all attacks. The early geologists, when they first began to perceive, from facts which could not be gainsaid, that the previous history of the earth, as revealed by science, was not exactly in accordance with that which theologians had taught, were perplexed exceedingly. Could it be possible that all they saw had been brought about in six thousand years? Here they found traces of ancient river-beds which had long since become dry land; there a stream had hewn for itself a channel many feet deep through solid rock: here, high up the mountain's side, and many miles from the sea, were beds of sea-shells and pebbles; there, beneath the ocean, were miles of submerged forest. At first these curious facts were accounted for as the effects of a series of mighty cataclysms, which were supposed to have rent the rocks and upheaved the mountains, and buried large tracts of land suddenly beneath the waves: but by and by it began to be seen that this theory was untenable; that although in some cases the phenomena observed might be referred to sudden catastrophes, yet in others, and those by far the most numerous, the traces of *gradual* change were evident, and the facts not to be accounted for by any other hypothesis. And thus by degrees it came to be acknowledged on all hands that either the accepted date of the creation must be abandoned, or else that there had been *many* creations, of which ours was the latest. In support of this latter theory, many strange forms presented themselves to the geologist, creatures having apparently no representatives on our present earth; yet it was soon perceived that although some of the types had died out, many remained but slightly modified even to our own day, the evident progenitors of living species; and anatomical science began to recognise in this also a gradual progression, instead of a sudden extinction followed by a new creation, till at last it was seen and acknowledged that there was no break in the chain of continuity; that from the cozoön to the stately elephant, the tide of life flows on unbroken and unchecked. One stronghold alone seemed to remain to the upholders of the ancient faith: man was certainly a later and a distinct creation. The earth might indeed have been preparing for him for a length of ages, but Adam was undoubtedly



formed from the dust of the ground, a perfect man, endowed with faculties far above the brute creation, and taught by God to use those faculties in order to subdue the universe, and to raise himself to the highest degree of civilization, even if not from the first instructed in all wisdom. No trace of this highly-endowed being could be found in geologic times; it was only in the most superficial deposits that human remains and human works could be discovered, and he certainly had no existence in those ages when the earth was filled with strange, uncouth forms so different from those of our day. This position appeared for a long time impregnable; but lately even that has been assailed, and already it totters to its foundation; for the works of man, and, although rarely, his remains also, have been found in positions, and under circumstances, which cannot fail to convince the unprejudiced seeker for truth that man has existed for countless ages; and although he may not have been contemporary with the gigantic saurians, and other fossil types now extinct, yet that he certainly did exist with huge mammals which have quite passed away. Moreover, the works of pre-historic man, wherever found, tell the same unvarying tale: first of a very low type of humanity, content with the rudest of weapons, rough flints sharpened to a point by blows from another flint, rising gradually to the use of better and more artistically-formed weapons, polished with care, then to a knowledge of gold, silver, copper. A little later, these weapons of stone, polished or unpolished, yield to implements of bronze; and considerably later, these in their turn are replaced by those of iron, and with the latter, history dawns, and all is clear. These are the facts which modern researches have *unearthed*, and they have led naturalists further still; for, tracing man back to the lowest state of savagery, there seems but a step between him and the apes. Thus Mr Darwin boldly asserts that he is descended, not indeed from any known existing species of ape, but from an ape-like creature now extinct, thus forming the last link in that chain of progression whereby life, originating on our globe in a manner at present undetermined, has continued to evolve new forms, ever advancing in the scale of being, and culminating at present in man.

Let us consider as succinctly as possible, first, what grounds there are for the belief in the antiquity of man; and, secondly, how far Darwin and other naturalists are justified in considering him to be developed from some lower form.

I. The late Sir Charles Lyell, in his celebrated work on the "Antiquity of Man," brings all his skill as a geologist and naturalist to bear on this subject, and his deductions have been very generally adopted by later writers as practically unassailable. Beginning with the more obvious traces of man and his works,

as shown in the kitchen-middens of Denmark and the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, Italy, and Ireland—which all yield certain proofs, not only of man's existence at a remote period, but of his knowledge of some of the useful arts, as of fishing, the art of making articles of dress and pottery, the domestication of animals, and even of agriculture, and the epoch of which may, to a certain extent, be measured not only by the internal evidence they offer, but also by the changes in their surroundings during historic times, and which he therefore designates as *recent*—he works backwards to that remote past represented by the extinct mammalia, and proves that man was contemporary with them by the juxtaposition of tools undoubtedly human, although rude in form, with the bones of the mastodon, gigantic elk, and other smaller species of mammalia now found only in a fossil state embedded in caves or in undisturbed river-gravels, the date of which can hardly be determined within thousands of years. Yet all the evidence collected by Lyell takes man back only to the commencement of the latest geologic epoch, termed by him the Post-Pliocene or Pleistocene, by some other geologists designated as Quaternary; and beyond this lie epochs of incalculable length, in all of which land and ocean teemed with life, some forms of which can be traced even to the present day, but from which man, and even the *Quadrumanus*, are absent. Nevertheless, Sir Charles Lyell thinks that the remains of man may yet be found in Pliocene strata, and more recent explorers in that field in which Lyell was the pioneer already believe that such have been found. Sir John Lubbock says—"M. Desnoyers has called attention to some marks noticed by him on bones found in the Upper Pliocene beds of St Prest, and believes these marks to have been made by man," noting especially several crania of deer, "all broken in a particular way, by a violent blow given on the skull, between, and at the base of, the horns. M. Steenstrup has noticed fractures of this kind in other less ancient skulls of ruminants; and at the present day some of the Northern tribes treat the skulls of ruminants in the same manner." "At the same place that indefatigable archæologist, M. l'Abbé Bourgeois, has more recently discovered worked flints, including flakes, awls, and scrapers." "At the meeting in Spezzia of the Société Italienne des Sciences Naturelles, Professor G. Ramorino exhibited some bones of Pliocene age said to bear marks of knives." \*

Sir John Lubbock, though slow, like all truly scientific inquirers, to admit evidence unless thoroughly sifted, yet goes further than Sir Charles Lyell, and believes that man "must have had representatives in Miocene times;" but he adds, "We

\* Pre-Historic Times, p. 411.

need not, however, expect to find the proofs in Europe; our nearest relatives in the animal kingdom are confined to hot, almost tropical climates, and it is in such countries that we must look for the earliest traces of the human race." \* Yet, strange to say, spite of the presumed tropical origin of man, the most ancient relics of the human race yet discovered in Europe point to the Pre-Glacial, Glacial, or immediately Post-Glacial Epoch, as that of his first appearance on that continent—i.e., a period of extreme cold—although the existence side by side of the reindeer, musk ox, and other animals now confined to extreme northern latitudes, with the elephant, cave lion, cave hyæna, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus, whose modern representatives now live only in tropical or semi-tropical regions, have led to many conflicting opinions as to the climate of Europe during the Quaternary Period. It would appear that two Glacial Epochs have left their traces on our Continent, separated by a period of semi-tropical heat, during which animals representing both extremes may have existed together, the one gradually disappearing as the other advanced, in accordance with the slow change of temperature; and it has been pointed out that many of the ancestors of the present tropical mammalia were in pre-historic times covered with thick hair, which would have enabled them to exist in much colder latitudes than those they at present occupy. The mammoth, indeed, has been actually found embedded in the ice of Siberia, still retaining both flesh and hairy covering, as represented in the remarkable drawing found in the Dordogne caves. Sir Charles Lyell, judging from a calculation made by Mr Croll of the varying excentricity of the earth's orbit, and the change of climate consequent thereupon, sets down 800,000 years before the present century as the probable date of the Glacial Epoch, believing that the subsequent changes in the conformation of the land, and the variations in the range and distribution of aquatic and terrestrial animals which take place at so slow a rate, could hardly have occurred within the more moderate period of 200,000 years assigned for them by Sir John Lubbock. To those who have not given themselves to geologic researches, even the smaller of these periods will appear sufficiently startling, especially when we remember that the advent of man on the earth is supposed to coincide with, or to immediately follow, the Glacial Epoch; yet, when compared with the enormous calculations of astronomers and geologists, 200,000 years seems but an insignificant factor in the history of our globe; and before condemning as chimerical and absurd the deliberate convictions of so many eminent men, we must consider a little more closely the reasons assigned by them for their convictions.



Leaving out of our calculations the Age of Bronze, with which Sir John Lubbock commences his history of pre-historic times, but which certainly verges upon the historic, although extending backwards for an indefinite period, including at least *some* of the lake-dwellings and tumuli, if not the kitchen-middens, we go back to the Age of Stone, divided by archaeologists into Neolithic and Paleolithic. In the first of these periods, the latest in time, the stone implements used were carefully ground and polished; in the latter, they were rough and unpolished, being simply, although often very skilfully, chipped into shape. It must not, however, be imagined, that a hard and fast line can be drawn between the two types; they frequently run into each other by almost imperceptible gradations; and it is now generally allowed, that even after bronze had long been manufactured, stone implements were in common use, and were retained longer still for ceremonial purposes; for it is known that in Egypt, up to a late period, a sharp stone knife was employed to make the first incision in the corpse for the purposes of embalming; and it is readily acknowledged by antiquaries, that at a period when metal was yet scarce, stone, being abundant, and always ready to the hand, would be employed for many purposes, and that the implements thus employed would probably be rough, chipped flints, and not polished tools, which would take time to perfect; hence the apparent anomaly observed in many mounds and tumuli of rude stone weapons side by side with those of bronze. Yet, notwithstanding all the seeming contradictions offered by well-authenticated finds of implements of a Paleolithic type in use with or after those of bronze, it may be emphatically affirmed that there was an age in which metal was unknown, when the most perfect weapons were those made of polished stone, supplemented by others of bone, wood, and shell, and that, beyond this, a period may be traced in which the only implements known were rudely-chipped flints, and perhaps rough clubs of the roots and branches of trees.

To the Neolithic, or polished-stone period, belong most of the lake-villages of Switzerland, and the kitchen-middens of Denmark. In the former have been found, not only stone implements, but also spindle-whorls of rude earthenware, corn-crushers, and specimens of ornamented pottery. By the remains found imbedded in the mud of the lakes, it is quite easy to judge of the condition of these lake-dwellers. They did not live wholly upon fish, but cultivated many cereals, of which Egyptian wheat was one. Specimens of their bread, apparently cakes devoid of leaven, have been found; but sometimes the corn was roasted, coarsely ground, and stored in large earthenware pots, to be eaten after being moistened, as it is still in parts of Germany and Switzerland.

They had apples and pears, raspberries and blackberries, hazelnuts and beech-nuts, also peas; but their method of tilling the ground is unknown, as no agricultural implements have been found. The most interesting of the remains are perhaps those of the animals, of which Sir John Lubbock gives the following list:— Wild: brown bear, badger, marten, pine marten, polecat, wolf, fox, wild cat, beaver, elk, urus, bison, stag, roe deer, wild boar, marsh boar. Domestic: domestic boar, horse, ox, goat, sheep, dog. It would appear that, whilst the wild animals are the most abundant in pile-dwellings of the Stone Period, they either wholly disappear, or, with the exception of the stag, are very scarce in those of the Bronze Age, the domestic, especially the sheep, largely increasing in the latter; but it is noted as a curious fact, that not a single human skeleton has yet been found in any of these villages of the Stone Age, and not more than six in those of the Bronze Age. Attempts have been made to estimate the age of these lake-dwellings, first by measuring the cone of the Tinière, which is a deposit of gravel and alluvium, formed by a torrent which falls into the Lake of Geneva, the gradual formation of the cone being proved by the regular stratification. By calculations based on this M. Morlot gives 3800 years as the antiquity of the Bronze Age, and 6400 years for that of Stone. M. Gilliéron attempts to find the date of a lake-dwelling at the Pont de Thiele by a measurement of the rate at which the waters of the lake have receded in consequence of the silting up of its bed, and his calculations give to the dwelling in question an antiquity of at least 6750 years. "These two calculations," says Sir John Lubbock, "appear to indicate that 6000 or 7000 years ago Switzerland was already inhabited by men who used polished-stone implements, but how long they had been there, or how many centuries elapsed before the discovery of metal, we have as yet no evidence to show." \*

The kitchen-middens (*kjokken-moddings*) or shell-mounds of Denmark, which are vast refuse-heaps raised on the seashore by the primitive inhabitants, and which consist chiefly of shells, form another basis for calculating the antiquity of man. Similar mounds have been found in Scotland, in Cornwall and Devonshire, in France, in Australia, in Tierra del Fuego, in the Malay Peninsula, and in North and South America. In almost all the Danish examples, flint implements sharpened by rubbing, and thus apparently intermediate between the Neolithic and Paleolithic types, have been found, and the antiquity of these mounds is testified by the presence of the oyster and other shell-fish, in great abundance and full size, where, at the present day, they have ceased to

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\* Pfe-Historic Times, p. 385.

exist, or have become dwarfed, in consequence, as Sir Charles Lyell thinks, of a gradual decrease in the saltness of the waters of the Baltic, caused by the exclusion of the waters of the western ocean, as the result of the formation of the peninsula of Jutland, which was at no remote period an archipelago. The recent changes on the Danish sea-coast do not appear to have been very great, although at some time the country would seem to have been more intersected by fiords than at present, and in some instances shell-mounds have been found eight miles from the sea, showing the gradual upheaval of the land since their formation; whilst others, which are supposed to have formerly existed on the western coasts, have disappeared, from the encroachments of the ocean.

Taken altogether, the remains found in these shell-mounds point to a people less advanced in civilization than the dwellers in the Swiss lake-villages, inasmuch as they appear to have had no knowledge of agriculture, and no domestic animal excepting the dog, which served them also for food; but they must have been expert sea-fishers, from the remains of deep-sea fishes found, and must therefore have had some knowledge of navigation—and indeed canoes have been dug up in the peat, which may probably be referred to this early people; but the only real measure of their antiquity consists in the presence in the mounds of animals now no longer inhabiting North Europe, and some of which are nearly, if not quite, extinct. The discovery of the remains of the capercailzie, whose food is the buds of fir-trees, seems to denote that these mound-builders lived in that remote time when, according to the evidence of the peat-bogs, the country was covered with forests of Scotch fir, which tree was replaced during the Age of Bronze by the oak, this again yielding to the beech, which during the whole of the historic period has continued to be the chief forest-tree of Denmark. The length of time required for these changes in the flora of the land, and the formation of the peat, is estimated at 4000 years at the very lowest; but Sir Charles Lyell says, “There is nothing in the observed rate of the growth of peat opposed to the conclusion that the number of centuries may not have been four times as great, even though the signs of man’s existence have not yet been traced down to the lowest or amorphous stratum. As to the shell-mounds, they correspond in date to the older portion of the peaty record, or to the earliest part of the Age of Stone as known in Denmark.”\* The measurement by the same means—that of a succession of forests—of the ancient remains of the human race in America, seems to give an immense antiquity to works of various kinds, undoubtedly human, on that

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\* *Antiquity of Man*, p. 17.



great continent. These consist chiefly of enormous mounds of different use and date, but all giving evidence of great age. These Sir John Lubbock classes into four long periods—"1st, That in which, from an original barbarism, the American tribes developed a knowledge of agriculture and a power of combination. 2d, That in which, for the first time, mounds were erected, and other great works undertaken. 3d, The age of the 'garden-beds,' which are traces of a peculiar system of agriculture, often carried over some of the mounds, making it probable that the garden-beds were not in use until after the mounds had lost their sacred character in the eyes of the occupants of the soil; for it can hardly be supposed that works executed with so much care would be thus desecrated by their builders. 4th, The period in which man relapsed into partial barbarism, and the spots which had been first forest, then perhaps sacred monuments, and thirdly cultivated ground, relapsed into forest once more." \* Nevertheless, he is not inclined to attribute a greater antiquity than 3000 years to any of these works, although allowing that if the discovery of flint implements mixed up with, and some lying *under*, the bones of a mastodon can be proved to be authentic, a much higher antiquity must be assigned to man in America. "Count Pourtalis found human bones in a calcareous conglomerate estimated by Agassiz to be 10,000 years old, and Dr Douler obtained from an excavation near New Orleans some charcoal and a human skeleton, to which he is inclined to attribute an antiquity of no less than 50,000 years."† Although these calculations are considered as doubtful, both by Sir Charles Lyell and Sir John Lubbock, yet evidences seem every day accumulating as to the great antiquity of man on the American Continent; and perhaps when the caves and river-gravels have been as carefully examined there as in Europe, their testimony may be found to be equally strong. The implements found in America resemble those of Europe in form, but differ from them in material, and do not appear to go back to the Paleolithic types; but the evidences of ancient civilization are abundant.

Although iron was unknown, metals were most skilfully wrought, and the workings of the old copper-mines are very extensive, whilst the traces of agriculture, supposed to be indigenous in the ancient garden-beds, and more recent corn-hills, are most interesting. Their pottery also is both excellent and highly ornamented. Bancroft says of this civilization—"We know not for certain whether it is indigenous or exotic; and if the former, whether to ascribe its cradle to the North or South, to one locality or many; or if the latter, whether contact with the Old World was effected at

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\* Pre-Historic Times, p. 277.

† Ibid. pp. 278-280.

one or many points, on one occasion or at divers epochs, through the agency of immigrating peoples, or by the advent of individual civilizers and teachers. Yet the tendency of modern research is to prove the great antiquity of American civilization as well as of the American people; and if either was drawn from a foreign source, it was at a time probably so remote as to antedate any Old-World culture now existing."\*

Returning to the Eastern Hemisphere, we find attempts made to measure the antiquity of man in that most ancient seat of civilization, Egypt, by the accretions of Nile mud round some of the monuments of known date. In excavations made for this purpose, pottery has been found at a depth of 39 feet, which, according to Mr Horner's calculations, would indicate an antiquity of 13,000 years. Another fragment of brick was found 72 feet below the surface, and must thus, according to the rate assigned to the accumulations, have been buried for more than 30,000 years; but Sir Charles Lyell points out that these calculations must remain extremely doubtful, until it can be ascertained at what date the old embankments, which once surrounded the ancient monuments, became so neglected as to allow the river to inundate the site of the temple, obelisk, or statue, and it is also necessary to know whether such monuments were originally sunk in the ground or raised upon platforms.† But setting aside these imperfect attempts at measurement of the antiquity of the human race, there are other data which, if equally vague as regards a definite era, are yet wholly incompatible with any theory of a comparatively modern origin. The evidence afforded by the caves of Belgium, France, and Britain, so diligently explored of late, tends to give an antiquity hitherto undreamt of to man as an inhabitant of Europe. The first attempts at cavern exploration were made in the South of France in 1828, by MM. Tournal and Christol, who, in publishing the results of their explorations, expressed the opinion that the human remains which they had found, commingled with those of extinct animals, "had certainly not been washed in by any diluvial catastrophe, but must have been introduced gradually. The presence of pottery, however, throws much doubt on the supposed antiquity of these remains."‡ Prior to this, caves had been ransacked for bones to be used in medicine, and in 1821 Dr Buckland explored the Kirkdale Caves, and published his "*Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*," but he refused to believe in the presence of man in the caves as cotemporaneous with the extinct animals whose relics he described.§ In 1831 Dr

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\* Bancroft's *Civilized Races of North America*, vol. ii. p. 85.

† See *Antiquity of Man*, p. 39.

‡ *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 303.

§ See Boyd Dawkins on *Cave Hunting*.

Schmerling examined many caves in Belgium, and obtained from them results agreeing with those of the French explorers—that is, rude flint and bone implements, and portions of human skeletons mixed with bones of extinct mammalia, which certainly, within the historic period, had not been known in Europe. Nevertheless, the discoveries of Schmerling were discredited, even by such men as Sir Charles Lyell and Dr Buckland. The former says—“After giving no small weight to the arguments of M. Desnoyers, and to the writings of Dr Buckland on the same subject, and visiting myself several caves in Germany, I came to the opinion that the human bones, mixed with those of extinct animals, in osseous breccias and cavern mud, in different parts of Europe, were probably not coeval. The caverns having been at one period the dens of wild beasts, and having served at other times as places of human habitation, worship, sepulture, concealment, or defence, one might easily conceive that the bones of men and those of animals, which were strewed over the floor of subterranean cavities, or which had fallen into tortuous rents connecting them with the surface, might, when swept away by floods, be mingled in one promiscuous heap in the same ossiferous mud or breccia.” \* How greatly this distinguished geologist altered his early opinion we shall see later. The discovery of the bones of such animals as the mastodon, elephant, rhinoceros, hyæna, cave lion, and cave bear in European caverns was sufficiently startling fifty years ago, but the bold assertion that man was coeval with them may well have provoked a storm of dissent and disapprobation from the orthodox. The singular phenomena, when they could no longer be ignored or denied, were plausibly referred to the waters of the Deluge, and even to the present day men of no mean culture continue to hold opinions equally untenable. Even last year, we were told of a learned divine of the Established Church, claiming also to be a good geologist, who asserted that the bones of the monsters discovered in English caves were the remains of wild beasts brought over by the Phœnicians for gladiatorial combats. It is, however, a somewhat singular circumstance that the pioneers in cavern exploration in England should have been most orthodox divines of the Church of England and of Rome. Just fifty years ago, three years prior to the discoveries of MM. Tournal and Christol, Mr M’Enery, a Roman Catholic priest, explored the famous cavern known as Kent’s Hole, and found therein bones of extinct animals, and with them flint and bone tools, evidently the work of man, and which he believed to be cotemporaneous. Nevertheless, in deference to Dr Buckland, who two years previously had explored the Kirkdale Caves, and



declared his conviction that none of the human relics found were as old as the mammoth and other extinct quadrupeds, he quietly yielded his own opinion, and allowed the matter to drop; but subsequent researches, conducted in a manner which seems to render mistakes or fraud impossible, have emphatically confirmed the opinion of the first explorer. Since the history of Kent's Cavern is almost identical with that of all the osseous caves of England, we will give a concise summary of its contents, according to the report of its able and energetic present explorer, Mr Pengelly. There are two entrances, and the first thing to be noticed in the interior is a number of irregular blocks of limestone, which have evidently fallen from the roof, and now rest upon a black mould, from three to twelve inches thick, containing remains which are all traceable to the period of the Romans, or a little earlier—that is, representing an antiquity of about 2000 years, the animal remains also belonging exclusively to the historic period. This black mould cleared away, we find a flooring of granular stalagmite, varying in thickness from less than an inch to five feet. Beneath this stalagmite lies a black band, about four inches thick, consisting almost entirely of pieces of charred wood, and extending only for about 100 square feet near the entrance of the cavern, and supposed to represent the place in which the ancient cave-dwellers kindled their fires. Below this, again, and filling the cavern to the depth of several feet, is cave-earth of a light-red colour, in which, as also in the black band and the overlying stalagmite, have been found imbedded, not only the bones of many extinct animals, the hyæna predominating, but also traces of man in tools of bone and stone, rudely manufactured, yet still undeniably the work of man—amongst others, a bone needle, with the eye carefully drilled, and a harpoon like those of the French caves. Here the researches of Mr M'Enery and of Dr Buckland terminated, the former convinced by the remains discovered of the great antiquity of man in Britain, the latter seeking to explain, by diluvial and other catastrophes, the presence of the remains of man with those of extinct mammals, but utterly denying that they could have been contemporaneous, asserting that the stone and bone implements must have been accidentally introduced into the cavern at a later date. Here it must be noted that pottery, metal-work, spindle-whorls, and other indications of civilization, cease entirely with the granular stalagmite, that beneath it the implements found are of bone and stone only, and much ruder in form than those of the upper stratum. This was for a long time supposed to be the first chapter of the history of man; but in clearing out the cave, another stalagmitic floor presented itself, crystalline in structure, and of a thickness in some parts of almost twelve feet. This floor had been broken up

in places by some unknown natural agency, before the introduction of the cave earth, and beneath it lay a breccia of many feet in thickness ; and in this breccia, as well as in the crystalline stalagmite, were found in abundance the bones of the cave bear, and almost of that *only*, although lately a few bones of one or two other species have been discovered. But in the midst of this breccia, buried, for who shall say how many thousands of years, beneath a flooring of stalagmite which had accumulated to the thickness of twelve feet, at the rate of less than the twentieth part of an inch in a century, have been found flint tools, much rougher, larger, and more archaic in type than those of the upper strata, yet showing most evident traces of man's handiwork. Such is the history of Kent's Cavern, as at present revealed to us by the indefatigable labour of Mr Pengelly, aided by a grant from the British Association, and perhaps it will be well to let him speak in his own words with regard to the antiquity of these deposits.

“That the deposits, with the constructive and destructive processes described, were not only distinct and successive, but also very protracted terms in the Cavern chronology, is strikingly seen in considering the changes they indicate. 1st, During the period of the breccia (*i.e.*, the lowest deposit yet known) there was a machinery capable of transporting from Lincombe or Warberry Hill, or both, or from some greater distance, fragments of dark-red grit, varying in size from pieces four inches in diameter to mere sand, and lodging them in the cavern. This so completely passed away, that nothing whatever was carried in, but the deposit already there was covered with a thick sheet of stalagmite, obtained through the solution by acidulated water, of portions of the limestone in the heart of which the cavern lay. This stage having also ended, the stalagmite was broken up by some natural agency, the exact character of which it is difficult to ascertain, but which achieved its work, not by one effort, but by many in succession, and much of at least the breccia it covered was dislodged and carried out of the cavern. This re-excavating period having in like manner come to a close, a second deposit was introduced ; but instead of consisting of dark-red sand and stone, as in the former instance, it was made up of a light-red clay, and in it were embedded small fragments of limestone, which, from their angularity, could not have been rolled, but were in all probability supplied by the waste of the walls and roof of the cavern itself. 2d, The palæontology of the two deposits is perhaps even more significant of physical changes and the consequent absorption of time. When the cavern-haunting habits of the hyæna are remembered, it will be seen that his entire absence from the fauna of the breccia, and his remarkable preponderance in that of the cave-earth, renders it eminently probable that he was not an occupant of Britain during the earlier period. To accept this, however—and there seems to be no escape

from it—is to accept the opinion that between the eras of the breccia and of the cave-earth it had become possible for the hyæna to reach this country, since he was actually here, and in great force. In other words, the men of the breccia, the ursine period of the cavern, saw this country an island as we see it—unless, indeed, their era was prior to this insularity,—when it was also occupied by bears and lions, but not by hyænas; whilst in the time of their descendants or successors the whole of Western Europe had been so elevated that the channel which previously and subsequently separated it from the Continent was dry, and Britain was in a continental condition.” \*

It will thus be seen that, in accordance with the indications afforded by the contents of Kent's Cavern, Mr Pengelly is disposed to assign to man in Britain a higher antiquity than that claimed for him by Sir Charles Lyell, who wrote before the discovery of the implements in the breccia, and to place him between the two Glacial Epochs, at a period when this island formed an integral part of the European Continent. It is indeed evident that the huge mammals found in the cave, in the river-gravels, and in submerged forests, could never have got here had our land always been an island as at present, neither could primitive man, who, judging from the rudeness of his implements, could have had no knowledge of navigation at that early period. Now, geologists trace two continental periods, in the first of which bears and lions reached our shores with man in a state of utter barbarism, and this period corresponds with the breccia of Kent's Cavern and the remains in the submerged forest of Cromer on the Norfolk coast, and which is also supposed to represent a Pre-Glacial era. Then came a time of submergence, during which the crystalline stalagmite slowly formed, and the fauna received no new additions, whilst perhaps some types died out; then came a second upheaval, and the hyæna appeared and feasted on the bones of the mammoth, elk, bison, &c., whilst the works of man are characterised by an advance in art. His stone tools are still rude and unpolished, but smaller and better formed than those of the breccia, and are supplemented by those of bone, whilst the needles found suggest the use of clothing, and a perforated tooth of badger shows that he had already begun to study the art of adorning the person. This grade of progress corresponds singularly with that found in the French caves, although as yet no works of art similar to the drawings found in the caves belonging to the reindeer period at Dordogne have been found in Britain, but as the fauna of the two countries are almost identical, as the subjoined tables will show, it is reasonable to suppose that a similar race existed in both.

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\* See Report of Transactions of Plymouth Institution, 1875, on “Flint Implements found in Kent's Cavern,” by W. Pengelly, F.G.S.



**KENT'S CAVERN IN CAVE-EARTH  
AND GRANULAR STALAGMITE**  
(*Pengelly*).

Hyæna  
Horse  
Rhinoceros  
Gigantic Irish Elk  
Wild Bull  
Bison  
Red Deer  
Mammoth  
Badger  
Cave Bear  
Grizzly Bear  
Brown Bear  
Cave Lion  
Wolf  
Fox  
• Reindeer  
Beaver  
Glutton  
*Machairodus latidens*  
Man :

**CAVES OF AURIGNAC, FRANCE,**  
(*Lartet, copied by Lubbock*).

Hyæna, *Spelæa*  
Horse, *Equus caballus*  
Rhinoceros, *Tichorhinus*  
Irish Elk, *Megaceros Hibernicus*  
  
Aurochs, *Bison Europæus*  
Stag, *Cervus elaphus*  
Mammoth, *Elephas primigenius*  
Badger, *Meles taxus*  
Cave Bear, *Ursus spelæus*  
  
Brown Bear, *Ursus arctos*  
Cave Lion, *Felis spelæa*  
Wolf, *Canis lupus*  
Fox, *Canis vulpes*  
Reindeer, *Cervus tarandus*  
Polecat  
Wild Cat  
Boar  
Man  
Roe  
Ass (?)

And not only do the fossils correspond in the two countries, but the works of man, excepting as regards pictorial art, also coincide so nearly, both in type and in chemical condition, as to make it almost certain that they were nearly, if not quite, contemporaneous; whilst, with the exception of the beaver and the reindeer, the whole fauna seems to show a climate milder than the present. If then we take this fauna to represent a Continental Period, one of *upheaval*, we are led to a conclusion contrary to that of most geologists—that the Glacial Period was one of subsidence, that as the land became elevated, so did the temperature rise also, this becoming suitable to the mammals of tropical climes, whilst the reindeer and beaver, which, it may be remarked, are few in number in English caves, may represent the vanishing fauna of a past era of Arctic cold. Whether the men of the breccia survived the Arctic Period which intervened between the two Continental Periods is not clear. Certain it is that the men of the second period, that of the Hyæna, were far more advanced than those of the earlier epoch: but whether that advancement was acquired naturally, or introduced by a new race following in the track of the great mammals, we do not know. In any case, the time required for the gradual changes in land and water between the two Continental

Periods must have been enormous, to be calculated only by the astronomer ; and we must not forget that the upheavals and subsidences to be traced in our own land are not isolated cases, but are still more marked in other parts of the globe, and that the causes which produced them are still in operation, that year by year two islands, now widely separated, become infinitesimally nearer to each other by a gradual upheaval, whilst in other parts a similar rate of subsidence may be proved to have taken place. Thus, in the Southern Hemisphere Mr Wallace traces a stronger resemblance between the fauna of some of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago and that of Australia than between islands now only fifteen miles apart, and concludes therefrom that at some remote epoch there was a communication by land between those remote countries which has long since sunk beneath the ocean. Sir John Lubbock, in his "Pre-Historic Times," gives an able summary of the different views advocated by the learned as to the manner in which these great geographical changes have been brought about, causing the variations of temperature observable in various parts of the earth's surface in remote times. He first treats of the various hypotheses of Mr Hopkins to account for the Glacial Periods, who refers them either to a variation in the intensity of solar radiation, or to the possibility that the sun, in its motion through space, may have recently passed from a colder into a warmer region ; but both these theories are rejected as untenable, because it is shown that the formation of glaciers requires an *alternation of heat and cold*. A third hypothesis suggests the possibility of an alteration in the earth's axis. A fourth supposes the absence of the Gulf Stream, which it is presumed would lower the January temperature of Western Europe ten degrees, while a cold current from the north would make a further difference of about three or four degrees ; and this Mr Hopkins considers to be no mere hypothesis, but as following necessarily upon the submergence of North America. This, however, as Sir John Lubbock points out, would also necessitate an immense time, for "if when the gravels and loëss of the Somme and the Seine were being deposited, the Gulf Stream was passing up what is now the valley of the Mississippi, then it follows that the formation of the loëss in that valley and its delta, an accumulation which Sir Charles Lyell has shown to require a period of about 100,000 years, would be subsequent to the excavation of the Somme valley, and to the presence of man in Western Europe."\* The next theory is that of M. Adhemar, who refers all the changes of temperature to a gradual accumulation of ice round one pole, caused by the greater length of the winter in that hemisphere, in consequence of the precession of the

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\* Pre-Historic Times, p. 393.

equinoxes, until at length the accumulation is sufficient to cause a change in the earth's centre of gravity ; and hence, the sea rushing alternately from north to south, or from south to north every 10,500 years, a deluge would ensue which would of course alter the disposition of land and water. But this theory, we are disposed to think, is opposed to the teachings of geology, which point rather to gradual changes than to sudden cataclysms. The last theory given is that of Mr Croll, who, in calculating the excentricity of the earth's orbit for a million of years prior to A.D. 1800, gives two or three periods when the orbit of the earth was so much elongated, assuming the form of an ellipse, instead of being as at present almost circular, as to cause a sensible difference in temperature. According to Mr Croll's calculations, there are two periods in which this excentricity may have resulted in a Glacial Epoch—one 200,000 years ago, the other 800,000. Sir Charles Lyell inclines to the latter date as that of the Glacial Period ; but Sir John Lubbock prefers the former as the most probable, because " it seems unlikely that the present fauna of Europe should have continued to exist without alteration for so long a period as 800,000 years, and the ' variations in the range and distribution of aquatic and terrestrial animals ' might have occurred in less than 200,000 years under the great changes in climate which have taken place." \* Seeing that geologists trace at least two Glacial Epochs, it is possible that both Lyell and Lubbock may be right, and that Mr Croll's theory may be the true solution of the difficulty which geologists have hitherto found in accounting for the alternations of heat and cold clearly traceable in the past history of the world ; nevertheless we confess that the theory which ascribes it to a change in the axis of the earth is that which approves itself most to our mind, and it appears to be gaining favour in the scientific world. Regarding this. Sir John Lubbock remarks—

" The possibility of such a change has been denied by many astronomers. My father, the late Sir J. W. Lubbock, on the contrary, has maintained that it would necessarily follow from upheavals and depressions of the earth's surface, if only they were of sufficient magnitude. The same view has recently been taken by other mathematicians. This suggestion, however, involves immense geographical changes, and would therefore necessarily have required an enormous lapse of time." †

But since this " enormous lapse of time " is necessary for other changes, it does not seem to be an insuperable objection to a theory which certainly accounts for many facts which are otherwise inexplicable. It is obvious that, supposing the earth to have retained its

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\* *Pre-Historic Times*, p. 403.

† *Ibid.* p. 392.



present form from a remote period, and the poles to have gradually circulated round the world, that those places over which the poles have passed would not only have experienced a long Glacial Period, but would also have become more or less submerged in consequence of the flattening of the polar region, and more or less elevated as they again approached the equator, with a corresponding variation of climate, and one completed revolution would of necessity result in two Glacial Epochs—it may be of varying intensity, in accordance with the excentricity of the earth's orbit at the time. Various recent observations seem to confirm the truth of this theory. Humboldt long ago noted the north-westerly trend of all mountain ranges, and the same is remarked by Captain Stokes in the Southern Hemisphere. Linnæus saw the changes of ocean-level, and marked its encroachments by a stone which is now 340 feet nearer to the sea.\* In railways running north and south in America, a singular creeping of the rails southwards has been observed, the western rail always creeping faster than the eastern; and lately, observations have been made at St Petersburg which show a diminution of latitude there, and also at Greenwich, Washington, Paris, Milan, Rome, Naples, and Königsberg, only to be accounted for by a change in the axis of the earth.† But whatever may be the ultimate decision of the learned with regard to the causes of the geographical and climatic changes of the earth, one thing is certain, they demand a vast, almost boundless, extension of the limits assigned by theologians for the age of the world and of man. The age and distribution of the human race cannot stand alone, but must be viewed by the light of geographical and geological changes, and by the distribution of other animal forms. Nevertheless, in spite of all the facts daily accumulating to bear witness to the immense antiquity of man, writers are still to be found who can persuade themselves, and endeavour to persuade others, that all the evidences of geology, astronomy, anthropology, and archaeology are but myths—the day-dreams of scientific enthusiasts. Thus, even at the last meeting of the British Association, a gentleman came forward to deny the human origin of the flint implements found in Kent's Cavern, and a book has recently been published in Philadelphia, entitled “The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Pre-Historic Archaeology,” in which its author, Mr Southall, endeavours to prove that man “commenced his career six or eight thousand years ago in a civilized condition, in the temperate regions of the East.” It is impossible to enter into Mr Southall's arguments within the limits of this paper, but we may perhaps revert to them later, in

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\* *British Lyceum*, November 1870.

† *Public Opinion*, October 16, 1875.

another article. Suffice it now to say, that by doubting the evidence adduced by men of science, by over-estimating the growth of deposits such as the river-gravels and the peat-mosses, and by bringing down the age of the extinct fauna to a date almost within the historic period, he believes that he has established his assertions. Of course, he is a believer in the theory of degradation, and supposes Paleolithic man in Western Europe to be the descendant of the civilized peoples of the East; but then he fails to account for the significant fact that rude Paleolithic implements have been found in Egypt, India, and Palestine, as well as in Western Europe; neither does he explain how it is that, in the very lands which, by geological evidence, and by the existing remains of an almost extinct fauna and flora, are reasonably supposed to be the oldest of our present terrestrial globe, there do we also find man existing in the lowest state of barbarism. If man originated in Central Asia in a civilized state only six or eight thousand years ago, how—without believing in numberless creations of different species of the human race—are we to account for his distribution over the world in various stages of progress, and in so many varieties? Especially, how can we imagine him to have got to Australia in the state in which he was first found, without canoes or any means of transport, yet thousands of miles from the original centre of migration? It is evident that this position could only have been attained when the arrangement of land and water was wholly different from that at present subsisting. If, however, instead of looking upon primeval man as a civilized being, spreading from some point in Central Asia, and gradually becoming degraded to the lowest point of barbarism in various remote lands, we follow in the track of most modern naturalists, and suppose him in origin to have been little above the brutes, the question arises, whether the slight barrier which separates him from the higher apes can be thrown down, and the Darwinian theory proved in its entirety?

II. This theory, which has assumed so much prominence of late years, was, like the vast æons of geology and astronomy, dimly believed by the ancients. The earliest form of religion was doubtless the worship of deceased ancestors; and viewed in this light, the reverence paid to the cynocephalus in Egypt, and to the monkey-god Hanuman in India, is not devoid of significance. The Indian Hanuman, indeed, with the form of a long-tailed monkey, is endowed with entirely human attributes, helping with his monkey-bands to build the bridge of Rama, waging war with the demons of Ceylon, and playing a most important part in *Indian legends*. But this semi-simian divinity is not supposed to have existed prior to the human race, but to have been co-

temporary with man, and subordinate to many older divinities ; and although it is possible that the legend is derived from some Old-World belief in a simian descent, it is more probable that, like many other legends of semi-human, semi-bestial divinities, it is referable to a remote age of totemism. The Greek and Roman poets and philosophers do not appear to have been without some glimmering of the lowly origin of man ; and Sir Charles Lyell quotes thus the verses of Horace, commencing "*Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris*"—"When animals first crept forth from the new-formed earth, a dumb and filthy herd, they fought for acorns and lurking-places with their nails and fists, then with clubs, and at last with arms, which, taught by experience, they had forged. They then invented names for things, and words to express their thoughts ; after which they began to desist from war, to fortify cities, and enact laws."\* In modern times Lord Monboddo was the first openly to assert that man was descended from the apes, and he was unsparingly ridiculed for his pains ; nevertheless, he was not the only one who saw the probability of a common origin, which some accounted for by supposing apes to be men degraded to brutes for their sins. It remained, however, for Mr Darwin to place the matter in a scientific light ; and there can be no doubt that his conclusions are daily gaining ground among the great thinkers of the day, and that the deductions of the naturalist have been at least partially confirmed by those discoveries of geologists and archaeologists which have proved the antiquity and gradual development of the human race. It begins to be seen that the degradation theory is as untenable with regard to the state of modern savages as it is with the apes, and that every discovery shows more plainly and conclusively the universal state of savagery of primeval man. The older the deposit containing traces of his presence, the ruder invariably are the works discovered. To quote once more from Mr Pengelly in reference to Kent's Cavern :—

"The men of the black mould had a great variety of implements. They used spindle-whorls, and made pottery, and smelted and compounded metals, and wore amber beads. The older men of the cave-earth made a few bone tools, and used needles, and could produce fire ; and they even perforated the teeth of mammals, to enable them to be strung as necklaces or bracelets ; but they had neither spindle-whorls, nor pottery, nor metals of any kind. Their most powerful weapons were made of flakes of flint and chert, many of them symmetrically formed and carefully chipped ; but it seems never to have occurred to them to increase their efficiency by polishing them. The still more ancient men of the breccia have left behind them not even



a single bone tool, and no indication that they were acquainted with fire. They made implements of nodules, not flakes, of flint and chert—tools that were rude and massive, had but little regularity of outline, and were but roughly chipped. Whether these old cave-men—more and more rude as they were more and more ancient—were or were not incapable of anything beyond their savage state, I will not venture to say; but if they were the degenerate descendants of men pretty much like ourselves in powers and gifts, their intellectual progenitors are necessarily shrouded in an antiquity much greater than even that with which we have been dealing, and sooner or later it may in that case be expected that deposits older far than the most ancient yet met with in Kent's Cavern will yield a number, a variety, and a style of human industrial remains that shall utterly eclipse the comparatively rude, yet eminently precious, human relics from Kent's Cavern. When they are produced, science will, it may be hoped, be prompt to recognise and welcome them; and if they should never be forthcoming, it is equally to be hoped that science will ask the advocates of degeneracy to account for the fact." \*

But having traced man back to the lowest depth of barbarism, there would still appear to be a vast chasm between the lowest savage and the highest ape, for no ape would be capable of making and using even the rudest implements of the cavern breccia and of the drift. Human remains traceable to any remote antiquity have, from some unexplained cause, been very rarely discovered; but as far as their testimony goes, they tend to prove that man has always been man, and not a highly-developed ape. Two remarkable skulls, of undoubted antiquity, have been measured and re-measured by the most eminent craniologists. That of Engis, believed by Lyell to be the most ancient of the two, is of a type decidedly European, brachycephalic in form, and in cubic capacity equal to that of many civilized individuals of our own day; whilst that of Neanderthal, the most remarkable in form ever discovered, and the most ape-like in character, is proved upon admeasurement to exceed the average of many savage races, and to be nearly equal in capacity to that of a modern European. It is greatly to be regretted that the jaws and teeth, so characteristic of race, should be wanting in both these specimens; but it may perhaps be well to note the peculiarities in the Neanderthal skull which render it so remarkable. These are a very low, narrow, retreating forehead, with enormously-developed supraciliary ridges. These are ape-like characteristics, which are shared in a minor degree by some existing races, and also by some few skulls of less antiquity found in various parts, but especially at Borreby, in Denmark. There is also another ape-like characteristic traceable in the bones dis-

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\* Report of Plymouth Institution, 1875, on "Flint Implements found in Kent's Cavern," by W. Pengelly, F.R.S., &c.

covered with this skull, which has lately attracted considerable attention, as appearing in many of the oldest skeletons discovered. This is a peculiar flattening of the shin-bones, called platycnemism; but this is not supposed to be altogether indicative of race, but rather to be produced by certain modes of life, and is found in some civilized races even now. Although, therefore, it may be affirmed that, bone for bone, man corresponds, and has always corresponded, with the higher or anthropoid apes, whose habitat is confined to the Old World, yet he differs greatly from them in height, in relative length of arm and leg, and above all in brain capacity. As we go back to unmixed aboriginal races remaining in a state of utter barbarism, these differences diminish considerably, till in the Australians, Bushmen, Esquimaux, Andamanese, and Negroes, we find a gradual approach in one or more characteristics to the apes, still, however, leaving a vast gulf between the lowest man and the highest ape, which, although as regards volume of brain it may not be so great as that between the lowest savage and the highest civilized man, yet is not, like that, spanned by a bridge of innumerable links and gradations, but remains broad, well-defined, and impassable. Whether the missing link or links will ever be found it is impossible to predict. If existent, they probably lie deep down in oceanic mud, and therefore their discovery is more than improbable; for if we would trace man back to his origin, we must imagine a world geographically quite unlike that we now inhabit.

It is evident that primeval man in his lowest state of barbarism, having for his sole weapons of offence and defence the rude flint implements of the drift and the breccia, supplemented probably by branches of trees, must have crept slowly over the earth's surface, and could never have crossed the ocean to inhabit the remote lands in which he has been found in almost the same savage state in which we may suppose the makers of the Paleolithic flint implements to have been, although at the present day there does not appear to be a single tribe so utterly devoid of all knowledge of the arts of civilization as would seem to be represented by the archaic implements of Kent's Cavern; but it is a significant and suggestive fact that some of the lowest races, as the Australians of the north-east coast, the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Northern Esquimaux, are still without canoes. Now although the three latter races might have reached their present habitat, even in the present state of the world,\* without any means of water transport, it is quite impossible that the Australians could have done so; hence, if we are to maintain a belief in the unity of the human race, we must suppose them to have crept to their present position with the singular and ancient

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\* See *Pre-Historic Man*, p. 541.

fauna and flora of that far-off land, from the common centre, at a time when Australia formed part of a vast continent, since submerged. There are many who hold the belief that in this submerged continent was the cradle of the human race; that there, beneath a tropical or semi-tropical sky, some tribe allied to, but not identical with, the present anthropoid apes (who, it may be observed, seem all to radiate from a point of which this buried land would be the centre) gradually developed into men, at first only one step removed from the brutes, but slowly advancing in the arts which distinguish men, and that in the Australians we see the first steps of that development checked from further progress by gradual isolation, consequent upon the slow submergence of the continent of which it once formed a part. Certain it is that the Australioid type, which is so prominent in the abnormal Neanderthal skull, and exists in a less marked degree in those of Borreby, is traced by Huxley also in the ancient Egyptians, and Sir Walter Elliott finds it still existent in the Dravidians of India. And here arises the great question of the origin of race. The marked difference between the Negro and European is apparent to every eye; but the anthropologist does not rely only upon the colour of the skin in his classifications of race, but upon the proportions of the body, and particularly the shape of the skull. It would seem as though the older aboriginal races are everywhere represented by short races, designated by Mr Hyde Clarke as pygmean, amongst which he reckons the Esquimaux of Asia and America, Bushmen of Africa, Gongs, Mincopies, Tierra del Fuegians, and others, amongst all of whom he discovers affinities of language, which, in many cases, are borne out by other characteristics, not only of person, but of manners and customs; but the subject, though full of interest, has not yet been worked out satisfactorily. Craniologists take as their starting-points two distinct types of skull, the long and the round, as represented by the Engis and Neanderthal skulls respectively, and find between these innumerable gradations, but they are at present divided as to the relative antiquity of the two types. The two skulls before mentioned prove the existence of both in Europe at a very remote epoch, whilst the monuments of Egypt show that at least 4000 years ago the several Asiatic and African races were as distinctly marked as at the present day. With regard to craniology, Huxley says—

“Draw a line on the globe from the Gold Coast in West Africa to the Steppes of Tartary. At the south and west end of that line there live the most dolichocephalic, prognathous, curly-haired, dark-skinned of men—the true Negroes. At the north and east end of the same line there live the most brachycephalic, orthognathous, straight-haired, yellow-skinned of men—the Tartars and Calmucks. A line drawn at right angles, or nearly so, to this polar line, through Europe and



Southern Asia to Hindostan, would give us a sort of equator, around which round-headed, oval-headed, and oblong-headed, prognathous and orthognathous, fair and dark races—but none possessing the excessively marked characters of Calmuck or Negro—group themselves. It is worthy of remark that the regions of the antipodal races are antipodal in climate, the greatest contrast the world affords perhaps being that between the damp, hot, steamy, alluvial coast-plains of the West Coast of Africa, and the arid, elevated steppes and plateaux of Central Asia, bitterly cold in winter, and as far from the sea as any part of the world can be. From Central Asia eastward to the Pacific Islands and sub-continent on the one hand, and to America on the other, brachycephaly and orthognathism gradually diminish, and are replaced by dolichocephaly and prognathism, less, however, on the American Continent (throughout the whole of which a rounded type of skull prevails largely, but not exclusively, than in the Pacific region, where, at length, on the Australian Continent, and in the adjoining islands, the oblong skull, the projecting jaws, and the dark skin reappear, with so much departure in other respects from the Negro type, that ethnologists assign to these people the special title of Negritos. The Australian skull is remarkable for its narrowness, and for the thickness of its walls, especially in the region of the supraciliary ridge.” \*

The thickness of the walls of the skull would seem to be almost as great a characteristic of race as shape. Many of the oldest known skulls are remarkable for their thickness; and Herodotus long ago noted the difference in this respect between the Egyptians and Persians. The wonderful diversities of type met with in the world, for which no adequate reason has yet been assigned, have divided ethnologists into two schools—the one maintaining the unity of the human race, and ascribing all the varieties met with to natural causes arising from differences in climate, food, and manner of life acting through immense periods of time, and aided by occasional intermixture; the other believing that at least the extreme types have been separate creations, becoming gradually amalgamated. There are difficulties in the way of each of these theories; but, singularly enough, Mr Darwin is as strongly monogenist in his belief as the greatest stickler for biblical truth, differing, however, in this, that whereas the orthodox trace all mankind to a single pair, called into being by the Divine fiat about 6000 years ago, Darwin would make them the offspring by natural selection of a tribe of highly-developed simians, allowing for their gradual progress in civilization a period almost incalculable. The latter portion of Mr Darwin's theory may be considered as established by recent discoveries. The former cannot be so clearly demonstrated, yet it must be confessed that it accounts for many facts otherwise inexplicable,

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\* Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature*, p. 153.

inasmuch as it gives a probable reason for the origin of distinctions of race; for it is easy to understand that if natural selection was sufficiently potent to produce man, however rude, from ancestors only semi-human, the same force, acting through many ages, and aided by climate, soil, and food, would suffice to produce all the varieties we see. At all events, however many difficulties may beset the path of those who believe in the unity of the human race, whether by a single creation or as the product of development through natural selection, they are outnumbered by those which surround the advocates of polygenesis; for nothing short of a succession of miraculous creations could on this hypothesis account for the occupation of remote lands by people resembling each other, not only in physical characteristics, but in manners and customs, in language and in mythical beliefs, although some may have advanced much further than others on the road to civilization. An ingenious author, the late Dr Dominic M'Causland, in his book entitled "*Adam and the Adamite*," endeavours to prove that the Bible itself favours the views of the polygenists by speaking in various parts of other races besides the sons of Adam; and, in fact, many passages of Scripture may be cited to that effect, tending at least to show that a variety of race has existed from the very dawn of history and tradition; but the belief in a plurality of human creations is as much opposed to theological dogma as the teachings of Mr Darwin, and the bias of scientific opinion is strongly towards the monogenists. Assuming, therefore, the unity of the human race, the fact of the very early divergence of that race into distinct species or varieties has to be accounted for. Ethnologists have differed greatly as to the number of these varieties, but the classification of Huxley seems to be that now generally adopted—1. The Australioid type, distinguished by chocolate-brown skin, dark-brown or black eyes, black hair, usually wavy, narrow dolichocephalic skull, brow ridges strongly developed, projecting jaws, coarse lips, and broad nose. As examples of this type, we have the Australians and the Southern Indian coolies. The ancient Egyptians also approached this type, although good authorities hold them to be a modified African race. The affinity of the Neanderthal and Borreby skulls to this type has already been noted. 2. The Negroid, primarily represented by the Negro of Africa, between Sahara and the Cape district, including Madagascar. The skin varies from dark-brown to brown-black, eyes and hair black, the latter always crisp and woolly, skull narrow, dolichocephalic, orbital ridges not prominent, prognathous, flat broad nose, lips coarse and projecting. Modifications—Bushmen of South Africa, diminutive of stature, and of yellowish-brown complexion; the Hottentots, supposed to be a cross between the Bushman and ordinary Negro; the

Negritos of the Andaman Islands, Malacca, Philippines, and other islands, to New Caledonia and Tasmania. 3. The Mongoloid, from Lapland to Siam — short squat build, yellowish-brown complexion, eyes and hair black, brachycephalic, flat small nose, and oblique eyes. The dolichocephalic Chinese and Japanese in other respects correspond with this type; and the peculiar obliquity of the eye, so strongly characteristic of this race, may be seen strongly developed in the Etruscan tomb in the British Museum, and may be traced in Egyptian sculptures and paintings of early date. Variations—Dyaks, Malays, Polynesians, and American Indians. 4. The Xanchochroi, or fair whites — tall, almost colourless skin, blue or grey eyes, hair straw-coloured to chestnut, and skulls varying as to width. Inhabitants of North Europe, North Africa, and as far as Hindostan. 5. Melanochroi, dark whites, differ in the darkening of complexion to brownish and olive, and of hair and eyes to black; while the frame is lighter, and the stature somewhat lower. To this class belong a large part of the Kelts and of the populations of South Europe—as the Spaniards, Greeks, and Arabs—extending as far as India, with intermediate grades. Professor Huxley accounts for the Melanochroi as the result of crossing between Xanthochroi and Australioids.\* But although the fact of the very early division of the human race into various races is universally acknowledged, the causes which have operated to bring about that division remain a mystery. Buckle insists upon the omnipotence of climate, soil, and food in causing the differences observed, and they are doubtless powerful agents; nevertheless, in the present day they would seem to have lost much of their power, although there is certainly a marked difference between the Anglo-American and the English type since the colonization of the United States, however that may have been brought about, and Englishmen transplanted to some of the colonies become taller and more robust, with a greater amount of beard than at home, which is all the more remarkable when we remember that in some cases the aborigines of some of the colonies are short and devoid of beard. That change of food acts powerfully upon the brain is well known, but whether it has a similar effect upon the body is not so easily proved. In the lower animals we find the largest size combined with the greatest intelligence in the elephant, which is wholly herbivorous; but we cannot imagine man to have become what he is if entirely confined to a vegetable diet, yet the apes, his nearest congeners, live upon fruit, and occasionally small insects. Natives of lands eminently fruitful, they have but to pluck and eat, and the inven-

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\* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, new edition, art. "Anthropology."



tive faculties are not stimulated by want. But if it would be indeed proved that man sprang from some lower form, it is probable that some sudden calamity, in necessitating a change of diet, also brought about an increase of cunning in order to secure it, and that thus instinct was converted into reason; hence primeval man became a hunter and a fisher, and, as proved by the remains found, was pre-eminently a flesh-eater.\* Since animals would not come to be caught and eaten, cunning and force must be employed to gratify an acquired taste for animal food, and implements must be formed wherewith to attack and overcome the prey. Doubtless this change in habits and in food would quickly produce a variation of type, especially in the early stages of that change, lessening as man became accustomed to a new habitat and new modes of life. The homely proverb that "Necessity is the mother of invention" is the key to man's progress: as long as his wants are supplied with little trouble, so long will he remain almost stationary; but cold and hunger stimulate the inventive faculties, and lead gradually to civilization. Nevertheless, the extremes of heat and cold seem alike detrimental to the full development of human energies, and it is therefore to the temperate regions of the earth, and especially to Central Asia, that ethnologists look as the cradle of civilization; but that man existed everywhere in a state of barbarism prior to all civilization, is a fact proved by the discovery, even in the most ancient seats of civilization, of traces of a lower state in rude implements of stone and bone, and the remarkable likeness observable in these implements, wherever found, would seem to prove conclusively the unity of the race, and also that it had not, at that early period, become so markedly classed into varieties as is shown later to have been the case. The opinion seems to be gaining ground that this very early type was the Australioid, which, spreading from a centre probably now submerged, may be traced in many of the most ancient remains found. Regarding Professor Huxley's classification of the ancient Egyptians under this division of the human race, Mr Busk remarks—

"I do not understand Professor Huxley to say or to imply that any of the Egyptian races of which we have any means of judging from statues or pictures ever resembled the existing Australian except in the

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\* Dr Gerland, in his "Anthropologische Beiträge," looks upon agriculture as the first step by which man emerged from a semi-simian state, considering that nothing short of a regular supply of grain would have raised him from a state of apehood, and he thus assigns his origin to Asia, somewhere to the south-west of the Himalayas; and believes that as hordes were driven by necessity from this cradle of humanity they became hunters, lost the very memory of agriculture, and degenerated into savages; but this idea seems contrary to established archaeological evidence, and is controverted by Mr Tylor in his able review of Dr Gerland's book. See *Academy*, November 27, 1875.

character of the hair, dark chocolate-colour, and dolichocephalic skull, &c. ; and it should be recollected that the races of which we have any actual knowledge must have been removed from the primordial inhabitants, to whom, I presume, Professor Huxley's remark was intended to apply, by incalculable ages of time, and great vicissitudes of events, and have thus become subjected to great admixture of foreign blood." \*

And Col. Lane Fox, taking up this subject, says—

"The racial connection put forward by Professor Huxley has hardly met with general acceptance as yet ; but startling as it at first sight appeared, the more we look into the evidence bearing upon it, the less improbable, to say the least, it becomes, when viewed by the light of comparative culture. I have already shown in another place how closely some of the Australian weapons correspond to some of those still used on the Upper Nile, and the remarkable resemblance here pointed out in a class of vessels (the Australian rush float compared with the papyrus float of Egypt) which might well have been used in passing short distances from island to island of the now submerged fragments of land that are supposed to have formerly existed in parts of the Southern Hemisphere, is at least worthy of attention amongst other evidence of the same kind that may be collected, although I fully admit that it is not of a character to stand alone." †

One curious fact having a bearing upon the presumed Australioid origin of the Egyptians is the use of the boomerang, long supposed to have been an undoubted invention of the aborigines of Australia, but which is now proved to have been known and used by the ancient Egyptians ; and there would seem to be traditions of its use also in Scandinavia, where the hammer of Thor is said to have returned to his hand as often as thrown, whilst the crooked weapon of Saturn is supposed by some to refer to the same implement. Even in America, weapons are depicted on the rocks of Peru which seem to be modifications of this singular invention ; but if we are to suppose that and several other peculiarities to be remnants of an aboriginal race of the Australioid type, it is very evident that the time required for such wide dispersion must be enormous. If we imagine this race to have been the makers of the rude archaic Paleolithic implements of Kent's cavern, which Mr Pengelly supposes to be Pre-Glacial, there would seem good reason for believing that they utterly perished in Britain during that inclement period, and were succeeded at its close by a race which had become modified meanwhile in milder climes, and who more nearly resembled the Bushmen and Lapps, having learned not only to make implements of an improved pat-

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\* *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, President's Address, p. 478.

† *Ibid.*, *Early Modes of Navigation*, p. 415.

tern, but also to shield themselves from cold by garments of skins, and who were not devoid of a certain knowledge of art, if, indeed, as is probable, they were akin to that race who, in the French caves, have left us fine specimens of drawings on bone, drawings such as are still executed in the same manner by the Esquimaux, as shown by Sir John Lubbock in his "Pre-Historic Times." By comparisons such as these of weapons, of arts, of language, of myths and legends, races may be traced from land to land over the surface of the earth, and various admixtures may be proved which have led to great modifications of the original type; but the origin of the primal form, and of the three or four earliest and most marked varieties, remain a mystery not to be readily solved, although great steps have been made towards that end of late years. Already some French naturalists imagine they have discovered traces of a form semi-human in Miocene strata, but their conclusions are not as yet accepted by the scientific world; but it must not be forgotten, that whatever may be the antiquity of the human remains discovered in France or England, and however nearly they may approach the pithecoïd form, it is not in Europe that we must expect to find either the earliest remains of primitive man, or evidences of the change from a meaner form confirmatory of the Darwinian theory; therefore it would seem advisable that naturalists should devote themselves more assiduously to the investigation of Eastern lands, and more especially should Australia be diligently examined, in order to prove the truth or falsehood of that modern theory which makes the Australioid type that of primeval man.

Whatever may be the ultimate verdict of science, man now stands pre-eminent in the rank of living organisms, and notwithstanding a few instances of decay, is yet young and vigorous, destined perhaps to be the progenitor of a still more highly-organized being, capable of carrying to perfection those works which are now only dimly shadowed forth, and of carving out for himself a destiny more brilliant than anything we can now conceive to be possible; for the past history of the world shows conclusively that progress is the irrevocable decree of Nature, and that no step forward can be ultimately lost, even though sometimes obscured for a time by ruder footprints. Thus the civilizations, as well as the living organisms, of the past, though sometimes apparently lost, have only served as a basis for more perfect forms of both, and we may reasonably hope that so it will continue to be in that far-off future towards which we press.



## ART. V.—THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON.

1. *Report of the Municipal Corporation Commissioners.* London. 1837. ●
2. *Report of the City (London) Corporation Commissioners.* 1854.
3. *Statistical Vindication of the City of London.* BENJAMIN SCOTT. 1867.
4. *Ninth Report of the Metropolitan Municipal Association.* 1875.
5. *Speech of Mr James Beal on Schemes to improve the Government of the Metropolis.* 1867.

THE dearth or supineness of statesmanship in England, or the impossibility of Parliament, except once in a decade, dealing under high pressure with a great measure, is evidenced by the fact that though forty years have elapsed since the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 received national sanction, no statesman or Parliament has been found willing or able to create for London what was then done for the smallest of the corporate towns of England. What was then a comparatively easy task has become now one of supreme difficulty. Then the statesman had to adopt a form of government to one and a half millions of people: now he will have to deal with the great modern Babylon—the government of many great cities, unlike any other congeries of cities known to statecraft. Queen Elizabeth prohibited more than one family from residing in one house in Westminster, or from erecting any new building in the town, or even from finishing those that had been begun, declaring that too large a multitude would become ungovernable, and would not be able to be made “to serve God and to obey Her Majesty.” London at that time had less than 150,000 inhabitants. Louis XVI. was equally afraid of the growth of Paris. He had the boundaries of the city marked out, and prohibited the construction of new houses outside these bounds. In spite of these fears, however, cities have continued to grow, and will grow; and the greater the growth, the greater the desire of men to concentrate themselves. The development of the railway system coincides everywhere with the modern increase in the size of great towns. The question of their adequate government varies in its solution according to the tendencies of the

national government. The municipality in America assumes its rightful place in the earliest development of the town's growth. In our colonies municipalities arise with the like enchantment. In the old countries of Europe they have for ages borne an important part in the history of empires, and the decline of a nation may be measured by the decay of its municipalities and their subservience to state control.

■ The modern solution of this problem in England was essayed forty years ago under circumstances of almost revolutionary fervour, when the Act of 1835 became law, under which towns like Birmingham and Manchester were enabled to clothe themselves with municipal powers, and the old corporate towns to initiate reforms in their administration, while the greatest town of all, what M. Guizot called the "province couverte de maisons," was left the prey to many conflicting authorities. The Bill was mainly confined to the attempt to render local authorities responsible to the persons whose interests they were appointed to protect, and whose money they were to spend; and it swept away a mass of abuses, familiar enough to that generation, and only known to this by the continuance of the abuses of the City of London, the Corporation of Westminster, and antique curiosities like the extant Corporations of Chatham, Queenborough, and Romney. Mr Cobden has told the tale of how Manchester was then governed. On an unlucky day, for him and his feudal claims, the Lord of the Manor (Sir Oswald Mosely) summoned some twelve gentlemen to elect the Borough Reeve for Manchester; after the business was over, a leaden ticket for dinner was given to them. To quote Mr Cobden's words—"I said, What does this mean? Can it be that here, in this great town, we are still living under the feudal system. Does Sir Oswald Mosely send for us to come into this hall to elect a government for Manchester, and then go and get a ticket for soup at his expense? I will put an end to this." He co-operated with Mr Nield, wrote his pamphlet "Incorporate your Borough," and in three years Manchester became one of the corporate boroughs of the Empire. There was no such vigorous spirit moving in the sphere of metropolitan local politics. The commissioners dealing with London dwelt on a peculiar power of internal legislation possessed by the Corporation of London, enabling them, where "any custom heretofore used and obtained proved hard or defective," "to provide an immediate remedy," which has often been urged as an appeal against any interference by the Legislature. However potent the power, one thing is certain: from the date of the Commissions of 1837 and 1854, little has been done by the Corporation on the lines of the Act of 1835, and it remains as much now as then unadapted to the wants of the present day. A

plentiful crop of legislation of a tentative character affecting the metropolis has been garnered in the interim, but all the more effective Acts were passed in the reign of George III.

Sergeant Pulling was justified twenty years ago in demanding the consolidation of the statute laws of the metropolis. Sir B. Hall, in introducing his Bill, "thought the time not far distant when some measure would be brought in to deal with these local Acts." Lord Brougham, speaking in 1837, said—"I have stated the numbers of Acts passed in the last twelve years for some great towns; separate parishes have their numerous Acts also. In Marylebone alone, since 1795, the local legislation fills a volume of 480 pages, being much greater, I will not say than the *Code Napoléon*, but certainly than the *Code Civil*." Some 56 local Acts passed in the three preceding reigns are incorporated by a general clause in Sir Benjamin Hall's Act, affecting some 14 parishes out of 80, and the number affecting the whole is said to exceed 700.

Since the passing of the Metropolis Local Management Act some 80 Acts have been passed, explaining, amplifying, or extending that Act, by conferring further powers on the Metropolitan Board, which are yearly quoted in the reports of that body.

If London is ever to enjoy municipal institutions, the task of consolidation should be forthwith commenced.

Sir Benjamin Hall's Act revived Michael Angelo Taylor's Act, or it was thought to do so; but the moment the Parish of Kensington proposed to put its provisions in force, and compulsorily acquire property for improvements, it was met by the opinion of the present Lord-Justice Mellish and Mr Pontifex, that such provisions were inconsistent "with the scope, method, and provisions of Sir Benjamin Hall's Act." St James's Parish was met with the like opinion, although the revival of the Act was proposed to meet the difficulty they anticipated, and to overcome which they sought the continuance of the powers of the 82d sec. of the 57th Geo. III., c. 29. Mr Cross has largely modelled his Artisans' Dwelling Act on that precedent; and had it been effectually introduced into Sir Benjamin Hall's Act, much of the labours of the last session could have been saved. Legislation soon becomes obsolete, and as all modern municipal development dates from 1835, Parliament should without delay consolidate all legislation up to and anterior to that date, and adopt Lord Grey's proposal to review the administrative results of that Act. No minister has been found bold enough or able enough to deal in a broad statesmanlike manner with the great question of London Government. Mr Bruce promised it repeatedly, Mr Gladstone was eloquent in anticipa-



tion, and his parting appeal to the nation was a pledge that his Government should deal with it. Mr Cross has been invited to become the Numa Pompilius of London; but he hesitates, and evidently thinks it too vast an ambition. The problem yet remains to be solved. In the meantime a great wrong has been done. The breaches of trust of the great City Guilds in the administration of their corporate funds, the rapid growth of the rental of their estates, their enlarged munificence, coupled with the equally rapid growth of the City's estates, and equally extended hospitality, have perpetuated and enlarged gross abuses, and rendered them so absolute in their wrong-doing as almost to defy all attempts at reform. The days of ruling by charters granted in semi-barbarous ages, and by corrupt dealing with corporate bodies, must be put an end to. The reform of the Corporation of London, and of London Government generally, is a subject of immediate and pressing importance. The efforts of the late Mr John Stuart Mill, and the renewed efforts of Lord Elcho, show that the matter is ripe for legislation, and that it will not be allowed to rest. The most recent demand is for the unity of London Government. A powerful association, headed by the names of the two greatest landlords of the metropolis, the Dukes of Bedford and Westminster, and associated with them the Baroness Burdett Coutts, and a long array of titled and untitled names, urge this demand on the Government. Already the discussion is creating a literature of its own; pamphlets, speeches, and debates abound, and the evils of the present confusion are brought out in strong relief.

The loss to the denizens of the metropolis by neglect has been estimated in administrative expenditure at £250,000 per annum. The cost of local administration increased in six years 40 per cent., the sewers and main-drainage expenditure 70 per cent., the general expenditure 64 per cent., between 1861 and 1867; the maintenance of highways in the same period from £340,000 to £716,000 per annum, which by no means meant increased efficiency. The loss in effective gas and water arrangements has been estimated at £500,000 per annum. The declared intention of successive Governments to deal with it paralyses local energies. The authorities, believing their term of existence to be short, indefinitely postpone improvements; chaos rules. In the meantime reformers have been active in exposing abuses and suggesting remedies. But before we indicate the course of reform, it is necessary first of all to learn the weak spots, and adequately gauge the defects of the present system.

We all know that London is made up of the City and numerous districts which form around it a honeycomb of great cities.

All questions affecting them are virtually imperial questions ; all the great interests of the country flow into, or have a stake in, one or other of the centres. Unlike other towns, London is at once the home of royalty, the seat of government, and a congregation of rank, fashion, and luxury. The total area of the metropolis covers nearly 80,000 acres, and of this area the historical Corporation of the City of London occupies 702 acres only. The government of this total area is confided to the City Corporation, the Corporation of Westminster, the Metropolitan Board, Vestries and District Boards, Boards of Guardians, an Asylum Board, School Board, the Commissioners of Police, and the Lord-Lieutenants and Magistrates for the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent.

The City proper is governed by the Mayor, Aldermen, Court of Common Council, and Court of Common Hall. It is divided into twenty-six wards of varying size, and has some eighty guilds and companies, the members of which are admitted on varying conditions, and are called Freemen and Liverymen. The Common Council is elected annually ; the Aldermen for life. The Court of Aldermen has executive and judicial authority, the Court of Common Council both legislative and administrative authority ; and these powers are sought to be preserved in the Bills recently before Parliament. The Court of Common Hall is composed of the Lord Mayor, four Aldermen, and the Liverymen of the City guilds, and nominates yearly two Aldermen for the Court of Aldermen to select one for the office of Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor is not therefore chosen directly by the electors, and the electors are not of necessity resident householders. The Aldermen and Councillors of each ward exercise authority in the ward, and courts are held called ward-motes. Although each ward elects an Alderman, the wards are of unequal size. There are some small wards and others large ones, but more small wards than large ones ; \* so that a minority holds power, and it is questionable how far such minority represents the intelligence and property of the whole. Some wards have been nearly absorbed for the sites of railway-stations, like Cannon Street, and the London, Chatham, and Dover in Farringdon Street, and other local improvements. Every Alderman is a judge and a magistrate, not only for his own ward, but for the whole City ; and as nobody pretends that the Aldermen are qualified to exercise magisterial functions, highly-paid officials are retained as chief clerks to advise them on questions of law and justice. They have the superintendence of prisons, and are governors of the Royal Hospitals ; they appoint the Recorder and many other

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\* The Municipal Constituency of the City is as follows—(*see next page*).

important officials ; and they not only are members of their own court, but sit and vote in the Court of Common Council. Every Alderman is eligible in his turn for the office of Lord Mayor, so that a small ward elects the mayor, and elevates to baronetcies and peerages the favoured grocer or tallow-chandler in their midst. The roll of nobility in alliance with such fortunate nominees is an interesting study, and Mr Orridge recently presented to his fellow-citizens a laboured detail of such royal and other alliances flowing from this humble fount. In his office the Alderman has great power : he may obstruct the work of the Court of Common Council by dissolving it at any stage of its sitting ; and this prerogative belongs also to Aldermen by withdrawing from the council chamber, and so rendering their proceedings informal. The Court of Common Council has the management of all the finances of the Corporation, the hereditary revenues, and the City lands. Its work is chiefly done by committees, the position of chairman of which is eagerly sought for, as a stepping-stone to other corporate dignities ; but the Commissioners of 1854 thought these committees too large, and so reported, and expressed the same opinion with regard to the members of the

Ward.	Number of Common Councilmen.	1874-5.	1875-6.	Constituency to each Representative.*
Adersgate Within .....	8	177	190	82
Aldersgate Without ....		437	467	
Aldgate .....	8	1226	1108	138
Bassishaw .....	4	328	357	90
Billingsgate .....	8	480	522	64
Bishopsgate Within....	14	661	668	72
Bishopsgate Without..		471	447	
Bread Street .....	9	378	356	39
Bridge .....	8	449	417	52
Broad Street.....	8	1770	1831	228
Candlewick.....	6	581	503	84
Castle Baynard .....	8	376	382	47
Cheap.....	8	786	762	95
Coleman Street.....	8	1036	1076	134
Cordwainer.....	6	450	553	92
Cornhill .....	6	391	414	69
Cripplegate Within....	8	553	644	80
Cripplegate Without...	8	875	755	94
Dowgate .....	6	231	248	41
Farringdon Within .....	14	813	801	57
Farringdon Without....	16	3052	3090	187
Langbourn .....	8	1599	1382	177
Lime Street.....	4	435	472	118
Portsoken.....	8	814	812	101
Queenhithe.....	6	166	155	26
Tower.....	8	1254	1285	160
Vintry.....	6	293	301	50
Walbrook.....	6	524	542	90

\* Or an average of 90 to each Common Councilman and Alderman.



Court of Common Council. The Corporation controls its own police, and the City has maintained its right to this municipal action on repeated occasions when the Government of the day has sought to invade it. When Sir Robert Peel carried his police reforms in 1829, the control of the police in other parts of the metropolis was a parochial duty. It failed in unity and responsibility, and his sole object was to concentrate the parochial police under one responsible and efficient head. In the absence of one governing body for the metropolis, he established a special body to do the work, and he took the City police of that date as his model. Here, however, we have only to deal with the City in its relation to the rest of the metropolis, and in its possible position in the coming change. The Commissioners of 1854, in proposing, as they expressed it, "such an arrangement as would enable the Corporation to form part of a general metropolitan system," forgot the old proverb that "when two men ride on the same horse, one must needs ride behind," and they thus created a permanent antagonism between the City and Metropolitan Board, which will not be suppressed. These contests have proved costly to the ratepayers, especially in the cases of the Improvement Bills promoted by the Metropolitan Board, the Lee River Conservancy, the Foreign Cattle Market Bill, the Metropolitan Gas Supply, the Coal and Wine Duties Continuance Bill, and other legislative propositions. The City is made joint authority with the Metropolitan Board in dealing with the funds to free the bridges within sixteen miles of St Paul's; but the junction of interests has not improved their acquaintance. To the rivalry established we doubtless owe many great improvements. The City, so long dormant as to the Holborn Viaduct, was quickened by jealousy of the new authority entering its gates. The splendour of these improvements—the new Meat-Market, the new Blackfriars Bridge; its energy in dealing with vacant lands; its action in securing the City of London Gas Act, were stimulated by its vicinity to the labours and works of its rival.

The total debt of the City is over five millions. It does not borrow money so economically as the Metropolitan Board. It boasts, however, of expending, on public and other improvements, within a century, over eight millions, of which nearly one-half has been expended since the creation of the Metropolitan Board. The City, watching its rival, has never been bold enough to propose a great measure which would do justice to itself, the Board, and the metropolis, whilst assured that there could be no peace till the place of supremacy was secured to one or the other.

Some idea of the figures of its budget may be gathered from the Chamberlain's report of the corporate expenditure. The

Lord Mayor is its king. He has his sword of state, and his sword-bearer; his mace, the same as royalty (granted in so many words by the fourth charter of Edward III.), carried before him, and his sergeants to bear them; his marshals and his marshals' men; his state-coach and his powdered footmen; and a palace and banqueting-hall in which to dispense the City hospitalities to the potentates of the earth who periodically come into our midst. This is made the occasion for the distribution of honours—knighthoods and baronetcies, which have fallen thickly on recent Lord Mayors and Sheriffs, the elect of the little wards of the City area,—and the profuse expenditure of the City Corporation has been the price at which they have been bought. The mayoralty costs the Chamber over £15,000 per annum, and the two sheriffs cost nearly £2000 per annum. The officers of state and law officers—officers of every department—are retained at princely salaries. It allows nearly £4000 per annum to committees of the Corporation for refreshments. In opening West Ham Park, it spent on pageantry and refreshments over £700. In the splendid exercise of its power to save Epping Forest, it spent over £11,000 in law costs; in receiving the Emperor of Russia, over £13,000 were extracted from the City cash; in unveiling the statue of the late Prince Consort, £1800 were devoted to dining and other festivities; the Town-Clerk's establishment costs over £4000 a year, that of the architect over £2400; Mr Remembrancer, £2500; Mr Comptroller, nearly £3000; City solicitor, £2800; ward clerks, over £4000. Its judges, magistracy, police, prisons, courts of law, absorb £125,000 per annum, as a set-off against which it takes credit for £10,000, the value of felons' goods forfeited.\* Its expenditure on markets, of nearly £80,000, is covered by receipts of nearly £90,000. Half a million per annum is too vast a sum to filter through the hands of a body governing the hundredth part of the metropolis; the vastness of its expenditure demands minute inquiry. Its lavish outlay and pompous pageantry whilst overburdened with debt is culpable in the highest degree. It has no business so to expend funds, a large proportion of which is raised from rates. Its officers are paid by contributions from various accounts, which considerably bewilder the investigator. The accounts, are complicated, and not adapted to present a clear and intelligent result. They are comprised in 130 foolscap pages—capital accounts, trust accounts, charity accounts, in a tantalising and bewildering maze, without order or sequence. In 1868 it received £1,879,825, and spent £1,844,049; in 1869 this exceeded £2,000,000, a large portion of which is made up of loans. In the account for 1874, receipts, exclusive of loans, were £577,789, and expenditure £554,000. It admits a

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\* Ligardi's forfeited bail.

debt of over £5,200,000, charged on its general revenues—market tolls (rents), 4d. duty on coals, surplus lands, the City moiety of the Gresham estate, Bridge House estates, and other assets. Although we have no *octroi* duties so called, the City has, since the time of William and Mary, collected a tax on coals. There is also a wine-duty, a monopoly of the metage of corn (recently made available to secure Epping Forest and other open spaces to the public), of fruits and roots; also Lord Mayor's dues, and dues on butter, cheese, fish, eggs, salt, &c. The area of taxation is not confined to the metropolis, but extends for sixteen miles round. Toll-keepers are placed on all roads, canals, rivers, and railroads. Four-thirteenths of the coal-duties are handed over to the City, nine-thirteenths are received by the Treasury, and disbursed to the Metropolitan Board, to be expended in metropolitan improvements.

The expenditure of the City, however prodigal, is far outshone by its allies, the Livery Companies, of whom so little is known. These have for generations studiously set themselves the task of excluding Parliament from any knowledge of their condition. When Mr Morrison, M.P. for Plymouth, long since asked for a return of their property and its administration in the following form:—"Address for a return from the eighty-nine companies in the City of London, named in the second report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporations in England and Wales, 1837, of the style of each company, summary of charters and bylaws, whether a Livery Company, number of livery, total cost of admission, rules as to admission by patrimony, apprenticeship, gift and redemption or otherwise, whether females are admitted, number of livery admitted during last ten years, present total number, description of the ruling body of each, mode of election, list of officers and of all salaries and emoluments, fines, statement of the property of each, of the income derived therefrom, of all charities vested in the Company, and of the income and expenditure thereof, of all funded property, and of the income derived from all sources, and statement of expenditure during the last financial year, statement of all ecclesiastical preferments in gift, and of all contributions and dues (if any) paid to the Corporation," some Alderman (being an M.P.) waited night after night for the greater part of the session to defeat the attempt. Mr Plunket gave a reason for his conversion when he became a reformer, which we commend to the Drapers' and other companies. "Circumstances," said he, "are wholly changed. Formerly Reform came to our door like a felon—a felon to be resisted. He now approaches like a creditor; you admit the justice of his demand, and only dispute the instalments by which he shall be



paid." It is well established that the companies and the City have considerably over £100,000 per annum bequeathed to them for charitable and educational endowments; £37,000 of this is devoted to education, but not a penny for dissenting or secular schools; £5646 a year for apprenticing lads; £53,912 a year for almshouses and pensions—the whole of which is all but secretly administered, "Favour leading veiled Merit by the hand." A larger return must be obtained, a full statement of funds disclosed, and also of the conditions under which men acquire the right to belong to these bodies. Every year makes them richer and richer, and their magnificent entertainments are so many social bribes to secure friends to cover their mismanagement and abuse of the great trusts in their hands.

We have inquired into universities, churches, colleges, and schools, and it is not seemly that these companies should longer evade the action of commissioners of inquiry, after these and the East India Company have been dealt with. The decision of the Master of the Rolls in the case of the Merchant Taylors' Company and Donkyn's Bequest, in 1870, confirmed by the Lord Chancellor and Lords Justices, ought to lead to the formation of a public association intent on turning upon these guilds a fierce light.

Mr Gladstone, at the Islington Working-Men's Industrial Exhibition, referring to the paucity of funds to adequately reward merit, said—"I for one deeply regret that the committee may be deprived of the power of awarding just tokens of approval. . . . I hope the remarks of Sir Antonio Brady will be read extensively by the members of certain great institutions in the City of London; I mean that part in which he commended to the great and wealthy Livery Companies, as an object worthy of their care, the supplying those rewards, which are the best encouragement for the future, to the persons who have distinguished themselves in the exhibition, and will not resent as an offence, but as a welcome hint, and as an ingenious method of disposing of funds for which some portion of the world supposes they have not always sufficient objects on which to spend them." The reform thus significantly pointed out cannot be delayed much longer. Unquestionably these bodies were originally technical schools or societies, composed of persons actually engaged in the trades under the title of the guild, embodied "for the greater good and profit of the people."

The companies received bequests of lands and houses from benevolent or vain or well-intentioned members of the guild. In most cases these were charged with specific bequests—some to purposes long since expired, such as maintenance of chantries and saying of masses. These were suppressed by Henry VIII.,

who directed a commission to inquire into the affairs of the guilds, that full disclosure might be made. As a result, Edward VI. obtained £18,000 in redemption of chantry-fees alone. It was not until the time of James I. that the close trading corporations were extended to the outside public; and in time they threw off their more technical character, severed themselves from their craft, and became, as now, a select body of self-elected trustees, or members in possession of funds for prescribed uses, and—if the trades have any rights—to which they can have no legal title. Their government for the last 150 years has been one long series of usurpations and almost unchecked abuses. The specific charges resting on their funds have been barely administered. Their real funds, which ought to have been expended under founders' wills, have been spent in dining festivities, making merry, sometimes in donations to charities or public objects, in paying large salaries, and dividing surplus property amongst members of the mystery. These surplus funds are now very large. Property has doubled itself in the last forty years. Some possess, like the Drapers, vast freeholds in the heart of the City; others have "hall" sites of great value; others have suburban property, and rapidly-swelling rent-rolls. In proportion as the property increases, the terms of admission become more exacting, and the management more closely and secretly allied against the public weal. A new visitation is imperatively called for. They are trust bodies, and are in no sense the owners. They should, if a radical cure were popular, be treated as an evil altogether; they are, if revived, opposed to freedom of trade and liberty of individual action. Reform should mean abolition, and some modern machinery should be devised for administering their trusts. The Ecclesiastical Commission is a model—not perfect, but suggestive—for their future administration.

The Court of Aldermen, in earlier days, had control over these companies, and it has recently sanctioned the creation of what Sir Andrew (Alderman) Lusk calls "faggot voters" for the City, by giving permission to the Needleworkers' Company to increase the number of its livery. The liveries meet in common hall, and are called "An Assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several Companies of the City of London." Respect for their privileges induced Mr Buxton to propose that the liverymen should become a ward of the City, and nominate members to the council. Some adventurous citizen may yet try the question whether the companies have a right to fix a heavy sum as admission-fee, or to elect other than the actual traders or craftsmen included in the title of the guild or company to its benefits. A mandamus might be applied for to compel admission at a reduced fee. Some patriotic M.P. may bring in a Bill for the public audit of their accounts; and some Judge in

Chancery may be found to bring the power of the Court to bear on the administration of the property in their trust.

The Commissioners of 1854 made some essential suggestions in their report, which should be attentively considered. They included—

1. A new charter for the Corporation.
2. Election of Lord Mayor by Common Council.
3. Aldermen to be elected for three years.
4. Appointment of stipendiary magistrates.
5. Abolition of Court of Aldermen.
6. Reduction of wards to not less than twelve, or not more than sixteen.
7. Each ward to return one Alderman and five Councillors.
8. Extension of franchise.
9. Election by Common Hall to be abolished.
10. Election of Sheriff by Common Council.
11. Incorporation of City with metropolitan police.
12. Transfer of conservancy of Thames.
13. Abolition of exclusive privileges of fellowship porters, and of watermen and lightermen.
14. Consolidation of accounts.
15. Extension of Municipal Reform Act in parts to the City.
16. Dissolution of Irish Society, and transfer to trusts to be created by Parliament.

Since this report twenty years have elapsed, and in that time vast changes have taken place in our political, ecclesiastical, and social arrangements. The last Reform Bill, the Irish Church and Land Bills, the Bills affecting charities and public schools, have all been accepted by public opinion. In the constitution of the London Corporation the following, amongst the thirty-one recommendations of the Commissioners, have been more or less completely adopted:—The regulations giving freemen a monopoly of retail trade. The street-tolls on carts have been abolished. The conservancy of the Thames has been transferred to a Conservancy Board, with new and great powers. A Metropolitan Board has been created. The brokers are still struggling for the abolition of the anomalous powers of the Court of Aldermen. The exclusive privileges of the Company of Watermen have been again under the revising shears of Parliament. The revenue and expenditure of the Corporation remain outside the supervision of a national audit.

The money and securities of the Corporation are lodged where the Chamberlain advises, not in the Bank of England. When the Bank of London stopped payment, the Corporation of London was one of its largest creditors. The Irish Society still continues to be one of the shuttlecocks of the Common Council.



It is time this was handed over to a separate commission, with adequate powers. Some minor reforms may be introduced by the present Government. If a halting process is adopted, we may have the City wards reduced to twelve, and its Common Councillors from 206 to 45. That the City will not be allowed to pass without a radical change, even if it remains a separate jurisdiction, is certain. The sovereign is known to be averse to the invasion of her reception-chamber by 150 "Common" Councillors, and has made private protests so recently as Lord Mayor Lusk's reign to that end. The reception or right of presence on every royal birth or state ceremonial, means an invasion of the royal larder and wine-cellars, and this is a real palace grievance.

In another form we have a state of things in Westminster (an area of 2500 acres) demanding the action of the Legislature. An ancient, unreformed, ecclesiastical corporation is still permitted to exercise the semblance of authority. We must travel to the very remote past before learning of its active municipal working. To-day it boasts of an income of £500 per annum, paid to the Deputy High Steward of Westminster out of Her Majesty's Civil List.\* It has the Dean of Westminster at its head, who nominates the Lord High Steward, who in turn nominates his deputy; it has a high bailiff, town-clerk, and high constable, who have certain duties at a coronation and other state ceremonials. They have salaries varying from £200 a year downwards. There are sixteen burgesses and sixteen assistant-burgesses, two burgesses being at the same time appointed chief-burgesses at a salary of £150 per annum, all nominated by the Dean and Chapter—reversing our notions of municipal action. No duties appear to attach to these beyond attending one dinner at Richmond and one at Greenwich, given by the High Steward, the Duke of Buccleuch, in the course of each year, and the maintenance of which he is doubtless prepared to defend. A curious return was presented to Parliament on the 8th of March 1869, but not printed, detailing the terms of the several appointments of these gentlemen, together with the coroner and clerk to the market—to a market which no longer exists. The office of high bailiff was formerly one of much value, and for it large sums were paid; but the present holder has entered into a bond to return all fines and escheats to the Corporation, and to accept of a salary in lieu thereof. A former possessor of the office took by virtue of his office £10,000, which Justice Bailey imposed as a fine on Sir Moses Ximenes, and it is understood lived abroad happy ever afterwards.

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\* Perhaps Sir Charles W. Dilke, M.P., will move to discontinue this, and so secure its official defence.

We have named this as an ecclesiastical corporation, but the question is yet to be decided whether the vast property now belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster belongs to it by virtue of its ecclesiastical, or as part of its corporate, endowments.

We think phantom burgesses and sinecure-office holders should be transferred to an authority more in accord with the utilitarian wants of the age.

Another authority with special jurisdiction is the Constable of the Tower within the Liberty of the Tower of London. Being formerly a royal residence, the Tower contained the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. To the Tower repaired the old Barons of the City to the King, for the saving of their liberties and customs, and for permission to mount guard—the object being to secure the right of access to the courts of justice. By the charter of James II. the Tower was exempted from the jurisdiction of the City, and had its own sessions and justices, and power to make rates, and licensing powers, &c. The Police Act, 10 Geo. IV., invaded its territory rather rudely, and finally an Act of Victoria gave the police magistrates jurisdiction. The Central Criminal Court had previously jurisdiction. It has still, however, its chairman of Quarter Sessions, clerk of the peace, an assistant-clerk, a steward and coroner, a deputy jailer, a high bailiff, a deputy bailiff, an inspector of weights, a chief constable, and a bench of fifty-five magistrates.

The subject which, next to the Corporation, or perhaps in greater force, presents the largest interest to the inhabitants of the metropolis, is the Metropolitan Board, created by Sir Benjamin Hall's Act of 1855. The history of its existence is interesting. Prior to 1855 the administration of London was intrusted to a vast number of trusts under local Acts, swarming over the metropolis, with varying qualifications both for electors and elected, and in some instances qualifications without elections. Some trusts roamed through several entire parishes, others through parts of different parishes, or a portion only of one parish. In the Liberty of the Rolls the Vestry was composed of "the ancient inhabitants"—i.e., such as have served the office of overseer—and this was common in Norton Folgate, Aldgate. Some of the districts were a little over 300 yards long, some 450 yards, some 1500 yards; some commissioners were self-elected, and elected for life. In St George the Martyr there were six different Paving Boards; in St George in the East five held sway. St Mary Newington had two Paving and four Lighting Boards. In the Strand Union there were seven different Paving Boards, each with its staff of officers, and amongst the surveyors one was a tailor and another a law-stationer. Within 1336 yards of Northumberland House there were nine

Paving Boards; within a space of 100 yards there were four separate jurisdictions, viz., St Paul's (Covent Garden), St Martin's, St Clement's, and Savoy. In another parish there were sixteen boards, eleven being self-elected; out of 427 commissioners, 255 were self-elected, and the number of commissioners for the whole metropolis was computed at 10,448. There were nearly 150 such petty corporations levying rates and tolls, and having separate and independent management. In addition, there were the Sewers Commission under District Commissioners, nominated in the days of Elizabeth or earlier.

There were nine Commissions of Sewers so recently as 1847—Westminster, Holborn, Tower Hamlets, Poplar, Surrey and Kent, Greenwich, St Katherine, Regent's Park, Regent Street, with 1100 commissioners. A practical consolidation of these was effected in 1848, with the result that the cost of management was equal to  $28\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the rates. The Commissioners of 1854 agreed to find a remedy, and weld into one harmonious whole the disorganised government of the metropolis. They discussed the question of one municipal organisation, which they speak of as "a municipal administration of excessive magnitude;" and finally they proposed that the rest of the metropolis be divided (*i.e.*, outside the City) into districts for municipal purposes, "and that, in the event of such division being made, a Metropolitan Board of Works should be created, composed of members deputed to it from the council of each, including the Common Council of the City." As if, however, to leave a record of their unwisdom behind them, they added—"While we have abstained from recommending an extension of the boundaries of the City, by which it would include the entire metropolis, we have proposed such an amendment as would enable the Corporation to form part of the general metropolitan system." The report was considered by the Government, and it was intrusted to Sir Benjamin Hall, during the agonies of the Crimean war and the numerous ministerial changes which that event caused, to introduce a measure based on the report. Municipal reformers were disheartened at the puny measure which emerged from the parliamentary caldron—the Act not only re-formed the Vestries, but created a Metropolitan Board. Sir Benjamin Hall looked upon the Bill "as the commencement of good legislation for the metropolis." The composition of the Metropolitan Board is as follows:—The City Common Council nominates three members; each of the six great parishes—Islington, Marylebone, St Pancras, Lambeth, St George's (Westminster), and Shoreditch—elect two members; each of the others one member—in all forty-five. The renewal takes place by vacancies created by retirement of one-third annually. The



chairman is named by the Board, but not necessarily from their own body. On the death of Sir John Thwaites in 1870, his successor was elected for one year, and has been re-elected annually since. The chief work intrusted to this Board was the main drainage of the metropolis. It has since then been clothed with authority to establish a fire-brigade. It has authority with reference to the Contagious Diseases Act. It has been intrusted with the embankments of the river, the improvements in Covent Garden, Mansion House Street, Whitechapel, Kensington, Marylebone. It has confided to it parks of modern creation, like Finsbury and Southwark, and open spaces ; some slight authority in the matters of gas and water, and authority as to railways, locomotives, and tramways. But, with all this, it fails to embody the requisite municipal authority necessary for the well-being of the metropolis. Improvements suggested long since by important bodies of Crown Commissioners have been unnoticed, such as the removal of the Duke of York's Column, an opening from St James's Park to Charing Cross, and the removal of St Margaret's Church. It has not thought a new bridge between Westminster and Waterloo, or between Blackfriars and Southwark, between St Katherine's Docks and Bermondsey, between Whitechapel, Greenwich, and Deptford, from Ratchiff to Rotherhithe, at Limehouse or Isle of Dogs, daily-growing necessities, long since overdue, as any part of its work. It initiated subways ; but although so long ago as 1860 one Vestry proposed " that negotiations be opened with the Gas and Water Companies on the subject of their mains passing through macadamised streets, so as to avoid the frequent openings in the roadway, by providing some accessible kind of subway for the reception of such mains," our streets remain at the mercy of Gas and Water Companies, except the small area immediately under the control of the Board. Near 200 trenches are annually opened in Regent Street, at a cost of £1000 to parish and companies ; but no public spirit has made subways metropolitan in their character.

Parliamentary Committees have reported on the constitution and proceedings of the Board. It has been proposed to change the present system of election to that of direct election from the ratepayers for a portion, with election by Vestries for another portion. Some have proposed that the Crown should nominate one-third ; but the proposal violates too rudely our loyalty to the creed of our wisest forefathers, that taxation and representation should go together. It has therefore been strongly opposed. Some have proposed to change its title to the " Metropolitan Municipal Corporation," and to call its members " Members of the Common Council." The present proposals for the establishment of one and for the establishment of several municipalities, each conterminous with the parliamentary division,

were reviewed by Sir Benjamin Hall in his speech on introducing his Bill in 1855. His proposal was to make municipal districts without creating corporations, and for works common to the whole area, a Metropolitan Board. He was not ambitious of great results; he mainly referred to the purification of the Thames. "He did not suppose he would be able to make the river the clean stream it was in Queen Elizabeth's time, when the Spanish ambassador spoke of the noble river, with its 200 swans swimming near the Tower; but he hoped, at least, it would cease to be the *cloaca maxima* of this great city." The suggested remedies explain the popular discontent, which particularly finds expression in objection to the mode of election, and the restriction of the members to the members of the Vestries. Those seeking reforms rather accept the City as a model than the Board, and demand an extension of the municipal idea to any other development of civic rule. The City moves with a power, a grandeur, and a vigour which excite admiration; while the Board is, of necessity, by the very vices of its origin, timid, nervous, relying on Ministers to aid the progress of its measures through the House, and wanting in inherent vitality of its own. The Vestry is almost of necessity a part of the Board. Each of these is known by its parochial designation, or it takes its name from a group of parishes. The Vestry is the elected authority, and in its turn elects to the District Board. This is the main action of nearly sixty Vestries. The number of vestrymen varies with the electoral basis, 18 being the minimum number of vestrymen in parishes of less than 1000, 24 where the rated householders exceed 1000, 36 for 2000, and so on, in the proportion of twelve additional vestrymen to every 1000 inhabitants. Every rated householder is an elector, having one vote for each vestryman. The qualification of the vestryman is that he must be an inhabitant householder, rated at £40 per annum. One-third of each Vestry retires annually.

The powers of the Vestry and District Board include control of the local sewers, paving and lighting, certain sanitary powers, and some powers under the Adulteration of Food Act, Water Act, &c. The chaos of legislation is evidenced in the fact that while the Vestry, as a sanitary authority, is directed to establish hospitals for fevers and other infectious diseases, the same duties in the following year were imposed by another Act upon the Guardians; and the two central Boards, the Privy Council and the Poor-Law Board, by circular, required both Acts to be enforced in the same district by the dual executive authorities. Vestries also have authority, sometimes separately, at others in conjunction with the Guardians, as to interments, as to baths and wash-houses, and as to numerous minor duties. How they

perform those duties has been the subject of comment during their whole career. They have spent from 1856 to 1870 a total of £6,418,391 on such works as paving, lighting, and improvements. On the most important point of sanitary action they have spent eighteenpence only per head of the population, and for improvements under 2s. 9d. per head during twenty years of their authority; whilst Newington has spent £13,000 on its Town Hall, and Shoreditch £30,000.

It is regrettable to find so little interest taken in the working of important Acts, like those regulating baths and wash-houses, Public Libraries Act (1855), common lodging-houses, those enabling mortuaries to be established, crossing-sweepers to be employed, disinfecting-houses to be established, nuisances removed, Gas Act (1860), Water Act; and that a want of thought is shown in elementary action as to otherwise essential advantages. Boards of Guardians, or bodies dealing with cemeteries, report that Charlton Cemetery is not drained, that Fulham Cemetery ground is drained into a cesspool within its walls, as is also Greenwich; whilst Islington and Marylebone drain through open drains which fall into main sewers; Kensington Cemetery pollutes the river Brent, and Woolwich Cemetery the Thames; Putney omitted drainage altogether, and Tooting, to crown all, drains into an open ditch, flowing into the Wandle.

But the fruits of Sir Benjamin Hall's Act have, in so far as it has borne fruit, done much in the way of effecting necessary detail-work. Some of the surveyors entered upon their work with a will to make its power felt. Defective house-drains have been largely replaced by glazed earthenware pipes. Bermondsey has built more than eight miles of sewers. Rotherhithe has drained 2705 houses and abolished 1130 cesspools, and Whitechapel, not to be behind, has abolished 4000 similar abominations. Wandsworth has spent £254,000 on 142 miles of sewers. Heavy work was thrown upon St Pancras in merging eighteen separate jurisdictions. Some good honest work has been done, although much remains to tax all their energies. By the absorption of separate trusts, St George's, Hanover Square, increased its mileage of roads from 14 to 41; while Islington, by suburban extension, has added  $24\frac{1}{2}$  miles of streets to its area, and others in a greater or lesser degree have done what their limited powers permitted them.

The medical officer of Clerkenwell was made food analyst; but as the Vestry could find no fund (unmindful of the clauses of the Act of Parliament) to pay the expenses of the appointment, it was not remade; and Clerkenwell, reporting on underground kitchens, presumably unfit for human habitation, states that if they were



discontinued, there would not be sufficient accommodation for the people. Where house-drainage has been effected, it has been mainly at the cost of the owners. The surveyor of St James's, Westminster, states that Regent Street sewerage is in a most unsatisfactory state, and that an accident might happen at any time.

St Martin's, while boasting of the expenditure of £50,000 in substituting pitch pavements for macadam, has spent nothing in other improvements, as, to use its own words, "no further expenditure was required." It is instructive to note that the same sum is expended in Marylebone, and other large parishes, by one surveyor superintending all the details, as is expended by four or five other surveyors in smaller districts—the area of the five being equal to the area of the one. Instead of having this great work filtered through forty different minds, a chief surveyor and competent staff would know all the various improvements in paving, and adopt a uniform system at a large reduction of cost. It is clear that there is room enough for consolidation in a field in which consolidation is always profitable. Some parishes spend nearly £100 a mile per annum in watering their roads; another will do it at £65; and another at £34, 10s. There is evidently no concert amongst officials, or how is it that the experience of St Pancras in saving £22 per mile in the use of the water-meter is lost on the rest of the metropolis? If the present system is to continue, there should be a conference of officials, a comparison of duties, and a combination of officers engaged in the same work, to secure to the public the benefit now limited to a few parishes.

Mr Torrens's Artisans' Dwellings Act has been applied in Marylebone and tried in Paddington. In Clerkenwell some few houses have been pulled down and rebuilt, but in the rest of the metropolis it appears to have been a dead letter, and yet this in intention was a great Act. In opening up numerous blocked and unventilated courts, the Act would have been the ally of the police. From police and other information the Rev. Harry Jones (then incumbent of St Luke's, Berwick Street) gathered the following facts as to one *cul de sac* in St James's, Westminster—the famed Walker's Court. In one year there were 167 charges, 94 being felonies, within the court and a hundred yards of the court; 184 houses sent for the parish doctor within the year 219 times; there were in the same area 56 deaths in the year. It has since been partially opened up with most encouraging results. Few parishes have enforced the Bakehouse Act; some few have erected disinfecting apparatus, and have provided vehicles for the removal of infected persons, but the majority seem to have done little or nothing, and failed to appreciate sanitary precautions.

The importance of this neglected work is proved by the Registrar-General's report, showing the death-rate per thousand, in 1856, of 22·1; and, in 1871, of 24·7. It is fair, however, to add, that this is an improvement from the period from 1840 to 1855, when the death-rate varied from 30·1 to 24·3 per thousand. The cholera of 1854 was known to have been produced by the use of water from surface-wells, and we are happy to find that over the larger portion of the metropolis the surface-wells have been mainly closed. But some are still permitted to continue, and St Dunstan's in the East has one "from which fishermen fill their casks to take to sea."

The branch of state medicine intrusted to the Vestries—the prevention of disease, sanitary precautions, analysis of food—has been a failure. This, we must admit, is not all their fault. The candidates for the Health appointments are rarely analysts, and the supply of candidates has always been deficient. Where they are efficient, like Dr Lankester, Dr Beale, Dr Corfield, and others equally eminent, the obstacles to their display of knowledge or energy have been disheartening. Energy in a medical officer, prying into abuses, badly-ventilated or badly-drained property, is not a qualification insuring co-operation or increase of salary, or facilities for analysis of food, gas, or water. To be effective, it must move from a centre, and a school of state medicine requires to be maintained by our universities and hospitals. Several recently-appointed analysts had to take practical instruction from qualified teachers.

The taxation raised by these several bodies is variously estimated. The statement by Mr Goschen (*Local Taxation*, p. 58), is, perhaps, for all purposes, the most accurate.

### RECEIPTS.

	Rates.	Dues, Tolls, and Fees.	Government Subvention.	Ordinary Receipts from Property.	Extraordinary Receipts.	Loans.	Miscellaneous Receipts.	TOTAL
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
City of London . . .	175,005	382,351	5,709	137,629	317,629	735,000	71,333	1,824,656
Metropolitan Board . .	417,106	2,378	...	19,695	97,981	1,539,425	22,745	2,109,330
Metropolitan Police . .	481,744	3,373	291,444	...	...	...	45,490	822,051
Vestry & District Boards	1,036,409	...	...	...	...	237,331	149,817	...
Guardians .	1,359,708	...	104,317	...	...	583,064	...	2,047,089
	3,469,972	388,102	411,470	157,324	415,610	3,094,820	289,385	8,266,683

EXPENDITURE.

	New Works.	General Purposes.	Interest.	Debt Repaid.	TOTAL.
	£	£	£	£	£
City of London . . . . .	935,055	425,595	121,823	288,553	1,771,096
Metropolitan Board . . . .	885,066	400,517	173,812	476,100	1,935,495
Metropolitan Police . . . .	...	832,835	...	...	832,835
Vestry and District Boards	228,816	1,137,191	45,513	57,903	1,469,223
Guardians . . . . .	583,064	1,423,157	*	*	2,006,221
	2,631,801	4,219,295	341,218	822,556	8,014,870

\* Included in General Purposes.

In ratable value, the City's share of the whole is in far greater proportion, being one-eighth of the aggregate, i.e., £2,475,000 out of £20,459,000.

According to the Census Tables, what the *Pall Mall Gazette* calls the "Metropolis Civic" and "extra Civic," in area, inhabited houses, population, and ratable value, is as follows :—

	Area in Statute Acres.	Number of Inhabited Houses in 1871.	Population in 1871	Ratable Value in 1872
The whole Metropolis . . . .	75,362	417,767	3,254,260	£20,459,022
Portion thereof within the City of London . . . . }	668	9,415	75,983	2,574,813
Portion without the City Boundaries—				
In Middlesex . . . . .	30,831	267,431	2,210,585	13,267,051
In Surrey . . . . .	22,501	105,698	742,155	3,563,940
Total of Extra Civic London	74,694	408,352	3,178,277	£17,884,209

There are two questions on which the ratepayers of London have been moved for some time without approaching a solution of the difficulties under the present Act. We allude to the representative inequalities and the rating inequalities. It is surprising that a more vigorous opposition has not been excited. The anomalies have often been represented. Mr Scott, the Chamberlain of the City, in his "Statistical Vindication of the City of London," and more recently the Board of Works for the Hackney District, have forcibly exposed the flagrant wrongs now tolerated in the form of representative inequalities.

This, like all other metropolitan grievances, is waiting for action on the larger question by the Home Office. No machinery is provided by the Act, on the taking of each recurring



census, to balance the representation ; it remains to-day as in 1855. A simple machinery might have been provided to this end, as is provided for in the Act for increasing the number of vestrymen, or altering wards in parishes, but which stops short of a like action to correct inequalities at the Metropolitan Board. It was doubtless considered fair in 1855 to accord two representatives to the Board to each of the then six largest parishes. The result, however, now is, that Shoreditch, with a ratable basis of £446,420, has two representatives, whilst Paddington, rated on £920,554, Kensington, on £816,308, Wandsworth, £584,220, Hackney, £570,788, and others equally striking, return only one representative each. If a basis of inhabited houses or population is given, the inequalities will appear more glaring. The two members of Shoreditch each represent £223,210 of rating value ; the one for Paddington represents nearly one million ; St George's, Southwark, with a ratability of about £150,000, also returns one, the vote of Southwark and Paddington counting equal in a division. These instances could be multiplied through nearly all the parishes. Were the election of the representative direct from the ratepayer, the evil might be less ; but it often follows a double filtration by the ratepayer without any interest in it to the Vestry, by the Vestry to the District Board, and by the District Board to the Metropolitan Board. In no other constituted Board in the kingdom (short of Parliament) can one representative be found with a fiscal power based on representing one million of rated property.

The rateable area of the Metropolitan Board being now over £20,000,000, it follows that each member (45) represents a rate power of £444,444, although three members can be quoted who unitedly represent only that sum. It must be remembered, also, that the Board was established to do one work, and has long outgrown its original constitution, without any change of its electoral basis. All the great districts are under-represented ; all the small ones over-represented. Attention being called to it by Hackney, we may find Paddington and other centres vigorous in demanding redress. If the members are to be proportioned to population and ratability, many of the smaller districts must be grouped with others, and some of the large districts return as many as five each. This change alone would be a great boon ; and if to it were added an increase in the numbers of members forming the Board, and direct election from the ratepayers, we should be approaching the solution of the problem how adequately to govern great cities by representatives.

The rating inequality is equally glaring. Whilst its basis of assessment is being improved under the new Act, the inequalities continue, the rates varying from under three shillings to

over six shillings in the pound. No remedy for this is possible, until some scheme such as Mr Goschen shadowed forth is in action. In London, this could only be done through one central authority, and the action of Mr Goschen's Bills would necessitate the several disbursing authorities making requisitions to the central for the amount required. On the total becoming known, the rating, and in this case also collecting authority, would proceed to make up its budget and declare the rate, and on a given day would make a demand of an equal pound-rate through the area. This would require also a central control, or revision or audit of the assessment; and as it would largely increase the burdens of some districts to the relief of others, the question would arise, and would be ripe for settlement, as to what control over the expenditure of the parishes relieved should be borne by those relieving. Doubtless had this problem been ripe for solution, the partial assistance given to the poorer parishes under the recent Poor Law Amendment Act would have been pushed to its logical conclusion. We may then have something to say against levying equally an "improvement rate" over the whole area in all cases, and may demand a variation in the case of special benefits, or even a special rate on property improved. In all, or nearly all, recent cases of improvement, property has largely benefited in the person of the owner of the fee without contributing to the cost, and often, indeed, being paid compensation for a supposed damage which is a substantial gain. Local taxation should not be a series of small rivulets; it should be a main stream. If any one objects, let him first tell us by whom, or when, or why, such boundaries were laid down. Chelsea has part of its parish by Kensal Green, jumping from Albert Gate to the Cemetery; St Margaret's and St John's, Westminster, pass over the houses from near Buckingham Palace to Knightsbridge Barracks, and stretches from thence nearly to Notting Hill. To make a tramway from Hammersmith to Leicester Square, we must pass through at least eight parishes. The worst municipal divisions are the old church-divisions of parishes, as the Commissioners, in setting out the boundaries of the municipal boroughs, found. The next worst divisions are the unions of the Poor-Law Board—the most aimless, quaint, three-cornered creations ever invented. So that when we speak of a collecting authority, and describe it as central, we mean the parish or union to remain as a distributing or disbursing authority, but would collect a uniform rate through a central body.

The finances of the Board have often been the subject of comment. It has allowed the City Corporation £200,000 towards recent improvements, whilst the rest of the metropolis, up to 1872, succeeded in obtaining grants in aid of improvements,

estimated at £350,000, to the amount of £65,000 only in sixteen years. Some years since a series of charges were made before a Committee of the House, presided over by Lord Robert Montagu, involving jobbery, waste, and corruption. The Board did not come well out of the inquiry: certainly in its dealings with the London and Westminster Bank the public have a right to express strong dissatisfaction. It has borrowed money so lavishly, that its balance during 1874 ranged from £732,000 in January to £2,027,000 in June, and £1,600,000 in December. The ratepayers were paying interest on this at the rate of £3, 15s. per cent., but receiving £2, 10s., or less, per cent. from the bank, entailing, on the authority of a member of the Board, a loss of £45,000 per annum, equal to a three-farthing rate in the pound on the ratepayers. As a matter of prudence, we may well doubt the propriety of leaving £1,500,000 of ratepayers' money in any bank, however responsible. In this case the imprudence is more manifest, as the chairman of the Board is a director of the bank.

It seems never to have occurred to the Metropolitan Board that a very important fiscal question is involved in its control of the fire-brigade, viz., should insurance of property be within the province of a municipality? Should insurance be compulsory where a rate is levied to maintain a fire-brigade? It is worthy of note that various attempts were made between 1669 and 1680 to interest the Corporation of London in the subject. On the 13th October 1681 the Court of Common Council decided to effect insurances on houses within the City and liberties, and pledged a sufficient fund, and undoubted security by the Chamber of London in lands and ground-rents, to provide for the fulfilment of their contracts. But whilst the City had been debating Mr Deputy Newbold's schemes, private individuals originated several schemes, and the advertisements of the day show that they offered to take risks against fire—on wooden houses at one shilling in the pound, and on brick at sixpence in the pound.

A pamphleteering war ensued between the Corporation and the private societies. Policies were issued by the Court of Common Council in 1681, 1682, and 1683, but the scheme did not last long. Here, however, is a practical illustration that experience alone was wanting to the introduction of the practice. In the Grand Duchy of Baden the insurance of buildings is obligatory. It would be of service if the Government would obtain, through our embassies, information from Germany, Sweden, and France as to the extent of property insured, the rates of insurances, how far under the authority or sanction of the Government the system is maintained, and as to the number of fire companies in existence, and the means taken for sup-



pression of fires. Some companies, as the Royal Octroied Fire Insurance Company of Copenhagen, have monopolies of areas; others are under imperial patronage; so that whilst the principle of state insurance exists, nowhere are facts as to municipal insurance obtainable. But the importance of the question is not decreased by the assumption that over 5000 millions of property are insured in Europe alone. We mention this because, if the idea is of any value for London, it is equally so for all municipalities here or in other countries.

If the idea of compulsory insurance is startling, we may console ourselves by a reference to the French Code Civil, art. 1733—"The lessee must answer for a fire, unless he can prove that it happened by accident, or by fault of construction, or that the fire communicated from an adjoining house." Articles 1382, 1383, 1734 extend the principle. The result is, that a larger total of property (nearly double) is insured in France than in England, although it has been introduced there a little over fifty years, whilst it has been in force here for two hundred years.

As to the first, we must all desire that the experience of the past will enable us to map out a scheme which will be an improvement upon the present system of insurance risk, and amply cover the risk taken. If it were an interference with individual effort; it might be open to grave discussion; but in an age of co-operation, public companies, and joint-stock efforts, we may face the proposal with good grace if its benefits to the community are undoubted.

The proposal of compulsory insurance will require the gravest consideration. It can only be defended on the ground that the ratepayer and insurer in one is damnified by the ratepayer not an insurer also. The burden must be made mutual, as at Manchester, by the adoption of that system, or by the adoption of some other equally equitable scheme. This is the more important when we consider that we have also insurers by thousands who are not ratepayers, and whose property is protected by the ratepayer.

Parliament has twice endeavoured to deal with the question of water-supply of the metropolis by measures common to the whole metropolis, viz., the Act of 1852 and that of 1871. The former gave certain authority to Vestries, and to a number of householders supplied on any main, with the view of securing continuous high pressure; but the Act has been inoperative.

It is singular that while many of the larger towns of the kingdom have for years had the advantage of high-pressure service, no action was taken by local authorities under the Act of 1852 to that end. The Act of 1871 was passed with the view of giving to the Metropolitan Board, as chief of the fire-

brigade of London, an important interest in high-pressure service. The difficulty has proved too great for them, and it was left to Lord Camperdown to point out the fact that the Water Companies were empowered to make a charge of 4 or 5 per cent. on the annual value of the house as the rate for water consumed—the scale rising in proportion as the Metropolitan Valuation Act, to establish uniformity of assessment, increased the gross annual value, without a corresponding benefit from the Water Companies. The increase of rateable value does not, of necessity, mean heavier local taxation; but a general increase in value means for the Water Companies a great augmentation of charge. The Metropolitan Board and Parliament neglected the public interest in this matter. In the question of the gas, their *lâches* have been much more serious. Mr J. F. B. Firth, in a pamphlet on the gas-supply of London, has given a history of the gas legislation for the last seventeen years, in which the Metropolitan Board are justly condemned. In the parliamentary inquiries following the districting of gas companies, and terminating in the Metropolitan Gas Act of 1860, they seem to have taken no part. In 1865 the Vestries urged them to come to the rescue of the ratepayer. In 1867 they appeared before the House of Commons, on the occasion of the Bill introduced by the Corporation of the City of London, and they were invited by resolution of the Committee to bring forward a Bill of their own. In 1868 a Bill was introduced by a private ratepayer of the metropolis, as well as other Bills by the City Corporation and the several Gas Companies. The Bill introduced by a ratepayer was offered them to take up at the close of the preceding year. They referred it to a committee to consider. The consideration went on, and finally, after five months, the Board reported against it. In the meantime the Bill had been introduced, and ultimately left the House of Commons that session, limited in its action to the area of the City of London; and the Board, in their report for that year, referred to the Bill they had reported against, stating that the proceedings in Parliament that session resulted in the passing of the City of London Gas Act, and that the measure conferred important advantages on the consumers of gas within the City—and this was the Bill against which the Board reported. In all the subsequent attempts to deal with the companies, the Board has not acted as the municipalities of Birmingham, Manchester, or Leeds would have acted. It permitted an amalgamation scheme of the Equitable with the Chartered Gas Company to pass without undoing a flagrant act of sharpness on the part of the Equitable, which had recently paid off a debenture debt of £300,000, at 4 per cent., by turning it into capital at 10 per cent.

The modern policy has been to require the Corporation to supply the gas and water to the municipal area.

The Board has never been bold enough so to deal with the questions of gas and water in London, although opportunities have been afforded them in measures introduced by the private ratepayer. If they desire to make amends for past weakness, they will do wisely to propose in the next session to acquire the works of the several companies supplying London with gas and water.

London wants more markets. The Duke of Bedford was anxious to convey Covent Garden Market to some central authority. He can hardly offer it to the City, and the Metropolitan Board could not, if it would, take it, because the City of London has by its charters the monopoly of markets seven miles round London, and we see that the City idea of markets for the whole of the metropolis—except the cattle-market in the Copenhagen Fields—means markets within the area of the City of London. A municipal authority representing London would do something to supplement Lady Burdett Coutts' efforts to establish a fish-market for the poor, and would seek, in the numerous districts where they are required, to establish meat, vegetable, and fish markets for the people. As if to show how puny are the efforts of the Board—how ignorant of what is wanting to an elevated municipal life, Parliament thirty years ago decreed, at the end of thirty years, slaughter-houses should cease in the metropolis; yet a member of the Board (Dr Brewer) took charge of a Bill in the House to continue slaughter-houses in the metropolis. The City successfully opposed their continuance within their area, and the Metropolitan Board was authorised to pass rules for their continuance outside this area. We have said enough to show that in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board, with its double system of election—in the constitution of Vestries, and their administration of the law intrusted to them, the public have no faith; and this opinion is shared by nearly every organ of public opinion.

To meet the difficulty many new systems have been proposed, one of several bodies, with authority over conterminous areas, to deal with works, lighting, water, and police. Mr Ayrton, while proposing thirty possibly acceptable resolutions for reform, ignored the great City Corporation, proposing to elevate the Metropolitan Board to the post of precedence. Mr John Stuart Mill proposed to form a municipal authority in each parliamentary borough, and by a federation of these, absorbing the Metropolitan Board, to form with the City Corporation a great municipal council for all London, following the precedents of Manchester and Salford, Portsmouth and Portsea and Gosport,



and Plymouth and Devonport, and the thirteen townships of Birmingham, and the fifteen in Leeds merged in the corporations.

These Bills at the time received a large amount of popular favour, and after Mr Mill's defeat in Westminster, were re-introduced by Mr Charles Buxton, and the principle was adopted in the House of Commons on a division, receiving the support of the Government.

Further consideration has been given to the basis on which final legislation should be made, and it was agreed last autumn to propose to establish one great municipality for the metropolis; not so large as proposed by the Registrar-General, who, with rare courage, suggested an extension to the Metropolitan Police District, that the extent of the municipality may be equal to the area of the interests involved, but uniting the Metropolitan Board and the whole of the Vestries with the ancient Corporation, extending its municipal powers and functions over the metropolis by the creation of new wards, as had formerly been the custom in the City, evidenced by the wards of Farringdon and Cripplegate *Without*. It seems to us that this must be the basis on which this important question must ultimately be settled. The Commissioners of 1837 said—"We hardly anticipate that it will be suggested, for the purpose of removing the appearance of singularity, that the other quarters of the town should be formed into independent and isolated communities, if, indeed, the multifarious relations to which their proximity compels them would permit them to be isolated and independent. This plan would, as it seems to us, in getting rid of an anomaly, tend to multiply and perpetuate an evil;" whilst that careful and timid body of 1854 mildly put it—"With the single exception of London, the local government of every considerable town in the United Kingdom is vested in a municipal corporation. This government is not confined to a portion of the town, but since the recent statutory reforms, comprehends its entire circuit. In London, however, as we have already seen, the municipal government extends only over a small portion of the entire town, whether measured by area or by population. If it were held that municipal institutions were not suited to a metropolitan city, no reason could be found except its antiquity and existence for maintaining the Corporation of London, even with its present limited area. It appears to us, however, that a metropolitan city requires for its own local purposes municipal institutions not less than other towns." It does indeed raise the inquiry whether one great municipal organisation would not be too vast an authority for Parliament to deal with: it involves the question whether the control of the police, and the selection of

officers like the Recorder and Common Sergeant, should be in the hands of the Corporation, or be transferred to the Government. The City, as we have said, controls its own police; and to take from it that power which is exercised by every corporation in the United Kingdom, except Dublin, would excite the opposition of the ancient corporation, and would be a policy of *levelling down*. To transfer the metropolitan police to an extended municipality would be a policy of *levelling up*, and, we venture to think, is the policy which on further reflection will be adopted. Sir Robert Peel raised no fears of the Crown and Parliament being overawed in first dealing with the question, and that was in an unreformed Parliament in 1829; and Lord John Russell, in introducing the Municipal Reform Bill, said, "Indeed, the only notion I can form of a municipal government is that the keeping of the peace—or, to use the words of olden times, 'the quieting of the town'—should be immediately under the control of the persons who are deemed proper to have the government of the town." As a matter of fact, it is notorious that in no countries are property and life less secure than in countries where the police is in the hands of Government. It is as a rule only an organised spy-system. The man who will control London, in the event of a great crisis arising, is not the man who governs the police, but he who holds the guns at Woolwich. There would have been no Commune in Paris if there had been no guns in their hands. And we must be true to the constitutional rights of the municipality to be responsible for order within its bounds. We must find the means to unite the continuance of popular rights with absolute security to Parliament and the Crown. It is ludicrous, but it is true, that Lord Fortescue was unwise enough to prophesy in 1855 that the Metropolitan Board and its forty-five members "would discuss politics instead of sewerage questions, and threaten to overshadow the authority of the Speaker and that of the Imperial Parliament."

It is equally unwise now to assume that a metropolitan corporation would become a parliamentary cabal, antagonistic to Crown or nation, which the Parliament represents. It is another question whether the criminal judges should be nominated by a popular body even subject to the veto of the Crown; and compromise on this head is practicable. In the presence of a strong Conservative Government there would not be much fear of a most conservative solution of any of the doubtful problems.

The City Corporation, by its Municipal Committee, reported favourably of the Bills proposed by Mr James Beal, introduced by the late J. S. Mill, and has in various ways expressed its approval since of the same idea. These bills proposed the

creation of a municipality in each of the parliamentary divisions of the metropolis. The demand for unity of government has, however, displaced this suggested compromise. The first condition of reform is now held to be the establishment of a municipality for the entire metropolis, so organised that it shall consist of men both capable of conceiving great plans and sufficiently representative of all classes to be intrusted with ample powers for carrying them out. Lord Elcho's Bill, as proposed by Mr Beal, proposing the establishment of one great municipality, seems to meet the case completely, and to pay due regard to the vested interests of the old Corporation in our midst. We trust that its principle will be accepted by the great interests it will affect, and that, to quote the *Times*, "all London may be united in one great municipality, the richest, the most intelligent, and the most powerful in the world, and fitted therefore to be, as we confidently trust it will be, a model to all others."

All who are earnest in advocating reform would heartily join in common efforts to prevent abuses denounced by Earl Grey as existing in New York and other American cities, in the corporate bodies in our Australian colonies, and even in our principal corporations; and with the experience of forty years of their working, Parliament should be able to supply a remedy. The vices of unwise parsimony on the one hand, or of extravagant expenditure on the other, ought to be guarded against, and remedies provided.

The great vested interest to be appeased is not Vestrydom, but the Court of Common Council. The Common Council for the City proper would be reduced to, say forty-five. The fear of being one of the rejected acts on the mind of the City fathers as a codicil repealing a bequest. The fact that they are resident in the districts adjacent, and may be the elect for a larger area to the realm in which they shine as a glass of glory, moves them not to welcome the change. The wiser men in their midst see in the scheme proposed a compliment paid to the ancient Corporation; not so the expectant moribund group.

Timid corporations would do well to reflect on the folly, in the midst of great wisdom, in the past history of the City Corporation. It declined the administration of its poor law, and has now the Local Government Board in its midst. It did not, as Liverpool did, attach itself to docks, and let its rule extend

"As wide as eye  
-Could reach, with here and there a sail still skipping"

along its great highway, and has now lost the conservancy of the Thames, and is gradually but surely being hugged out of existence. It did not carry out its original policy of expan-



sion, or adopt the Act of Charles II. to unite the cities of London and Southwark and Westminster—did not pursue its early proposal to embank the river, and must now be content either to see the Metropolitan Board gradually dispossess it and absorb it, or must nerve itself to support one or other of the proposals now under discussion, if it is to maintain its position amongst the municipalities of the Empire.

The radical defects inherent in the constitution of the Metropolitan Board, and its own weakness in dealing with corruption in its midst, has not favoured its course of hostility to the Corporation, or filled the public with enthusiasm to see its empire extended. It shows the wisdom of the remark of the late Sir Robert Peel in the debate on the Corporation Bill 1835, that he thought “it much better to place towns under the exclusive control of a corporate authority, invigorated and adapted to their present state of society, than to leave the ancient Corporation precisely where we find it, *devolving at the same time all real power, and almost all the functions of administrative authority, upon some new body consolidated on a different and more popular principle.*” This would be a virtual supercession of the ancient Corporation—a virtual extinction of the power for the exercise of which it was originally intended.” These are prophetic words. The City has, from short-sightedness or cupidity, lost a great opportunity, and, unless a change comes over its counsels in meeting the popular demand for the extension of the municipal institutions in the metropolis, must be content to see

“The flower and blossom of its house  
 . . . blown to other towers.”



## ART. VI.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF PESSIMISM.

*Philosophie des Unbewussten.* Von EDUARD VON HARTMANN.  
Sechste Auflage. Berlin. 1874.

FEW works in English literature have had within this century a greater influence on Europe, and more particularly on Germany, than the speculations of Mr Charles Darwin and Mr Alfred Wallace on the processes of natural selection. The studies of Goethe and Hegel had already in different ways familiarised their countrymen with the ideas of continuous development, of gradual variation ; and the ground they had thus broken readily received the ingenious theories and verifying facts of our great English naturalists. Darwinism took deep root in Germany, and in the pages of Dr Haeckel met with original and independent treatment. What was and is most characteristic of this movement is its tendency to read the world as a teleological construction. It rejects, indeed, the anthropomorphic teleology of a former century—the methods of nature display a prodigality and indirectness quite unlike that of the human artificer—but it still views the world as a connected process, in which finality and design are everywhere conspicuous. Utility to an end is the characteristic which it detects to a greater or a less degree in all organisms, whether of a higher or a lower kind. It discovers that an unconscious selection of the best and most perfect structures regulates all vegetable and animal life. With this natural selection is combined the conception of a struggle for existence—a struggle necessary, because the means of subsistence on the earth fall far short of the continuous increase in its population. This struggle for existence—this *bellum omnium contra omnes*—ends eventually in the survival of the fittest, *i.e.*, of the strongest and the cleverest, and a corresponding extinction of the lower and less competent species. The world, therefore, is the union of production and destruction—of love and strife, as Empedocles, who had already caught glimpses of the continuous development of species, expressed it ; it is, in short, the result of some power or other, which is continually, through natural selection and like processes, effecting the final supremacy of higher races on the earth. But the thought arises, if all life be purchased at the cost of internecine competition—if the state of nature, which Hobbes so graphically described, be not merely a passing phase of the world's history, but the universal law of all creation, can life be happy ? Is it not in man a moral duty to

protect the weak, and can that be right in nature which is wrong in us? Is this world indeed the best possible world, if, to preserve itself, it requires to employ means which human nature views with detestation and abhorrence? What can be the nature of the power which thus kills off its weaker children, and what can be the object which it sets before itself? And here, where science ends, philosophy begins.

The essential problem of philosophy is to reach the final explanation of existence—to reduce the phenomena of the universe at large to some one common fundamental principle, of which these several phenomena shall be but single aspects or manifestations. What is existence when we strip it of all its accidental features?—that is, in simple words, *the* question which all philosophy attempts to answer. It was the question Thales set before himself when he replied that water was the principle of all existence—that water which keeps green the grass, which fills the earth with fruit and plenty, which supports all vegetable and animal life, and which, now in a thicker, now in a thinner form, enters into everything that “is.” It was the question, again, in reference to which Plotinus posited his universal, indefinable and unpredicable, supra-rational primordial “one,” as the beginning and the end of all existence. \*

To this same question which Thales answers in so natural, Plotinus in so mystical a manner, the latest German philosophy, that of Dr Edward von Hartmann, makes an answer which it hopes will serve as common basis for philosophy and science, and be the reconciliation of the two. Were the solutions of science and philosophy as far apart as those of Thales and Plotinus, this might appear a rather hopeless quest. But when philosophy resolves the world into the developing idea, while science speaks of blind force, of struggle for existence, of unconscious selection, the problem simplifies itself, and Hartmann gives the following answer:—The Unconscious is the ultimate principle of all existence; it enters into all organic forces, into all our bodily movements and our mental processes; it guides man through all the stages of his life, and, without man’s knowledge, it directs his steps so as to realise its plans; it lies at the root and forms the essence of both matter and spirit; they are therefore identical, and only different aspects of the self-same substance. Thus the world throughout is guided by an end; finality and design are everywhere: and this end, towards which all creation tends, is Consciousness. But with Consciousness the world but awakes to know its misery. For the Unconscious should never have been realised; the unconscious idea, which the unconscious will has arbitrarily externalised, can and does only end in a world of



wretchedness ; and men are only blinded to the fact of the misery of existence by a series of illusions, from which, however, the individual and the race gradually emerge, to find that they are powerless agents in the hands of this all-encompassing power, and that their duty lies in making the ends of the Unconscious the ends also of their Consciousness, and in assisting in the exhaustion of a process, which, on its rational side, the Unconscious comes to know is irrational and vain.

Such in its wider features is the philosophy of Dr Hartmann. But to appreciate it fully, it will be necessary not only to consider the subject in more detail, but also to trace its genesis and historical antecedents. To do this at any length would lead us far beyond our present limits. But a few words may explain the more immediate results of which the system of the Unconscious is the outcome.

Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" had shown, or had been taken to show, that, in so far as we know objects only under forms of intuition—viz., space and time—which we ourselves have introduced, we never really know the thing in itself, but only as it is affected by these forms: we never know nor can know the object as it actually is, but merely as it appears to us ; absolute, unconditioned knowledge is an impossibility ; all we know is the relative and phenomenal. The Kantian doctrines thus naturally led to a one-sided subjective idealism: and it was such a subjective idealism that paved the way for the pessimist philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer.

Arthur Schopenhauer was born at Dantzic in 1788, and passed his earlier years in mercantile pursuits. But upon his father's death (by suicide?) he relinquished a career for which he was eminently unfitted, and, under the guidance of his literary mother, and with the friendship of Goethe, Schulze, and others, devoted himself to the study of philosophy and art. The result of his studies appeared in 1819, in his best-known and most distinctive work, "The World as Will and Idea" (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*). From a commercial point of view, this work was an utter failure. Like the "Treatise on Human Nature," it fell dead-born from the press ; and this fact itself served to intensify the tendencies to pessimism already present in the mind of Schopenhauer. But in 1839 the Royal Scientific Society of Norway "crowned" his essay on the "Liberty of Will," and the light of Schopenhauer no longer remained in obscurity. By 1859 his "World as Will" had reached its third edition ; he had expanded and applied his views in other treatises : and when he died at Frankfort in 1860, he had gathered round him no inconsiderable number of disciples zealous

to propagate his views. What these views were a few sentences will show us.\*

The objective world—such is the basis of the philosophy of Schopenhauer—is not merely, as Berkeley and Kant had said, an idea or presentation (*Vorstellung*): this is but the secondary and subjective aspect of the world as an object of cognition; and here it is the principle of sufficient reason, of causal connection, which forms the basis of all forms of presentation and cognition.† The world is rather a manifestation of Will. Just as the idea of Will is the key to my own personal existence, so also is it Will which explains the outer world. The same interpretation which applies to ourselves will apply also to objective realities. While, however, Will is generally used to signify a conscious choice, Schopenhauer, identifying it with what we more commonly know as force, regards it as essentially unconscious, and only conscious by accident. For Schopenhauer, all that exists, whether it be a physical phenomenon or a mental fact, is but a manifestation, an emanation of Will. Will is the real thing-in-itself, the *ding-an-sich*, which Kant had posited but not explained. Thus the universe appears to us in its totality as a progressive objectification of Will—an objectification in which, from the universal forces of nature and the phenomena of inorganic existence, we pass through those of vegetable and animal life to the ideal creations of literature and art. These progressive stages in the objectification of Will, Schopenhauer identifies with the ideas of Plato: it is such ideas, such universal pre-existent types of developing existence, that art realises.

In the human brain the Will attains the clearest consciousness of its own nature. Simultaneously, man learns that reality is an illusion, and life a succession of sorrows. To enter, then, into the realm of morality, we must recognise the identity of all beings as different manifestations of one common Will, and acknowledge that the individual self is a delusion: we must crush that eager affirmation of the wish for life on which all egoism rests. The basis of morality must be sympathy, humanity, and the love not only of the human race, but of all animal creation—vivisection Schopenhauer earnestly condemns. All selfish pleasure, therefore, must be crushed, and in particular the joys of love. Love is the delusion of delusions, the vanity of vanities. It rests simply on the fact that Will has not yet given up its determina-

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\* There is a good account of the philosophy of Schopenhauer by M. Ribot—“*La Philosophie de Schopenhauer*” (Paris, Baillière, 1874): and the English reader will find an article on the subject under the title “Iconoclasm in German Philosophy” in the *Westminster Review* for April 1853.

† This was the subject of Schopenhauer’s thesis for the degree of Doctor before the University of Berlin: “*Ueber die vierfache Wurzel des Satzes von Zureichenden Grunde*” (Rudolstadt, 1813).

tion to externalise itself and enjoy more of life—an end for which it employs an array of fascination and romance. The real end of love, however, is never anything but the procreation of a new individual, though the directing Will glozes its immediate object, and persuades the lovers that their union is based on other and higher considerations. Love is a passion of the race: the individual is but its instrument. The lovers may believe that they are pursuing their own interest; in reality, however, it is the advantage of the kind they are securing: the advantage,—from the point of view of Will, which has not yet exhausted its desire to live. But, in actual truth, marriage is the greatest of all crimes, the continually-recurring “fall of man,” because in perpetuating life it simply perpetuates misery. Happiness is but a dream: this world is not the best possible, but the worst of all possible worlds. “The basis,” Schopenhauer himself says, “of all man’s being is want, defect, and pain. While the most complete objectification of Will, man is by that same fact the most defective of all beings. His life is only a continual *struggle for existence*, with the certainty of being beaten.” Pleasure so called is altogether negative: it is pain which is the positive, and the state that we call pleasure is simply the absence of pain.

Thus Schopenhauer draws the same conclusion as Byron—

“Count o’er the joys thine hours have seen,  
Count o’er thy days from anguish free;  
And know, whatever thou hast been,  
’Tis something better—not to be.”

But this result is not to be attained through suicide, for suicide rests on a decided egoism. The suicide really wishes life; the only thing he does not wish is pain. His action merely affects the individual; it brings no salvation for the race. Whence, then, is deliverance to come? and the answer is, In *knowing* that the world is radically and necessarily bad. Such knowledge leaves no ground for that old affirmation of the Will to live: it leads to a negation of Will, to a renunciation of desire, which, completed by means of asceticism and mortification, must attain that perfect freedom of the Will, that true *Nirvāna*, in which there is no more Will, and therefore no longer an ideal presentation or a real world. Religion Schopenhauer views as philosophy and metaphysic for the million; and the disciple will find his religious creed in the “four sublime verities” of Buddhism.\*

The prophet’s mantle of Schopenhauer has descended upon Dr Edward von Hartmann. Not that Hartmann’s philosophy

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\* The four sublime verities of Buddhism are as follows:—1st, Existence is pain; 2d, the cause of pain is desire; 3d, pain may cease by Nirvāna; and 4th, Nirvāna is attained by contemplation, and finally by ecstasy.



is a mere repetition or simple adaptation of that of Schopenhauer. Much in the later exposition is entirely new, and, throughout, the more glaring views and paradoxes of the earlier thinker are criticised and modified. The wealth of illustration with which Dr Hartmann writes, the penetration of his observations, are sufficient in themselves to stamp him as an independent thinker. The Darwinian views which Schopenhauer, like Kant and others, had independently arrived at, but failed to verify or systematise—the white Caucasian, for example, he regarded as an offshoot, bleached by a colder climate—form a new and striking element in the philosophy of Hartmann. But throughout the pessimist stand-point is maintained, and Hartmann, while borrowing much from Schelling, and not unaffected by Hegelian ideas, stands forth the successor and popular expositor of Schopenhauer.

Karl Robert Eduard von Hartmann is the son of a Prussian general, and was born at Berlin in 1842. Embracing the calling of his father, he in 1858 entered the artillery of the Royal Guard. He attained the rank of officer in 1860, but was shortly thereafter wounded so seriously as to involve his retirement from the career upon which he had so auspiciously entered. From his earliest years he had been distinguished for his serious and reflective habits, and had already found time in the midst of his military duties to read philosophy. With the leisure, therefore, which his injuries imposed upon him, he devoted himself entirely to his favourite pursuit, and in no long time exhibited the results of his reading and speculation in a progressive series of treatises. In 1868 appeared his treatise “On the Dialectic Method” (*Ueber die dialektische Methode*), a criticism in the main of the Hegelian form of proof; and soon after followed his critique of Kant’s attitude and exposition of his own theory of cognition under the title of “The Thing-in-Itself, and its Character” (*Das Ding-an-sich und seine Beschaffenheit*), and his two general and partly historical explications of his theories in Schelling’s “Positive Philosophy as Unity of Hegel and Schopenhauer” (*Schellings Positive Philosophie als Einheit von Hegel und Schopenhauer*), and his “Collected Philosophical Discussions” (*Gesammelte philosophische Abhandlungen*). In 1869 the University of Rostock conferred on him the degree of Doctor. But Dr Hartmann is not solely a philosopher; he is also an art critic and dramatic writer. He has composed a book of “Aphorisms on the Drama;” has written on “Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet;” and has also published, under the signature of Karl Robert, a volume of “Dramatic Poems.” More recently, besides replying to criticisms and supplying additional expositions of his system, he has given expression to his views on subjects of popular and universal interest. Such are his “Spontaneous Decomposition of

Christianity, and the Religion of the Future" (*Die Selbstzerstörung des Christenthums und die Religion der Zukunft*), a work of which the first edition of 2000 copies was exhausted within eight weeks; his "Truth and Error in Darwinism" (*Wahrheit und Irrthum im Darwinismus*), a most searching criticism of this popular evolution theory; and his "Higher School Reform" (*Zur Reform des höheren Schulwesens*), a treatise, which, from the importance it assigns to Greek literature, and the manner in which it indicates the uselessness of mere natural history as opposed to natural science, should commend itself to all interested in higher education. It is, however, with his complete systematic work "The Philosophy of the Unconscious" (*Philosophie des Unbewussten*), a volume of more than 800 pages, that the name of Hartmann most readily connects itself. Originally published in 1869, this work had already in 1874 reached its sixth edition—had, that is, enjoyed a popularity perhaps unparalleled in the history of speculative works.\* The reasons of this popularity are not difficult to find. Dr Hartmann, while a philosopher, is, as we have seen, a poet also; and his writings are full of imaginative touches which cannot fail to fascinate the reader. He is familiar with the results of modern science, and can give his theories a concrete rendering, which is often wanting in philosophy. Beyond all else his philosophy is popular, and easy to be grasped. It rests throughout upon a single principle, which it discovers to be present everywhere; one single chapter of the work forms thus a more or less complete type of the whole system. Besides, its final answer strikes a sympathetic chord; the human heart likes better to listen to a gospel of inactivity than a preacher of battle and effort. Yet, by a strange irony of fate, Dr Hartmann does not present the appearance of a misanthrope or pessimist. The portrait prefixed to the sixth edition of his works is that of a "jolly good fellow," who might be the last to be an atrabilious Werther. With bushy hair and sweeping beard, broad forehead, and clear-cut features, he seems at once sympathetic and genial; a deeper glance may detect that shade of affectation which, as implying an unconscious egoism, may explain the secret of his pessimist conclusions.†

The philosophy of Hartmann regards, we have already seen, the Unconscious as the principle and essence of all existence. It arrives at this result through an application of the argument from final causes.

Final Causes have been, since the time of Bacon, in bad repute

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\* While we are passing through the press, a seventh and enlarged edition (in two volumes) has appeared.

† Most of these facts are derived from an excellent article by M. Albert Reville, under the title, "Un nouveau Système de Philosophie allemande," in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1st October 1874.

with philosophy and science. But the hostility of Bacon did not go so far as is generally supposed. If in the "Novum Organum" he speaks with an unmitigated contempt for their employment, the "Advancement of Learning" merely banishes their practical application from physical science, and no way denies their congruity with physical explanations, or their value in metaphysical inquiries. That the complete explanation of a phenomenon requires that its final as well as its efficient cause be taken into account, every student of Aristotle knows; and it is unnecessary to point out here that the mechanical and scientific analysis of a fact must be in every case completed by the teleological and philosophical. Final causes, while not constitutive, are, as Kant pointed out, regulative ideas in knowledge and existence: they guide discovery, and supply that organic band which gives the world unity. But either the exclusively mechanical or the exclusively teleological explanation will be a failure; and no system, which appeals throughout to the teleological synthesis, will express the actual fact in all its concrete character.

This congruity of final with efficient causes Dr Hartmann professes fully to recognise. "Teleology," he remarks, "is in no way something in addition to, still less something in defiance of Causality. Far, in fact, from doing away with the universal presence of causal connection, it rather, on the contrary, presupposes it; and this not only for material objects amongst one another, but also for the relations of mind to matter, and mind to mind.

The teleological explanation, however, it will be seen, tends to become a *deus ex machina* in the philosophy of Hartmann; it is the force to which appeal is made when the mechanical reason cannot be readily discovered. The final cause, in fact, is conceived as the unknown  $x$ , which remains behind material explanations. The efficient cause ( $M$ ) of an event ( $Z$ )—this is Hartmann's mode of proof—must be explained either by the environment of known circumstances ( $nn$ ), or by other material circumstances which have escaped observation; or lastly, the ground of  $M$  is to be sought for in the field of mind. But, adds Hartmann, the supposition that the immediate efficient cause  $M$  is the result of material conditions that have hitherto escaped discovery, contradicts the assumption that the collective material circumstances which immediately precede  $M$  are contained in  $nn$ ; and the immediate antecedents of  $M$  would be, as a rule, contained within a narrow range of facts readily open to observation. There are, therefore, only two cases possible: either  $M$  is the result of known material conditions, or it is the result of spiritual reasons. The sum of these two alternatives may be expressed as 1. If then the probability that  $M$  is caused by material reasons ( $nn$ ) be represented by  $\frac{1}{\infty}$ , the probability



of spiritual causes will be represented by  $1 - \frac{1}{x}$ . Supposing, now, that material reasons cannot be discovered,  $\frac{1}{x}$  becomes imperceptibly small, while the other supposition—that of spiritual reasons—approaches the nearer to the certainty expressed by 1. This probability of spiritual reasons becomes still greater when the phenomenon involves the connected action of a number of different parts. For however high the probability that each of these may be individually explained by material laws, the probability that their *united* action can be so explained becomes infinitely small. Take, for instance, the phenomenon of vision. The act of vision requires the combination of at least thirteen different conditions (optic nerve, retina, focal distance, &c.) for its execution; and yet all are present in the newly-born child. Now, allowing the probability of each of these conditions being the result of material conditions of the embryo life to stand as high as  $\frac{9}{10}$ , the probability of their being *all* resolved into such reasons is, as the product of single probabilities,  $0.9^{13} = 0.254$ : if, however, the probability of each being due to physical reasons be only  $\frac{1}{2}$ , or 0.5, the probability of a *spiritual* reason for the whole will be 0.999985—in other words, will approach within the smallest fraction of full certainty.

“In this manner,” says Hartmann, “we have seen how from material processes we may reason back to the co-operation of spiritual causes, although these last do not lie open to immediate knowledge. It is only a step from this to the knowledge of finality. A spiritual cause for material processes can only lie in spiritual action: and where the spirit is to work externally, Will must be present, while again the conception of that which the Will wills cannot be absent. The spiritual cause is therefore Will in combination with conception.”—P. d. U. p. 43.

Such is the conception of final causes which forms the basis of the philosophy of the Unconscious. It professes to be in no way additional (*neben*), or contrary to that of causal connection; but in reality it is both. It rests, as the historian of Materialism has remarked, on a mere mathematical expression of our subjective ignorance, and becomes a principle lying beyond the limits of physical investigation. It arbitrarily assumes that physical investigation is at some one point complete and final, and that, whatever has not been explained by the physicist, will never and can never be explained by him. It dogmatically closes the field of physical inquiry, and takes refuge in a phantom, which explains everything simply because it is itself incapable of explanation.

The truth is, the teleological and mechanical explanations are not different kinds, but merely different grades or sides of knowledge. As Hartmann himself has in another treatise excellently

said—"Causality and Teleology are only different sides of a higher unifying principle. Teleology presupposes Mechanism, and is impossible without it, just as conversely Mechanism is impossible without Teleology" ("Darwinismus," p. 158). Just as, in the sphere of thought and being, mechanism must be absorbed in chemism, and this again in Teleology; so in knowledge, the mechanical must be elevated to the teleological, and this again incorporated in the mechanical. The idea is not something outside, but inside nature; something, therefore, which the mere mechanical explanation cannot grasp; though it is none the less implicit in the mechanical, because the latter is but part of it. Dr Hartmann regards his philosophy as "speculative results according to the inductive methods of the natural sciences," and hopes that he has brought his mite towards a system bringing the highest speculative principles into union with the results of science. But throughout his work the scientific and the philosophic explanations lie apart: the final cause is regarded as the residue which remains behind the physical account; the real and the rational are not shown to coincide, but are left apart as independent entities.

A bad foundation leaves but little prospect of a solid structure. The conception of finality, from which the presence of unconscious spiritual agencies is deduced, has been shown to be inadequate and inconsistent; and thus an original *à priori* ground against the workings of the Unconscious has been obtained. It remains to see the value of the *à posteriori* reasons for the presence of the Unconscious in the animal organism and the human intellect.

To begin with, Hartmann dispossesses us of the idea that Will necessarily involves brain or brain-consciousness. On the contrary, the spinal marrow and nerve-ganglia possess an independent will. This presence of an unconscious will—i.e., a will confined to the nervous centres in which it acts, and never coming into consciousness within the brain—is testified by a variety of facts. A frog after decapitation continues to move in an intelligent manner, which can only be described as will. The polypus, with no trace of muscle or nerve-fibres in it, distinguishes unerringly between a dead and living object, and immediately takes steps to secure the latter. If, however, asks Dr Hartmann, an insect, when divided, shows that the will for eating is contained within its front ganglia, the will for generation in those behind, why should not man possess a similar division of labour? And, in fact, such independent wills are spread through the body. We find them in the beating of the heart, in the movement of the stomach and intestines, in the tension of the sinews, and in many of the vegetative processes.

Will, therefore, is a force of wider scope than that usually assigned to it. It is not merely a conscious intention : we have seen the existence in one individual of separate wills, which can at most be known consciously only to the nervous centres, through which the Will externalises itself. The Will is rather the immanent cause of every animal movement which cannot be referred to reflex action. Whether this cause—this original source of action—be or be not present to consciousness, is but an accident. Will, consequently, may be unconscious—*i.e.*, it may proceed without the intervention of the brain.

Not only, however, are there in men and animals acts of will outside brain-consciousness : unconscious conceptions also may be detected in the execution of a movement strictly willed. The resolution, for instance, to move my little finger can be effected only through a number of intermediate stages of which I possess no consciousness. For the movement requires that on the keyboard of the brain, a point *P* should be struck, exactly fitted to call forth this result. No reference to habit or practice, to muscular feelings derived from similar cases, nor to the influence of brain-vibrations, will account for the phenomenon—

“ From the impossibility, therefore, of a mechanico-material solution, it follows that the intermediate links must be of a spiritual nature ; and from the decided absence of adequate conscious intermediate links, it follows further that these must be unconscious. From the necessity of an impulse of will on the point *P*, it follows that the unconscious will to lift the finger creates an unconscious will to move the point, so as by moving *P* to lift the finger ; and the content of this will (to excite *P*) presupposes again the unconscious conception of the point *P*. This conception, however, can consist only in the presentation of the position of *P* relatively to the other parts of the brain. In this way, then, the problem is solved as follows : Every movement connected with a special choice of will presupposes the unconscious conception of the position of the corresponding motor nerve-terminations in the brain.”—P. d. U. p. 66.

Unconscious conception forms the basis of instinctive actions. Instinct, in fact, may be defined as action leading to an end of which the individual is not conscious. Here again, Hartmann first points out the inadequacy of material explanation. Instinct is not, as is often implied, the simple consequence of the bodily organisation ; the organisation is quite as much the result of the instinct. Birds with the same general organism build their nests in the most different ways ; web-footed animals sometimes swim, sometimes not. Conversely, animals with different structure present in some cases the same instinct ; the migratory habit, for instance, is found alike in birds with very different organisa-



tions. Nor will it mend the case to say that while the mere organ will not create the instinct, the desire to relieve or satisfy the organ will account for actions called instinctive. Instinct frequently involves a fatal sacrifice ; the bird robbed of its eggs lays and relays until its powers are wasted, and it sinks dead on the nest. Instinct, in short, cannot be explained as the simple consequence of bodily organisation.

The Cartesians viewed instinct as an innate mechanism which nature had implanted. But were this the case, the instinct would work incessantly and invariably, without respect to the presence or the absence of the object. The instinct, however, only comes into action with the appearance of the motive ; beforehand it remains latent and inactive ; and while its unconscious end or purpose continues constant, the instinct itself varies continually, so as to adapt its means towards this end. Thus the hatching of its eggs remains throughout the constant end before the bird ; but in colder climates to effect this end it broods over them, in warmer latitudes it leaves the task of hatching to the sun. The cuckoo lays its eggs so as to correspond in colour with the eggs within the nest it chooses. Instinctive actions, these examples show, are not simply functions unwound, machine-like, in accordance with established laws ; they are instead capable of such variations as to seem at times almost to wheel round into their opposites.

Instinct is throughout full of reason and intelligence, but it contains nothing of conscious reasoning or reflection. Conscious actions are perfected by habit ; the young animal possesses its instinct in as complete a form as the old. Instinct never errs ; it never doubts or hesitates ; its actions are immediate and instantaneous. What an inconceivable amount of reflection would the poor caterpillar have to go through, when it forms its cocoon in exactly such a way as will form a ready exit for an unarmed animal, but will still serve as an impenetrable shield against outsiders. Not only, however, is instinct independent of reflection ; it frequently rests on facts quite removed from consciousness and outside ordinary knowledge. Thus the female larva of the stag-beetle, before passing into the chrysalis state, forms a hole exactly its own size ; the male larva forms one exactly double, and it does so from a knowledge, which it does not consciously possess, that its horns *will* be exactly equal in length to its body. So also is it when the ferret distinguishes between the adder and the harmless snake, although it has had no experience of either.

The explanation, then, of instinct can be sought for only in the determination of Will through a process buried in unconsciousness. There are endless facts to prove that instinct rests upon a knowledge never emerging into consciousness, but only known through its results. Young pigeons show at once their

fear of birds of prey; horses on streets filled with industry shudder as they pass the Zoological. Dogs find their medicine in grass; chickens discover the chalk they need on walls and walks; many birds foresee with mysterious *clairvoyance* the approach of a severe winter, and migrate early to escape it. This unconscious foresight is not confined to animals; a similar *clairvoyance* may be seen in the healthy instincts of women and children; a Gretchen often spies a Mephistopheles. The presentiments which many people have had of their own death and of that of others, the cases of second-sight so common amongst northern nations, the prophecies of great national disasters, and the like—all bear witness to this same unconscious knowledge. Science indeed denies and disowns such phenomena, but it does so simply because it cannot reach their explanation from its materialistic standpoint.

Instinct, then, concludes Dr Hartmann, at the close of one of the most interesting and instructive chapters of his work, is neither the result of conscious reflection, nor the effect of bodily organisation, nor the simple sequel of a mechanism located in the structure of the brain; it is not the working of a dead and alien machinery imposed from without upon the mind; it is the very personal action of the individual, arising from his inmost essence and character. Instinct, in fact, is the choice of means towards an end not consciously willed, and known only by a species of *clairvoyance*.

The Unconscious at this point becomes a more definite conception than it has yet shown itself. It is the unity of Will and Idea; it embraces in itself as inseparable elements the creative force of Will and the object or Idea which Will puts before itself to realise. Just as the Substance of Spinoza manifested itself in the two modes of thought and extension, so the Unconscious as final explanation of existence is the combination of Will and Idea; and it thus unites two dynamic principles which previous theories had left apart. The philosophy of Hegel had recognised the reality of the Idea; it had analysed the different stages through which the idea passes in its transition from its pure existence in itself, through its separation from itself in nature, to its return into itself in conscious mind. But the idea, as such, Hartmann holds, never emerges into existence; it can do so only under the direction of the actualising will.

“The logical idea in Hegel cannot make the smallest step of progress without the ferment of the illogical (will), which does not so much accompany as create its development, from the absolute vacancy of commencement without presupposition, on to its highest fulness and completion. Here, in fact, the illogical is the male element by which

the logical must be impregnated before it can bring forth a new form of the idea " ("Erläuterungen," p. 15).

Schopenhauer, on the other hand, had given an exclusive prominence to Will, and left no place for the representative idea in the constitution of objective nature. He had regarded the world in all its different phenomena as merely a progressive objectification of Will. But, as Aristotle has remarked, (De An. iii. 10) Ὁρεκτικὸν οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας—Will is impossible without a content in the form of an idea which it strives to realise. Every act of will intends the transition from a present to a future condition, and involves, therefore, necessarily the conception of the present condition as the starting-point, and the conception of the new condition as the end of that endeavour in which Will consists. The Idea, therefore, on the one hand, requires an externalising force; the Will, on the other, an idea or conception as its object; and the principle of existence embraces thus at once a volitional and intellectual element. No form, then, of the activity of Will is possible without an ideal content of conception, for Will is the translation of the ideal into the real. The difference accordingly between conscious and unconscious Will reduces simply to a difference between Will of which the conception is, and Will of which the conception is not, consciously present.

Such unconscious Will we find in reflex actions—actions, that is, in which the impression made on the peripheral termination of a nerve is transmitted to a central organ, and thence, through the medium of a motor nerve, sets the muscles into play. Such reflex actions, whether the simple sequence of a single contraction upon a single irritation, or the more complicated answers to an external stimulus, which we see in the adaptation of the eye to vision, or in the tendency to think aloud in strong emotion, can only be accounted for as the instinctive actions of the subordinated nervous centres—in other words, it is absolutely unconscious conceptions which, from the perception of the stimulus, produce the reflex Will, which is conscious for the centre in question, though not conscious to the brain itself. It is the presence of this unconscious Will and conception in nervous centres subordinated to the brain which explains how complicated movements like dancing or skating go on best unconsciously, and become clumsy and ungainly when any one step calls for reflexion. Hence also is it that we can, while reading, think of something altogether different, or can generally carry on simultaneously two or three different operations. All our reflective actions can, in fact, in course of time, become reflex.

The curative restorative powers of nature form another manifestation of the Unconscious. We may recognise this *vis medicatrix* in the polypus, which repairs its destroyed feelers, or in the



annelidæ, whose divided parts become new animals. The higher organisms show less of this curative force. But it appears in the increased flow of blood which comes to repair a local injury: it is the cure "*per primam intentionem*" which so often assists the surgeon after an operation: it is the safety-valve which relieves the secretions when their proper channel is closed, by diverting them into another, or, homeopathic-wise, throws off a dangerous disease by some milder ailment.

Analogous to this influence of the unconscious Will upon the powers of nature are the effects produced by conscious reflection upon the organic functions of the body. The hypochondriac feels pains in those parts of his body to which his attention is directed; the man about to undergo an operation feels the knife pass over him beforehand. Many people possess the capacity of blushing and of growing pale at will. Dr Hartmann has himself acquired the power of checking a troublesome hiccough. The belief of being poisoned will create its actual symptoms; the fear of cholera will superinduce the epidemic. The miracles of saints, the results of mesmerism, are instances of this same influence of mind on body. In all such cases we must recognise the presence of an unconscious Will as medium between the conscious Will and the intended end. The stronger, therefore, the conscious Will, the stronger the *unconscious* Will which it excites. The key of magic simply is—the more Will; the greater power.

Instinct, reflex action, and the restorative powers of nature, are but different aspects or stages of creation as a whole. It is natural, therefore, to expect that the explanation which held good for these will hold also for the larger process. The Unconscious is the ruling principle in all organic structure and creation. Here we must recognise the same foresight, *clairvoyance*, and finality as before. The embryo is provided with organs (of respiration, &c.), before it has occasion to use them; horses and dogs receive a thicker coat before the arrival of an inclement winter. But this finality appears particularly in the development of the animal creation. The end of the animal kingdom is the origin and the supremacy of consciousness. It is this end which explains the separation between plants and animals. In addition, this supposition of the rise of consciousness, as final cause of animal existence, will be found to serve as *raison d'être* of all the apparatus for movement, sense, perception, respiration, digestion, and the like. This finality extends even to the most minute details, and any objections which may be urged against it really rest upon a misinterpretation of the notion. The presence, for example, of useless organs, such as rudimentary teats in males, no way militates against the assumption of a final cause in all existence. Nature adopts the law of parsimony; its

economy rejects a multiplication of useless entities. Thus it does not lavishly introduce changes: it holds fast by the unity of the idea, and while it modifies its organism, leaves this unity untouched.

Consciousness is reached in man, but the Unconscious still continues and displays itself within the mental processes no less than in the strictly vegetable and organic functions. Instinct plays a large part in the human mind. We see it in the fear of actual death, in the sense of shame, in the feeling of disgust which leads us to reject improper food. But the most important instinct in mankind is maternal love. This also is an instinct in the human race, as surely as it is in lower animals. What else, asks Hartmann, could lead the high-souled cultivated woman to undertake for many months the most disagreeable and ludicrous of tasks—that of waiting on a helpless and ungrateful lump of flesh?

It is but a step from this to love and marriage. Hartmann's remarks here jar upon the poetry and romance with which love has so often been associated. He is not, indeed, like his great predecessor, a misogynist; on the contrary, he assigns the greatest importance to women in the development of humanity.\* His views of marriage, however, are as *outré* as those of Schopenhauer. Love in man is but co-ordinate with that general productive power of nature which leads the plant to shed its pollen, or the frog to propagate its spawn. Even the marriage union—the monogamic relation—is no peculiar institution due to human reflection: eagles and storks remain as faithful to their mates as men and women. Why, however, it may be asked, does this universal love concentrate itself upon this individual, and not on that? What, in fact, is the ground of sexual selection? A merely sensual explanation will not suffice, nor will reciprocal esteem account for it. Such esteem may lead to friendship, but love and friendship are poles asunder. The newspapers are full of suicides and murders caused by love: we never hear of such results from friendship.

Love, therefore, is no romantic drollery; it is an actual demon,

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\* "It is not too much to say that, for a young man high-toned female society is far more elevating and beneficial than male, and this the more the greater be the disposition of the man towards philosophy; for feminine society stands to male as the surview gained through experience of life does to that gained through books. The friendship of men can be supplied by books, that of women never can be so" (P. d. U., p. 360). But the benefits of this society must not be impaired by an artificial female education: the true woman is a piece of nature (*das echte Weib ist ein Stück Natur*), and we must be on our guard against making the female sex too rational and conscious. "Female education must rest less upon the intellect than upon feeling and taste. Feeling and sentiment must be trained to great extent in the family, so that there remains as object of training for the school scarcely another object than the taste or the æsthetic sense," (*Reform des Schulwesens*, p. 17.)

with no end but sexual satisfaction. This end, however, remains unconscious; the highest love knows nothing of it; first-love abhors the mere idea this should really be its end. Still the end is present, ever aiming at the highest elevation of the race. This final cause it realises through that law of natural selection, which Darwin has so clearly stated. Led by an unconscious will, which itself rests on an unconscious idea, it brings individuals together in such manner as will best develop to its highest point the human race. Two conditions guide this selection: *First*, each individual is the more an object of desire in proportion as he or she stands out complete in mental, moral, and physical endowments; *secondly*, each individual chooses that member of the other sex that will best neutralise his or her defects—the fair thus marrying the dark, the tall the short, &c.

Love is but a species of feeling; and feeling tends to be especially outside our knowledge and our consciousness. How often does our pleasure and our pain come on us suddenly, without prevision and without our expectation! Pleasure, in fact, is the satisfaction of Will; and many a time we only find out what will please us when the thing is done. Frequently it seems impossible to give a reason for the pleasure or the pain that we experience.

“Cast your eyes upon your child. Observe how happy-souled it is, how merrily it skips, how bright its smile, how beaming its eyes; every question as to the cause would be in vain, or the reasons given would be out of all proportion to its joy. But suddenly, without any conscious ground, all that is past; the child is still, and buried in itself; its eye is dull, its mouth sullen, and about to cry; it is fretful and sorrowful, instead of, as before, contented and happy” (Carus’ “Psyche”). “Where else,” asks Hartmann, “should those feelings, whose peculiar character can only be referred to unconscious conceptions, derive their origin but from the vital perceptions of the lower nervous centres?”—(P. d. U. p. 221.)

The presence of the Unconscious in morality, art, thought, language, and history, must be more briefly traced.

The reaction of the will upon the motive in which morality consists lies shrouded wholly in the night of the Unconscious. We only know the commencement and the end: what intervenes between is hidden altogether from our observation. We can never forecast conduct, because we can never wholly know a person’s character—can never know, that is, the manner in which a man reacts on all possible motives. Clearly, therefore, virtue cannot be taught. “The fairest knowledge of moral truths is but a dead knowledge, unless it act upon the will; and *whether* it does that, depends solely on the nature of the individual will—*i.e.*, on character.”



The place of the Unconscious in art has been recognised throughout all ages. Poets the Greeks regarded as subject to a divine *μανία*, or frenzy: they were *ἐκστατικοί*, or beside themselves. The æsthetic judgment itself, Hartmann points out, while subject to and guided by laws of experience, rests on a perception of ideal beauty which owes its origin to the Unconscious. The presence of an unconscious element may be traced in all true art. The ordinary artist, whose work is mere combination and judicious selection, will never, however respectable his compositions, produce anything original; he can never attain that unity of conception and that beauty of idea which can be compared to nothing but the unity and beauty of organic nature. "The artist," as Schelling has remarked, "however conscious he may seem, yet, in relation to all of a specially objective character in his creations, appears to stand beneath the influence of a power, which separates him from all other men, and forces him to say out and paint things which he himself does not thoroughly see through, and of which the meaning is infinite."

"Language is the word of God, the holy scripture of philosophy; it is the revelation of the genius of mankind for all time." Language, therefore, is no artificial creation, no formation of individual consciousness. It retrogrades, upon the contrary, with advancing culture; it presents in all its varying modifications a universal similarity of structure, and must itself precede all conscious thought. Language, therefore, is, in the words of Humboldt, "an intellectual instinct of reason;" it is a creation of that same unconscious power that we have seen at work elsewhere.

Thought throughout is full of processes never clearly brought to consciousness, and rests on principles and ideas which neither an *à priori* nor an *à posteriori* shibboleth will explain. Half our life is a process of unconscious inductions, which no canons of agreement or difference regulate; the other half a process of unconscious deduction, in which we form syllogisms with major premisses suppressed. The glance of intuition is the higher phase of knowledge; the laboured demonstration shows that the angles at the base of an isosceles triangle *must* be equal; intuition sees that they actually *are*, and *how* they are. The fundamental categories of thought are themselves results of the Unconscious. The notion, for example, of equality, of sameness, cannot lie within the things themselves: A cannot, through the appearance of B, receive a property it did not have before; nor can it, on the other hand, be arrived at by a process of abstraction which already implies the very notion which it would account for. The judgment "A is equal B" rests upon, and is the result of a process, which, in its main features, goes on outside the sphere of consciousness. The intuition of Space, on which perception rests,

can similarly be referred only to the Unconscious; and, throughout, perception involves unconscious processes. It is the Unconscious which explains the connection between brain-vibrations and sensations, between subjective sensations and objective realities; it is, as Wundt has pointed out, an unconscious process of reasoning which combines our isolated and immediate perceptions, and introduces regularity and order into our minds. Philosophy itself is a manifestation of the Unconscious, for the whole history of philosophy is nothing but "the translation of a mystically-created content out of the form of figurative delineation or unproved assertion into the method of a reasoned system;" and mysticism, from which alike philosophy and religion spring, is "the filling of consciousness with a content in the shape of thought, feeling, and desire spontaneously emerging from the Unconscious."

History presents the fullest manifestation of the Unconscious; it is the counterpart in mind to the growth of organic structure in nature, and exhibits throughout the same finality and purpose. Any doubts upon the march of history arise simply from too confined a view of the development of man. The larger survey, as it traces the gradual efforts of the Unconscious to realise itself, will see in institutions, which Buckle and the reflective understanding must condemn, necessary stages in the progress of humanity. It was Hegel's merit to have distinctly emphasised this view of history, and in particular to have shown how the history of philosophy, the full blossom of the civilisation of an epoch, exhibits a continuous evolution of the idea. The progress of the world, therefore, is independent of pioneering genius or outstanding heroes: "the right man has never failed the right time; when need is sorest, as the proverb has it, help is nearest."

What, then, is the goal of history? The perfection of the race, the final victory of civilised over uncivilised races, the supremacy of conscious mind and intellect. The struggle for existence is gradually but continually reducing and exterminating the less intellectual and industrial races of the earth; the laws of heredity are gradually elevating the mental nature of the civilised, a process of natural selection between races and nations is incessantly effecting a survival of the fittest. No power on earth can check this process; the Unconscious moves on heedless in its course; the very missions of philanthropy tend, by a curious irony of fate, to the ultimate extermination of inferior tribes.

Such is the inductive and scientific side of the philosophy of Dr Hartmann. When we grasp it as a whole, it amounts to nothing more than this, that all, or nearly all, the phenomena of the material and spiritual world rest upon and result from a mysterious unconscious being—though to call it being is really to add

on an idea not immediately contained within the all-sufficient principle. But what difference is there between this and saying that the phenomena of the world at large come we know not whence? In reality, the explanation explains nothing. It can only lead to a self-satisfied positivism which takes facts simply as they are, and troubles itself no way about their causes. The Unconscious, therefore, tends to be a simple phrase and nothing more; it is an extreme instance of what Comte called the metaphysical stage of knowledge. We may admire the skill with which Dr Hartmann brings together facts and illustrations; we may appreciate the arguments by which he shows the insufficiency of some accepted theories: but the answer he himself supplies is worse than worthless; it promises to give us bread, and leaves us with a stone. No doubt there are a number of mental processes, to which Miss Cobbe recently called attention, of which *we* are unconscious—processes which exude, as it were, automatically from the brain without the direction of our conscious selves; but to infer from this that they are due to an unconscious power, and to proceed to demonstrate thence the presence of the Unconscious though all nature, is to make an unwarrantable *saltus* in reasoning. What, in fact, is this “Unconscious” but a high-sounding name to veil our ignorance? Is the Unconscious any better explanation of phenomena we do not understand than the “devil-devil” by which Australian tribes explain the Leyden-jar and its phenomena? Does it increase our knowledge to know that we do not know the origin of language or the cause of instinct? It may be, as Hartmann tries to show, that the unconscious origin of art does not remove the need of practice and hard study—that the ideal beauty will present itself to him whose thoughts and interests are most wrapped up in it; but it still remains a question, How can the unconscious idea grasp a beauty, which it does not itself know? Alike in organic creation and the evolution of history, “performances and actions”—the words are those of Strauss—“are ascribed to an unconscious, which can only belong to a conscious, being.”

What novelty, again, it might be asked, is there in this great Unconscious? Does it contain anything beyond the Greek idea of a growing constitutive *φύσις*, except it be the fact that it extends the place and action of this in a way that cannot be allowed? Hartmann himself admits that his conception is not new; and he enumerates, with some detail, the past anticipations of his fundamental thought. Curiously enough, however, he neglects to note the nearest approximation which the history of thought presents. This is to be found within the crabbed, Greek-

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\* Lange, “Geschichte des Materialismus,” ii. 279.



besprinkled pages of Ralph Cudworth, one of the most philosophical writers whom England has at any time produced. Cudworth's "True Intellectual System of the Universe" advanced a principle which seems to possess all the advantages of the Unconscious without its obvious defects. Cudworth was also aiming at a unification of science, philosophy, and religion; and he found it in the conception of a "plastic nature," as immediate cause and guide of all existence. Such a plastic nature avoided, to his mind, the difficulties of Atheism on the one hand, and of continued creation and divine interference on the other. Without it, things must either proceed with utter fortuitousness, or "God himself doth all immediately, and, as it were, with his own hands, form the body of every gnat and fly." He posited, therefore, a plastic nature, which, while devoid of consciousness and reason, subserved the final end and ultimate good of all existence. This plastic nature is described in terms which strikingly recall the phraseology of Hartmann. It "doth never consult nor deliberate;" it "goes on in one constant, unrepenting tenor from generation to generation;" it "acts artificially, and, for the sake of ends," but itself "understands not the ends which it acts for;" it resembles "habits, which do in like manner gradually evolve themselves in a long train or series of regular and artificial motions, readily prompting the doing of them without comprehending that art and reason by which they are directed;" it corresponds to those "natural instincts that are in animals, which, without knowledge, direct them to act regularly, in order both to their own good and the good of the universe." "The plastic nature in the formation of plants and animals seems to have no animal fancy, no express consciousness of what it doth;" it is parallel to those "nocturnal volutations in sleep," those movements of the heart and lungs over which we exercise no conscious influence. "Wherefore the plastic nature, acting neither by knowledge nor by animal fancy, neither electively nor hormetically, must be concluded to act fatally, magically, and sympathetically." But this plastic nature Cudworth conceives as simply the subordinate instrument of higher power. "Perfect knowledge and understanding without consciousness is nonsense and impossibility. If there be φύσις, then there must be νοῦς; if there be a plastic nature, that acts regularly and artificially in order to ends, and according to the best wisdom, though itself not comprehending the reason of it, not being clearly conscious of what it doth, then there must of necessity be a perfect mind or deity, upon which it depends. Wherefore Aristotle does like a philosopher in joining Φύσις and Νοῦς, nature and mind, both together; but these atheists do very absurdly and unphilosophically that would make a senseless and unconscious plastic nature,

and therefore without a mind or intellect, to be the first original of all things." \* What would the learned Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, have said about Dr Hartmann and the philosophy of the Unconscious?

The difficulties of this system increase as we proceed. Subtract this questionable factor—the Unconscious—from Hartmann's *Biology and Psychology*, and the chapters remain pleasant and instructive reading. But with the third part of his work—the *Metaphysic of the Unconscious*—our feet are clogged at every step. We are encircled by the merest play of words, the most unsatisfactory demonstrations, and most inconsistent inferences. The theory of final causes has been hitherto employed to show the wisdom of the world; with our pessimist philosopher it shows nothing but its irrationality and misery. Consciousness has been generally supposed to be the condition of all happiness and interest in life; here it simply wakens us to misery; and the lower an animal lies in the scale of conscious life, the better and the pleasanter its lot.

But how, the question rises, is consciousness attained—how does the Unconscious pass into the Conscious—what is the origin of consciousness? Here we face the fundamental problem of all philosophy—the question, how does the ego come to know itself as distinguished from something not-itself; what, in short, is the origin of the distinction of ego and non-ego, of self and not-self.

To answer this question, Hartmann accepts in full the conclusions of physiological research. Brain and ganglia are the indispensable conditions of animal consciousness; were the brain-functions altogether destroyed, conscious activity would be impossible. Brain-vibrations being thus the conditions of all consciousness in animals, it remains to see how, through the medium of these brain-vibrations, consciousness comes into being.

Consciousness arises in the stupefaction of Will at the existence of an idea which it has not willed, and which is nevertheless present to the senses.

"The idea," Hartmann explains, "contains within itself no interest in its existence, no effort towards actual being; so long, therefore, as there is no consciousness, it can be called into existence through Will only; and thus, before the rise of consciousness, mind can, in its own nature, have no other presentations and ideas than those which are called into being through Will, and form its content. Suddenly organised matter breaks in upon this peace of the Unconscious with itself, and impresses on the astonished individual mind, in the necessary reaction of the sensation, a conception which falls upon as it were from heaven, because it finds within itself no Will for this idea; for the first time the content of intuition is given it from outside. The great revolution has

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\* Cudworth's "*True Intellectual System of the Universe*." Bk. i. cap. iii. 37.

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taken place, the first step has been made to the redemption of the world, the idea is dissevered from Will in order to step against it in the future as an independent might, so as to crush that power to which, beforetime, it was slave."—P. d. U. p. 394.

The unconscious individual mind starts at the unwonted fact that an idea exists without being willed. Such is the origin of consciousness. Pain, therefore, as the non-satisfaction of Will, tends to be far more conscious than pleasure. Consciousness resembles the surprise the spoiled child feels when it finds for once its will is contradicted.

This theory of consciousness will perplex the reader. How, he will ask, does the unconscious mind become aware of this opposing matter if it be not conscious of it? Hartmann's account, in fact, of the origin of consciousness is an immense and hardly veiled *petitio principii*. Throughout it supposes the very point it is trying to account for. That consciousness *depends* on change, on opposition, is indeed an undisputed point. "Without change," as Mr Herbert Spencer has remarked, "consciousness is impossible; consciousness ceases when the changes in consciousness cease." But no philosophy before that of the Unconscious had supposed that the conditions and the origin of a phenomenon were identical. Consciousness emerges when one state comes across another state; but the first state must be an object of consciousness before the second can be contrasted with it. The sensation of the intruding matter which Hartmann speaks of is only possible through consciousness; the "surprise" which follows is the consciousness of a contrast between two states which, to begin with, are already objects of consciousness. As Aristotle long ago remarked, *Φανερόν ὅτι ἐνέργεια πρότερου δυνάμεως ἐστὶ*—the actual existence of a power must precede the capacity of its exercise (Aris. Meta. Θ 8). The fact, in short, that this intruding matter is recognised as something not willed, not belonging to self, implies exactly that distinction of ego and non-ego on which all consciousness must rest.

But the evolution of consciousness from the shock of matter rests upon a further theory in the philosophy of the Unconscious—the identity and fundamental unity of mind and matter. Consciousness, we have seen, arises from a vibration in the brain, caused by the presentation of an unwilled object. But how, the question meets Hartmann, can body act on mind—how can there be reciprocal communication between these two? If mind and body, spirit and matter, are two entirely heterogeneous substances, such mutual intercourse is inconceivable. But if spirit and matter be identical, if they be only different manifestations of one and the same substance, and thus homogeneous in kind, the difficulty of their mutual action vanishes, and a way is open by which the



vibrating molecules of the brain, as caused by the intruding matter, can invade the peace of the unconscious mind.

The scientific explanation of the objects of sense regards them as the combination of matter and force. But the fact is, matter, as Leibnitz had already seen, is nothing but a collection of attracting and repelling forces; it is a "system of atomic forces in a certain state of equilibrium." This force, however, is nothing else than Will; the play of mutually attracting and repelling forces displays the same kind of effort and endeavour as that contained in ordinary Will. Thus the unity of the world is reached; for the basis of the material universe is the basis also of the spiritual.

"With this result the radical difference between spirit and matter is at an end; their difference lies only in their being lower or higher manifestations of the same essence, the everlasting Unconscious. The identity of mind and matter has thus ceased to be an unintelligible or unproved hypothesis, in so far as it is raised to scientific knowledge, and this not through the deadening of mind, but the enlivening of matter."—P. d. U. p. 479.

The dualism, in fact, Hartmann claims, of materialism on the one hand, idealism on the other, has been absorbed in a system which embraces both.\*

It is only, Hartmann holds, such an identity of thought and existence, such a transcendental realism, that can supply a basis for cognition, and allow the possibility of metaphysic. How our thought grasps things—how we know them as objective realities, is a question which can be solved neither by a subjective idealism such as that of Kant, nor by the natural realism of the popular understanding.

"However much we twist and turn the immediate intuition" into which Kant and Berkeley must resolve our knowledge, "it continues still a modification of our power of intuition and conception, which may be different with different individuals: however deep we may penetrate into it, we still never advance beyond an ever more complete knowledge of the laws of our senses and our understanding, we never reach the required reality which goes beyond the subjective apprehension. Every attempt to ascribe a more than subjective reality to the content of consciousness from itself carries with it its own condemnation. Either, therefore, all perception is nothing more than a subjective dream, and all belief in the objective reality of what we perceive is a delusion, or there must be a positive something on the other side of conscious-

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\* Mr Alfred Wallace seems to have reached independently a somewhat similar position. V. "Contributions to Theory of Natural Selection," p. 368—"If, therefore, we have traced one force, however minute, to an origin in our own will, while we have no knowledge of any other primary cause of force, it does not seem an improbable conclusion that all force may be will-force; and thus that the whole universe is not merely dependent on, but actually is, the will of higher intelligences, or of one supreme intelligence."

ness, and independent of it, reference to which can confer *mediately* an objective reality on the content of consciousness."—*Transcend. Realismus*, p. 24.

True knowledge, in fact, is only possible if our forms of conception correspond with the forms of presentation in self-subsistent being; if space, time, and the categories be not only forms of thought, but also forms of being.

"Either there is no such thing as knowledge, no real experience, and all our supposed knowledge and experience is mere illusion (practically no doubt indestructible), or the fundamental forms of the existence of the thing-in-itself must correspond with the fundamental forms of intuition and thought."—*Id.* p. 137.

"After these considerations it can be no longer doubtful how the philosophy of the Unconscious deals with the opposites of Thought and Thing, *mens* and *ens*, *ratio* and *res*, spirit and nature, ideal and real, subjective and objective. We know that being is the product of the illogical and logical, of will and idea: and that the real is distinguished from the ideal only through the will which lends reality to the ideal. Thus spirit and nature are no longer different; for the original unconscious spirit is in its implicit existence with itself that which, on the one hand, in the actual combination of its elements appears as nature, and on the other, as *result* of the development of nature, conscious mind or spirit (*geist*), in the narrow (Hegelian) meaning of the term."—P. d. U. p. 823.

The world, therefore, exhibits a system of gradual development: "nature and history are no opposites: the whole process of the world is through and through history; is through and through, in fact, a history of nature."—*Phil. Abhandlungen*, p. 38.

Vegetables display the qualities of higher organisms; they show traces of restorative power, reflex action, and instinct. Not only so, but consciousness itself appears already in the vegetable world. Nerves are not the only conditions of consciousness; nerveless parts of the human body are endowed with sensation, and the lowest animal forms, while conscious, possess no nerves. Consciousness, then, is present in the plant: in the vine-leaf, which turns towards the light; in the *mimosa pudica*, which avoids an insect. Such transitional forms are found in every phase of nature. The Unconscious proceeds imperceptibly and continuously in its work of evolution; it takes as far as possible small steps, and effects its greater differences through the accumulation of a number of smaller individual modifications. It employs accidental variations to subserve its ends, and maintains the organism at its highest point, through natural selection and the struggle for existence. Hartmann, however, is careful to point out the limitations with which the theories of Darwin must be received; and he quotes with approval the words of Wallace—

“Natural selection could only have endowed savage man with a brain a little superior to that of an ape, whereas he actually possesses one very little inferior to that of a philosopher.”—*Nat. Selection*, p. 356.

“The Darwinian principle,” to quote Hartmann’s own words, “is sufficient so long as it occupies itself with the improvement and variation of an existing organ to a *physiological* function, required through its environment; it breaks down as soon as a *morphological* change has to be explained. In all the modifications which the struggle for existence brings to pass, the fundamental morphological type remains unaltered and untouched. Natural selection, therefore, in the struggle for existence is a most valuable aid for the exhaustive perfecting of an actually-existing type within one and the same stage of organisation; it cannot serve to explain the transition from a lower to a higher stage of organisation, since such transition is always connected with a raising of the morphological type.”—P. d. U. p. 605.

Darwinism, in fact, Hartmann, in his special treatise on this subject, points out, merely emphasises one of the many vehicles through which the Idea realises itself in nature. It concludes prematurely that an ideal and formal relationship indicates a genealogical affinity, in which one form derives its descent from another. But the ideal connection and similarity between different species of animals proves in itself a genealogical affinity, as little as the similarities between different mineral forms lead to the supposition that the one of these has given rise to the other.

“Even if one is *à priori* convinced of the necessity of actual intermediate stages of transition, palæontological discoveries of intermediate forms are still only valuable for the filling up of gaps in system; they never prove that the special middle forms, which have been found, have actually formed a member of the supposed genetic series.”—*Wahrheit und Irrthum im Darwinismus*, p. 14.

The theory of descent is too simple and unilinear an hypothesis to match the varieties and intricacies of natural systems.

“Amongst apes the gorilla is likest man in its foot, the orang-outang most in its brain, and the chimpanzee most in the structure of its body; it would be, however, quite a reversal of the truth to conclude, on the ground of one of these relationships, the descent of man from this or that species of ape; for, exactly from this division of human similarities among *different* species of apes, we should conclude that the common ancestor of the apes and of the man did not yet possess these peculiarities, but rather that these same qualities developed themselves independently in the separate types” (p. 18).

The Darwinian theory of transmutation in individuals must be amended by and taken along with the Kölliker and Baumgärtner theory of “heterogeneous generation,” or “transformation of type through seed-metamorphosis,” according to which “the first



egg of the new species must be produced in the ovary of a near-allied species through transformation of the embryonic conditions in the earliest stage."

"Both of these are only different modes through which the inner law of evolution realises itself externally; each offers a mutual support to the other, both go hand-in-hand together, and imply continual reference to one another" (p. 52). "Natural selection is a true and everywhere active principle of nature; but it is so, exactly because it has a wider sphere of application than Darwin and Wigand ascribe to it. It is not, as Darwin thinks, true, because it is a mechanical principle, nor, as Wigand supposes, false, because it is a mechanical principle; but it is true, although it is in part a mechanical principle, and because it is as such a vehicle for the realisation of an ideal principle" (p. 71).

The one purely mechanical agent in the Darwinian theory—the struggle for existence—cannot by itself arrive at any rational results; it can only do so when completed through other factors, which are not to be considered as mechanical, but display essentially the influence of the uniform formative energy of nature.

The world, therefore, is a teleological structure rather than a mechanical composition. As such, it displays a graduated progress from lower to higher forms of existence, with numberless transition-links and intermediate forms: "every main order of the animal kingdom is like a branch of the great tree, and develops itself, in a definite geological period, out of simple beginnings to highly elevated forms." Creation is, in fact, permeated by a logical necessity which embraces all organic and inorganic uniformities, and of which teleology and mechanism are merely different sides or aspects, standing to each other in the reciprocal relation of end and means.

The philosophy of Hartmann becomes, then, at this stage, a pure Monism. One principle includes and embraces every manifestation of being, every form of material and spiritual existence,—and this is the Unconscious. Matter and consciousness being only manifestations of the Unconscious, this essence, which is everything that is, must be the absolute individual, the individual *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. As the basis of existence, it is outside the ordinary categories of logic—"The Unconscious is neither great nor small, neither here nor there, neither in finite nor in infinite, neither in figure nor in point, neither anywhere nor nowhere" (p. 521). But this all-inclusive unity (*All-einheit*) of the Unconscious leaves the widest room for individual existence. The different cells of the organic structure possess those various unities which constitute an individual; the individual usually so called is really the combination of an endless number of individuals.

The world, therefore, as a whole, is a mere phenomenon with no permanent reality. "It is simply," says Hartmann, "a continuous series of sums of peculiarly-combined acts of will on the part of the Unconscious, and it exists only so long as it is continuously maintained; were the Unconscious to cease at any time to will the world, this play of the intersecting activities of the Unconscious would cease also to exist." It is a delusion, therefore, to suppose that we have either in the world or in the ego anything actually real; the world consists only in one sum of activities on the part of the Unconscious, the ego in another.

"This table, for example, verifies its reality for me through the forces of resistance which the æther-atoms of its superficial molecules develop in contact with the surface-molecules of my body. As for myself, I am a mere appearance, like the rainbow in the clouds; like this, I am born out of the conjunction of relations; I become another person every second, because these relations become different at every second, and I shall pass away if these relations dissolve themselves; there is an essence in me, but that is not I" (*Was an mir Wesen ist, bin ich nicht*).—P. d. U. p. 533.

Thus, then, the universe, as an emanation of the Unconscious, has been constructed. Throughout it has been marked by design, by purpose, by finality; throughout a wonderful adaptation of means to ends, a wonderful adjustment and relativity in different portions, has been noticed. And all this for what conclusion? Not, as in the hands of the natural theologians of the eighteenth century, to show that the world is the result of design, of an intelligent and beneficent Creator; but the manifestation of a being whose only predicates are negatives—whose very essence is to be unconscious. It is not only, like ancient Athens, to an unknown, but also to an unknowing God, that modern pessimism rears its altar. Yet surely the fact that the motive principle of existence moves in a mysterious way outside our consciousness no way requires that the All-one being should be himself unconscious.

Dr Hartmann himself anticipates objections of this nature. Consciousness, he points out, is not the elevated stage of mental development it is generally supposed to be; on the contrary, it is a break in that unity of absolute intelligence, with which subject and object are still one. Besides, the Unconscious is not blind; rather it is, as we have seen, *clairvoyant*; it is the Super-Conscious (*das Ueberbewusste*) rather than the Unconscious.

"The particular form of the omniscient intuition of the All-one power is of such a character that, in the absence of positive data, we can only say it is elevated above that phase which we call consciousness. Negatively defined, therefore, it is unconscious, positively inde-

finitely indicated, superconscious." "And just," adds Hartmann, "as the compass of light arising from the rays illuminates the whole room, but not the point from which they radiate, while it may be that some rays may strike a polished surface, and the light be in this way reflected back ; so also the total\* intuitive activity of the All-one can know the whole, and yet not the point from which it springs—the active centre of the all ; while it may be that certain masses of these rays may be broken into consciousness on the brain of some organism, although this then must be necessarily a one-sided, limited, and not all-comprehensive absolute."—*P. d. U.* p. 548.

The religion of the Unconscious claims therefore to have seized the golden mean of a spiritualistic Monism or Pantheism, midway between the popular doctrine of an infallible instantaneous Creator and an irreligious scientific Atheism. The God whose spirituality acts expressly in the form of consciousness would be, Hartmann holds, a God outside of, and different from the world ; a God in whom "we live and move and have our being" can be found only in a God without consciousness and personality, of whom individuals, with consciousness and personality, are merely functions and manifestations.

"The religion of the future," concludes Hartmann, "must be a pantheistic Monism, from which all Polytheism is excluded, or an impersonal immanent Monotheism, whose godhead has the world as an objective phenomenon, not outside, but within itself."—*Selbstersetzung des Christenthums*, p. 121.

Christianity went far towards the establishment of such a monistic Pantheism. With its fundamental doctrine of the Trinity, it stands out as the first attempt to reach a synthesis of Aryan Polytheism and Semitic Monism ; "with all its one-sidedness and crudities, it can never be thought away from history : " and with Buddhism it shows the way towards a perfect form of religion. But Christianity, and every other traditional religion, is hopelessly, Hartmann holds, at war with all science and speculation ; the religion of the future must be such a creed as will, within its pantheistic Monism, leave the fullest room for the speculations of advancing science.

Every true religion must, we may grant at once, be more or less, when rightly understood, pantheistic. God must be in the world, of which he is the God. Yet it may be doubted whether the religion of the Unconscious attains this end. The conception of a deity (so to call him) unconscious of himself, but streaming forth rays of consciousness, which are reflected back to him in the beings on which they strike, seems an implicit dualism. God, implies the theory, whether in its dogmatic or figurative statement, is outside the world.



All our ideas of God must be anthropomorphic, and are perhaps never more anthropomorphic than when they seek to be least so. It may be suggested that this is the case with Dr Hartmann. Eager to elevate God *above* the human property of consciousness, he makes him unconscious. But to do so is simply to allow that, because *we* cannot conceive *our* consciousness widened so as to include all consciousness, therefore the being of God must be posited as unconscious. The theory of a conscious God, who is at the same time an all-inclusive individual, would, Hartmann thinks, involve a double consciousness. It is difficult to see the ground of this remark. Hartmann himself recognises the presence of independent self-conscious wills within the compass of one individual conscious mind. Why then should not God stand to each one of us, to each form of existence, in the same relation that we do to our several actions and our different parts? I am in my limbs, in my actions, in my feelings, in my thoughts; they are mine, and yet do not constitute me—do not make up my personality. God, similarly, it may be supposed, is in each one of us, in each form of life upon the earth; but yet none of them is God. As my personality is not to be resolved into my parts or actions, so also God, while present in all his works, retains a personality within himself. A conscious, rather than an unconscious God, will serve as basis for a consistent Pantheism.

The student of Hegel will not be without an answer to the difficulties over which the philosophy of the Unconscious makes shipwreck. He will know that, in the actual world, God has opened the closed shell of truth; and that the idea, of which nature and mind are the outcome, only reaffirms, in the return to itself in mind, that conscious unity with itself, from which, for a time, it had been disjoined in nature.

“Thought as the idea lays itself down, and at the same time cognises itself. But if thought lays itself down, it is the absolute consciousness which is conscious of itself; and so, while it is conscious of itself, it differentiates itself as creative from itself as created. Thus it works its way from point to point; while, at the same time, as it knows itself in this distinction from itself, it must reaffirm itself in the difference, and with the difference included in it. And so from a single point or nucleus it proceeds onward, and yet never leaves the ground it has once gained: for the ground moves also. The germ of thought has spread into an organic system, but still retains its identity.”\*

But, in fact, the religion of the Unconscious remains scarcely consistent with itself; side by side it seems with an unconscious

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\* W. Wallace, “Prolegomena” to “Logic of Hegel,” p. cix.

and irrational element, in the creative principle, there arises a conscious and rational. The Unconscious, we have seen, is the unity of Will and Idea. But the Idea has in itself no interest in existence ; it is only through Will that it can be brought from non-being into being. The world is therefore an entirely blind and irrational creation ; it is at beginning the result of an arbitrary resolution on the part of Will to externalise itself. Will externalises the Idea, and the Idea must remain its servant and its slave—must be the skilled workman who will carry out the original resolution of the restless Will. But the Idea no sooner finds itself in existence than it now, become conscious, recognises that it was not really fitted for realisation, but should have been left alone in self-satisfied unconsciousness. It has lost, as victim of the impulsive Will, that maiden innocence which it had in its state of pure existence with itself. The Idea, however, cannot directly stop the work of Will ; its office is only to supply the “ what ; ” it has no voice in the “ that ” and “ whether.” Yet it can lead the irrational Will gradually to its own destruction. Its object, the end of the cosmic process, becomes the elevation of consciousness. Consciousness effects the emancipation of the Idea, of the rational side of the All-one, from Will ; and the Idea thus, through the opposition of consciousness, effects the defeat and final overthrow of the externalising force.

This world, said Leibnitz, is the best possible. This truth Hartmann readily accepts. Had there been a better content in the Idea which Will externalised, this better, instead of the present world, would have been called into actual existence. But to say that a thing is the best possible is to say nothing of its goodness ; the world which is the best possible may be at the same time the worst. And, in fact, since all existence owes its reality to Will, it might be already *à priori* matter of astonishment were this existence as such not irrational.

This world, Hartmann allows, is the best possible ; at the same time, he adds, it is the worst. Any attempt to balance the pains and pleasures of our life will show that pain is by far the greater factor in our existence. The doctrine of Schopenhauer, indeed, as to the negative nature of pleasure, is no truer than the Leibnitzian doctrine as to the privative character of evil ; but still all pleasure causes an exhaustion of the nervous processes. It is always indirect, arising only through the cessation or intermission of a pain ; and it finds more difficulty in emerging into consciousness, whereas pain, *eo ipso*, generates consciousness. What pleasure does exist in the world is no equivalent for the vast amount of pain that may be found within it ; in great measure it is merely the absence of pain. What, for instance, are all the so-called pleasures of health, of youth, of freedom, of sufficient

means? Are they anything but privations, anything but the absence of sickness, of old age, of slavery, of poverty? And is not work itself an evil? How great misery does it entail upon the toiling masses of our fellow-countrymen! Does any one work of his own free-will? "Again and again we read of literal starvation in our great towns; can the gluttony of a thousand debaucheries make up for the misery of one starved human life?"

What are the so-called pleasures of love? Will they compensate in any degree for the sufferings of childbirth? Do they not lead to one of the greatest sores of civilised nations—a sore which increases every day, as increasing cultivation renders early marriages imprudent and impossible? "Could we," says Hartmann, "see and weigh the pain and sorrow existing at any one time in the world from love-vows that have been broken, we should find that this alone exceeds the happiness from love existing at that same time, and this from the very fact that the sorrow of disappointment and the bitterness of betrayal continue infinitely longer than the happiness of the illusion." What colossal sacrifices does love demand; how many does it make exiles from their parental homes, their old occupations and associations! Comparatively few amongst love-relations lead to marriage; and when they do, few marriages are happy. Love, in fact, brings far more pain than pleasure to the individual. And yet its very misery lies in this, that by an unconscious instinct one must love; it is only by experience the illusion is discovered, when the heaven expected and the angel looked for have been proved but images of clay. But till that hard-won day of salvation come, the verses of Anacreon hold true—

Χαλεπὸν τὸ μὴ φιλῆσαι  
Χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ φιλῆσαι—

in other words, love, whether repelled or enjoyed, is, in itself, and for the individual, an evil.

No better account is given by the philosophy of the Unconscious of those other feelings, which have been sometimes accounted amongst the pleasures of the world. Sympathy regarded in itself is invariably an evil, since it brings the person sympathising always more pain than pleasure. Friendship is merely the satisfaction of a pain—the pain of isolated life. Domestic happiness is an illusion; the care and trouble children entail upon their parents far outweigh the pleasure they occasion. Ambition is, in all its forms, a great delusion; what can other people's opinion of me add either to my happiness or misery? Religious fervour can only be attained, in its higher



phases, through a renunciation of all earthly pleasures; in its lower forms it is mingled with such fears and doubts as destroy all real happiness. Right conduct and just dealing no way compensate for the unrighteousness that already exists; charity and love of one's neighbour can only be regarded as a necessary evil serving to extenuate a greater. The pleasures of science and art hardly ever exist as such; they are pursued from ambition and vanity, and seldom get beyond the "accomplishments" of the young lady; when real, they are bought at the cost of hard perseverance and many sacrifices—in short, of pain and sorrow. Neither sleep nor dreams make up for all the miseries of life; in great part, in fact, they are simply a repetition of the troubles of the day. Riches cannot bring us pleasure; for they can do nothing but secure those other enjoyments of life, which have been already discovered to be vanity. Hope is, indeed, a veritably real pleasure. But, alas! nine-tenths of all our hopes are doomed to disappointment; and the bitterness of the deception is far greater than the sweetness of the expectation. Thus the very joys of life, so accounted, have been proved to possess, beyond question, a preponderance of pain and hardship. Add to this the actually-recognised evils and misfortunes of life; and must we not conclude with the Preacher of old—"Vanity of vanities; behold all is vanity."

Intellectual progress will not alleviate this misery; all mental elevation, in fact, only intensifies the pain of life. The less sensitive people are, the duller their nerves and sympathies, the happier their lives. "The animals, in fact," Hartmann concludes, "are happier, that is, less miserable than men, because the excess of pain an animal has to bear is smaller than that which man supports. We need only reflect how comfortably an ox or swine lives, quite as if it had learned from Aristotle to seek freedom from care and trouble, instead of, like man, pursuing after happiness." "He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow:" and the consummation of misery finds its climax in the finely-organised, spiritually-gifted, and, above all else, conscious man.

Such, according to the philosophy of the Unconscious, is the first stage of illusion; it may be described generally as the stage in which happiness is regarded as attainable upon the existing steps of the world's development and upon the life of earth. Historically, it is represented by the old Judaistic-Græco-Roman world. Such happiness, however, has been found, and must be found, a mere delusion, with a far greater share of sorrow than of pleasure.\* With this discovery man enters on the second stage of

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\* It is this misery of existence which explains the fascination exercised by Tragedy upon the human heart. "Tragedy alone, amongst all forms of poetry,

illusion, in which happiness is viewed as something to be gained hereafter in a life beyond the grave. This second stage is essentially that of Christianity. The old Judaism had tended to find its happiness in an earthly satisfaction—"that it may go well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth," was the promise affixed to its commands—the religion of Christ regards this earth as merely a place of trial and preparation for a higher state of existence. Its very essence lies in looking forward to a life beyond. "These things I have spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace: in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

But this stage, which seeks its happiness in a life beyond the grave, is as great an illusion as the stage which looked for it upon the earth. Independently of the pain which such a state involves, *first*, in its enforced subjection of the flesh; and, *secondly*, in the doubts and fears which it excites, it rests on an assumption which the philosophy of the Unconscious cannot grant—the assumption of the continuance of individual life. Individuality, it has been shown, whether of the organic body or of the conscious self, is simply a phenomenon, an appearance vanishing with death; all that remains is the All-one Unconscious which produced the phenomenon. The *νοῦς ποιητικὸς* can have no real individual existence; in the life beyond there "shall be time no longer" (Rev. x. 6); "knowledge itself shall vanish away" (1 Cor. xiii. 8).

"The pencil of rays which, in the form of acts of will of the Unconscious, is directed to a definite organic individual, cannot possibly have a longer duration than the object on which these rays are turned. If the organism has dissolved itself, and the organic individual lost its existence, its consciousness has also in consequence come to an end; the pencil of rays from the Unconscious, which served as metaphysical basis for this individual mind, has become objectless, and therefore has become impossible as a continued *active* existence; the *capacity* of this act of will is not altered by the result, but it presents no longer any *individual* existence; it reposes in the All-one unconscious essence."—P. d. U. p. 722.

This second stage acts individually, as it has acted historically, as the necessary intermediate point between the first stage and the third. After it has passed, all egoistic hopes of individual

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teaches us (like religion and philosophy) to consider the world as something subordinate, something pointing beyond itself, on which it is sheer folly to rest as though it were highest and ultimate. The dying hero of Tragedy cries to every spectator the words of Christ—"In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."—*Aphorismen über das Drama*, p. 45.

happiness here or hereafter are entirely crushed ; and the mind is open to the self-denying thought of working only for the good of future generations. The third stage of illusion is therefore that in which happiness is viewed as lying in the future of the world's history. Man in this third stage no longer works for his own interests ; he has recognised the fact that it is one and the same essence that feels thy pain and mine, my pleasure and thy pleasure, and with this consciousness all egoism and selfish enjoyment is for ever banished from the sphere of happiness. The individual is filled with a self-denial and renunciation, which is to be answered by no suicide or egoistic mortification, but by an enthusiasm of humanity, a resolution to spend and to be spent in the service of his fellow-men.

But this third stage—this hope in a future positive happiness of the human race—is as deceptive as its predecessors. “ However far humanity may advance, it will never destroy or even alleviate the greatest of human sufferings—sickness, old age, want, and discontentedness. However many the appliances which may be found to counteract disease, the diseases always increase faster than the arts of healing.” Cases of hunger and starvation must become more frequent with the growth of population. The most contented people are the rude tribes of nature and the uncultivated classes : any increase in the culture of a people only increases its discontent. Falschhood and chicanery extend themselves with advancing civilisation ; savage barbarity—witness the Paris Commune and the American Civil War—is only repressed, never extinguished. Immorality may become more polished ; its vice will be still the same. The students of science and art may become more numerous and more common ; their work also becomes every day more commonplace. Art will grow less and less original, and will end by being a mere opiate for *ennui*. The course of humanity, in fact, is the same as that of the individual. The world is already growing old, and we may hope that some day it will see the vanity of all its past attempts. But, unlike the individual, it will have no heirs ; it will renounce finally the vain pursuit of happiness, and sigh after nothing but the painlessness and peace of non-existence. The reader may find this result comfortless and dispiriting ; but he should not look for consolations in philosophy. Philosophy is hard and feelingless ; it is its very self the nameless misery of existence, because it is what brings to light the foolishness of Will.

What then is man's duty ? The non-existence of the world is clearly preferable to its existence. But that is not to be attained through starvation, suicide, or any other form of individual negation of Will ; even were the whole race of mankind to cease



unanimously to propagate their kind and gradually die out, the world would not be materially altered ; the Unconscious would employ the first opportunity to create a new man or new corresponding type, and all the misery there had been would begin again.

The one basis of practical philosophy must lie in making the ends of the Unconscious the ends also of our consciousness. Consciousness, we have seen before, is the immediate end before the process of the world. "Everything in heaven and earth," as Hegel says "aims only after this—that the spirit may know itself, may make itself its object, and close together with itself." But consciousness itself is only means towards a further end. This end *should* be happiness ; this is the very essence of the satisfaction-seeking Will. But this hope of happiness has been shown already altogether vain ; and thus comes in a deep opposition between Will, aiming after its own satisfaction, and Intelligence, emancipating itself more and more through consciousness from desire. The essential nature of consciousness is the emancipation of Intellect from Will ; consciousness, as it advances to its necessary clearness, acuteness, and dominion, must more and more recognise the irrationality of Will, and eventually combat it even to annihilation. The very object, then, for which the omniscient Unconscious has created consciousness is that it may deliver the Idea from the misery of that act of Will from which it cannot free itself. The cosmic process is a continuous struggle between the logical and the illogical—a struggle ending with the final overthrow of the illogical—the irrational development of Will.

The only means towards this victory lie in the entire and unconditional resignation of personal existence into the arms of the cosmic process, for the advancement of its end—the universal salvation of the universe. "Otherwise expressed, the principle of practical philosophy lies in each one making the ends of the Unconscious the ends also of his consciousness." Such a principle, it is asserted, allows the fullest scope to the active and affirming tendencies of Will ; it demands not the faint-hearted retirement of quietism, but an active surrender and renunciation ; it contains, not a disunion, but the fullest reconciliation, with life and its duties. It provides that unity of Optimism and Pessimism which alone can lead to valuable energetic action.

This final victory of Intellect over Will, and consequent annihilation of the world, may be confidently looked for soon. As with the gradual spread of human beings over the surface of the globe, and the gradual extinction of the lower animals, the Unconscious concentrates itself in man, and thereby comes to consciousness of its irrational creation ; as man becomes penetrated with the idea of the misery of existence, and the feeling

gains strength through heredity; as people become more capable of co-operation—the greater portion of the active spirit in the world will adopt the resolution to destroy the act of Will; and the world will have vanished into nothingness. The Unconscious will return to that passive state of pure self-satisfied intelligence, from which it never should have passed; and the possibility of another world, with all the miseries of this, will be for ever exhausted and exterminated.

Such is the doctrine of despair in which the philosophy of the Unconscious ends. Shortly expressed, it is that the Reason in the world knows the world to be irrational, and therefore plots its final overthrow—an overthrow towards which man will find it better to co-operate. Such a result will trouble no one who has seen the insufficiency of the different propositions on which this issue rests. Its doctrine of finality, we have already found, is erroneous and misapplied; the presence of the Unconscious is detected in many cases where a sufficient physical explanation can be discovered; and, throughout, Hartmann, while professing to recognise and postulate the fundamental unity of spirit and matter, really fails to see the true relation between the material and the spiritual. “The rock of offence which blocks the way into philosophy is the sustained opposition between our thought and things;” and this rock Hartmann has never fully passed. His theory of the origin of consciousness begs, we have already seen, the very question which it tries to solve. The Unconscious finally breaks down entirely, and shows that from the beginning it must have been attended with a germ of consciousness. With such defects at every point of its development, it only now remains to offer a few remarks upon the final fruits and practical consequences of this new philosophy.

The conclusions of the philosophy of the Unconscious are made to rest upon a balancing of pains and pleasures. Weigh, Hartmann practically says, the pains of life against its pleasures, and the former will be found by far preponderant. Such a comparison implies the commensurability of pleasure and pain. Pleasures and pains, in fact, our author holds, are qualitatively similar, and only different in quantity. Every resolution of Will, he believes, rests on the supposition that pleasures and pains can be weighed against each other; and this very fact presupposes to his mind the qualitative likeness of all pains and pleasures, both mental and physical; without it we could not choose between bearing toothache and having our tooth extracted, or decide between a wise but ugly and a fair but stupid bride. This commensurability, we shall attempt to show, rests on a false view of the nature of pleasure and pain.

(a.) The balancing of advantages in the choice of Will is an

undisputed point ; but it is not a simple comparison of pleasures and pains, as such, that here takes place. What appears as a comparison of so much pleasure with so much pain is really a comparison of the *advantages* of one course of action with another,—in other words, pleasure and pain have been taken out of themselves and universalised.

(b.) Pain and pleasure are, indeed, as Socrates, when relieved from the fetters of the prison-house, discovered, closely related to each other ; they seem, as he expressed it, “fastened together from one crown” (Plato “Phædo,” p. 60, B). But it does not therefore follow that the difference between the two is merely quantitative. Pleasure, indeed, carried beyond a certain degree, becomes pain ; the fire that warms also burns. But it does not follow that pleasure and pain are not different in quality as well. Quality and quantity are not strict opposites ; they are merely moments in measure as the qualitative quantum. Pleasure and pain may glide into each other, and yet be qualitatively distinct ; just as a virtue may merge into a vice, and yet be qualitatively different from it. Besides, the higher pleasures, as the higher virtues, will be outside this quantitative transition.

(c.) Pleasure, according to Hartmann, is the satisfaction of Will ; pain its non-satisfaction. But a little reflection will show that this satisfaction is the *condition* of pleasure, not its essential character. The delight of the mother over her new-born child ; the transport of the lover at the consciousness of mutual affection ; the rapture of the connoisseur over a work of art, may be—to take the theory as true—the result of the answer to an unconscious will, just as the pleasure in a glass of beer is the result of the answer to a conscious will or appetite for such a drink ; but the condition of a feeling is not the feeling itself. Pleasure, in fact, as Plato partly, Aristotle fully, pointed out, is not strictly an *ἀναπλήρωσις*—not merely the satisfaction of a state of want and pain ; it is rather, as the latter viewed it, an *ἐνέργεια*. But if pleasure be not merely the satisfaction of Will, but the reflex and concomitant of free, spontaneous, and unimpeded action, it will follow that health, youth, and the other states, which the philosophy of Hartmann regards simply as the absence of evils, will be positive and absolute pleasures. True, indeed, “*omnis determinatio est negatio* ;” but it does not follow that because we know health in sickness, it is therefore simply the absence of the latter.

(d.) Pleasure and pain are in themselves, and as feelings, positive and absolute (*ἐνέργειαι*) ; at the same time they are, in relation to their causes and objects, notoriously subjective and variable. The ordinary man prefers the poorest beer to the richest claret, and a comic song to a symphony of Beethoven.



How, then, can it be possible to compare together pains and pleasures? I may find my pleasure in resistance, in struggle, and in effort; and no one has the right to call my struggle pain. Who, then, is to be the referee to decide which state is in itself pleasure, which pain; who shall determine whether the solitude this man feels a pleasure, that a pain, is really a pleasure or a pain? If there be no one to take upon himself the task, how can any comparison of pains and pleasures be attained; how, in fact, can it be anything but absurd to show, as Hartmann attempts to show, that the pains of life preponderate over its pleasures, and that life is therefore miserable? If Schopenhauer maintains that no amount of pleasure can compensate for any degree of pain, Spenser and poetry may equally hold—

“One loving howre  
For many yeares of sorrow can dispence;  
A dram of sweete is worth a pound of sowre.”

(e.) “The heart knoweth its bitterness, and a stranger doth not intermeddle with its joy.” Pain is pre-eminently the object of consciousness; pleasure remains more in the background. Thus, it seems that pain forms the larger factor in existence; we know most both of our own sufferings and the sufferings of other people. But the deepest water is the stillest; and the deeper measure is, the less it shows itself. The enjoyments of sense are evident at once to ourselves and others; the pleasure of the higher feelings leads to a serenity of mind which escapes the outward eye—“the stranger doth not intermeddle with it,” and, in part, it remains concealed even from the possessor’s self. But none the less the pleasure is there, and it creates in life a sweetness and light as compared with which the obtrusive joys of sense are nothing. *Διὸ ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ μίαν καὶ ἀπλὴν χαίρει ἡδονήν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον κινήσεως ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκινήσεως καὶ ἡδονὴ μᾶλλον ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν κινήσει.* [“And hence the pleasure of God is ever one and simple; for there is a realisation of existence, not only in movement, but also in repose, and pleasure exists more in calm tranquillity than in active exercise and motion.”—*Aris. Eth.* vii. 14.]

Life, therefore, is not to be estimated by an arithmetical calculation of its joys and sorrows, and of the ratio they bear to one another. There is no formula to inform us how many “marks” must be allowed a certain joy, how many given to a certain sorrow. Even if such a balancing were possible, the results, we may believe, would be against the conclusions of Hartmann. “All that a man hath, he will give for his life”—such is the attitude of the greater number of the earth’s inhabitants; and the fact, however it may be explained as an affirma-

tion of the unconscious Will, remains a standing testimony against the view that the world is a mere mass of misery and wretchedness.

But further, Dr Hartmann mistakes, it would appear, the meaning of life; and no conclusion can be drawn about life until we grasp its object and significance. If the object of life be merely to derive the greatest enjoyment, to collect the greatest amount of pleasure, it may be that existence is a misery and a misfortune. But there is another view of life which regards it as a school of experience, as a sphere in which man has to work, to battle, and to strive. Which is the higher conception of the two? That is a question which each man must settle for himself; but the experience of the great majority of men will tell them that it is the *pursuit*, rather than the acquisition of an object, which conveys the greater happiness. Often when the heart longs for some result or other, some science mastered, some position reached, and anticipates the pleasure which would arise, could some magic wand secure at once, without our aid, the station aimed at, the feeling comes immediately across the mind that as such it would give no pleasure—that the pleasure lies in the struggle and the endeavour to obtain the object, not in the object itself. The famous saying of Lessing—"If God, holding truth in his right hand, and in his left only the ever-living desire for it, although on condition of perpetual error, left him the choice of the two, he would, considering that truth belongs to God alone, humbly seize his left hand, and beg its contents for himself,"—points to another estimate of life than that put forth by Hartmann.

There is an old and now almost forgotten definition of happiness and the end of life, which makes it lie in the out-working, outputting, realisation of our real inner self (*ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς*). Such a definition comes with inspiring force against the conclusions of modern pessimism. It is with "toil of heart and knees and hands" that the crags of duty must be scaled; we *wrestle* (in the language of religion), we work out our salvation, we run a race. The Hebrew version of the fall indeed regards work as a misery: the curse imposed on man is that "in the sweat of his face he shall eat bread;" and Hartmann finds work and labour one of the miseries of existence. But work is really a pleasure; not because "whatever is right," however circuitously this may be expressed, but because work alone evolves that feeling of consciousness and personality towards which, whether it be a blessing or a curse, man must and will strive. *Ἐνεργεία δὲ ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἔργον ἔστι πῶς.*—*Aris. Eth.* ix. 7.

"Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without know-

ledge?" The world, it is true, appears often miserable enough; and no one will dispute the correctness of the observations Dr Hartmann has collected. But it is pain and trouble, we have already seen, which mainly come to consciousness; the better side of life remains concealed from view. It is the scandals, the crimes, the treacheries of life we hear of—the East of London rather than the thriving village. The course of nature seems at times, as it did throughout to Stuart Mill, "replete with everything which, when committed by human beings, is most worthy of abhorrence;" but it is also replete with those processes of life and love which Hartmann has so successfully delineated. Yet it is difficult to see how the Hartmannian separation of Will and Idea in the superconscious essence solves the mystery of evil. Any attempt, in fact, to criticise creation as a whole must be ridiculous and irrational; because it is an attempt on the part of an individual mind to criticise that universal mind of which it is a fragment, with those very sparks of light it owes to the subject of its criticism. Yet if, in the course of a lifetime, we see many mysteries solved, many wrongs righted, many phenomena explained, how much more may we expect this to be the case from the standpoint of absolute intelligence! Is it better to believe with Hartmann in the absolute misery of existence, or to adopt the view of simple Mrs Winthrop—"If us as knows so little can see a bit o' good and rights, we may be sure as there's a good and a rights bigger nor what we can know"? We see at least in "Silas Marner" how a series of misfortunes and crimes all tend to crush the selfish isolation of the weaver, and to kindle in him that sympathy and love which will raise him to the level of his real nature. For sympathy does not, as Hartmann holds, increase our sorrow; it increases pleasure, because it is one of the highest *ἐνεργείαι ψυχῆς* we are conscious of. So also is it with love. "The lover does not longer appertain to his family and society. *He* is somewhat. *He* is a person. *He* is a soul."\*

The second and third stages of illusion do not call for any examination. Hartmann's destruction of individuality will satisfy few readers; and those who accept its fundamental suppositions may still fail to see how it excludes the possibilities of an eternal life. It is an open question, further, how far Christianity should be identified with the expectation of a life hereafter; certainly the words of Christ which Hartmann quotes ("In me ye shall have peace") no way *immediately* imply it. "He," as Strauss has said, "who still needs the expectation of the future recompense as a spring of action, stands in the outer court of morality, and has cause to take heed lest he fall." Still less will the gloomy

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\* Emerson's Works, "Essay on Love."



anticipations which demonstrate the futility of a life spent in the service of humanity—a service which forms the essence of Christianity perhaps as much as does the hope of life in heaven—carry with them any conviction. The world may be growing old, and may be tending to the worse: if so, the more cause to labour and to check the process.

“The owl of Minerva does not start upon its flight until the evening twilight has begun to fall.” It is, indeed, a significant fact that this “Philosophy of Despair” should have within five years passed through six editions. “*Qualis populus, talis sacerdos;*”—As is the people, so is the priest. Literature itself seems tainted with the faith of pessimism, and Cassandra’s voice is heard throughout our magazines and novels. A light cynicism, which smiles at enthusiasm and disbelieves disinterestedness, is not unfashionable in society. Has Europe in very truth reached that stage in which the only philosophy it can accept is not unlike those emanation doctrines which consoled the decaying mind of Greece? That is a thought not to be entertained in face of any examination of the philosophy of the Unconscious. “Those philosophic systems,” Hartmann himself remarks, “which enjoy the greatest number of disciples, are exactly those that are the poorest and most unphilosophical” (p. 320). We have seen that this, in spite of all its ingenuity, is throughout the character of the philosophy of the Unconscious; we have seen that its pessimist conclusions, in particular, rest on an erroneous view of pleasure and of life; and that, in opposition to the wailing melancholy, which will act only to assist the demolition of the world of Will, it still remains the part of man

“To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”



## ART. VII.—THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission, 1875.*
2. *Orders in Council, 27th February and 15th April 1795, 23d January 1799, 18th February 1801, 12th October 1803, 10th May 1809, 24th July 1817, 27th March 1822, 21st May 1855, 26th April 1862, 4th June 1870.*
3. *Calendars of State Papers—Privy Council Proceedings—Parliamentary Returns.*
4. *Parliamentary Estimates, Army, Navy, Civil Services, and Revenue Departments, 1846, 1856, and 1875.*

“THE State” has been defined by an eminent political writer of our day to be “the collective action of the nation.” The correctness of Mr Greg’s definition of the term, under the conditions of modern life, has been verified with such startling effect by the events of recent years in neighbouring countries, that his words suggest to us a text for proceeding to invite attention to the machinery by means of which “the collective action of the nation” is placed in operation in the United Kingdom. The business of a community is the business of its units collectively. The conduct of that business is a matter in which every unit has a direct and a personal interest. For the expenses of its administration, to apply the *argumentum ad hominem* that rarely fails to quicken the interest of Englishmen, a portion of the earnings or of the income of each of us is annually exacted. The efficiency of its administration is, accordingly, a matter to which we are bound to look, as the conduct of public business is the stewardship of our affairs, and we have to pay for it in hard cash. But strong as its claims upon public attention may be in the interests of the community, the time and attention of the units are too absorbed by matters with a stronger claim upon individual attention, as touching immediate interests, to allow of much thought being given by the public generally to the subject. Political thinkers are, in general, too taken up with schemes for the nation’s regeneration to devote much consideration to the administration of the country’s business, and overlook the means in contemplation of the ends. The public system under which we live is a machinery so complicated that its details can only be mastered after a long apprenticeship to the work of the State. A superficial glance is the utmost

that the generality of us are able, possibly willing, to give to the subject. And yet a recognition of the fact that public administration is the practical application of the wisdom of the Legislature, and the carrying out of the fiat of the nation, may awaken a feeling of surprise that so little is generally known of the machinery by which we apply "the collective action of the nation." It is a proud boast of freedom that submission to authority is "obedience flowing from opinion." Our statesmen have adopted the axiom that crime is only ignorance. Mr Mill taught his age that the correct principle of government is the concentration of information, and the utmost possible diffusion of it from the centre. If these postulates be conceded, it follows that authority exists in our midst for the repression of crime by dispelling ignorance, and that the first duty of government is the enlightenment of the community. But government, though vested in the sovereign, is practically applied by the Legislature, through the Ministry to which Parliament may, for the time being, intrust power. Authority, exercised in the name of the sovereign, is practically vested in the executive staff of the nation. With the Estates lies the high mission of framing laws for the conduct of the community. Upon the executive devolves the work of their application to the units. The country intrusts to Parliament the sacred privilege of opening the national purse ; to the executive it assigns the responsible duty of raising and disbursing the moneys which the Legislature may award each year to the sovereign for meeting the requirements of the Empire. Such a machinery of government is a system of institutions, and not of individuals. The public systems of other countries admit of men. Under those systems such individualities as a Bismarck or a Gambetta, a Cavour or a Sagasta, may become a power for a time. But a constitutional division of responsibilities, such as we have traced as created by our system of State rule, institutes and recognises only positions. Under it political consequence, and even social distinction, attach to the individual in virtue of the position upon which he may be grafted, whether it be the throne or a tide-waitership, a dukedom or a rating in a line-of-battle ship. Such a system of institutions—for positions and institutions may pass as convertible terms—offers a salutary check to precipitate changes ; but it is attended by the drawback that, being one of historic growth, it is slow to let in any truth which, in opposition to the traditions of the past, may break upon the ripening intelligence of mankind. A truth of the kind may strike an individual ; it will glance off an institution. Revelation comes to a mind. To apply its lesson is perilous to a man if he be a subordinate ; if he be high placed, prudence may, doubly in his case, suggest to him the maxim *Quieta non movere*. To such a sense of caution may have been



due the long-perpetuated apathy which has prevailed in the conduct of the public business of this country. The tenure of power by our public men is usually of too brief a duration to permit of their acquiring much practical acquaintance with administration. A new Ministry may seek to win *audos* by a spasmodic effort at retrenchment of expenditure with little heed, and yet less practical ability, to promote efficiency of administration, as if economy, and not efficiency, were the primary object in the administration of public business, or rather as if efficiency were not the truest economy; and the executive must, perforce, acquiesce under the fear of being considered disorderly by its chiefs. But such "a policy of masterly inactivity" on the one part, and misdirected and abortive attempts upon the other, recoil unfortunately upon the nation. Its expenditure is steadily upon the increase, and lurking, if not manifest, discontent in the ranks of its executive militates against the efficient performance of the business of the community. To the few who busy themselves with the matter, persons naturally within the official pale, the problem how to effect retrenchment of expenditure, and withal promote efficiency of administration, reads like the riddle of the Sphinx, and presents the alternatives offered by her to the hero of old. Politicals and the mass of the nation have, apparently, too little experience of the working of administration, or too remote and vicarious an interest in its efficiency to give much time or pains to a solution of the problem. Parliament supplies the money for which the Ministry asks each spring. The political party which has for the time the command of the country asserts, with partisan recklessness, the celebrated canon of a general of the Jesuits, "*Sint ut sunt; aut non sint.*" The nation, for want of enlightenment, acts up to the doctrine that "whatever is, is right." But perhaps a brief review of our machinery of government, and the rise of its administration, so far as the origin and formation of the Civil Service of the Crown can be traced from State Records that are somewhat imperfect, may set before our readers the clearest and most practical summary of the system by means of which we apply "the collective action of the nation."

Constitutionally, the execution of public business in the realm lies in the hands of its sovereign. It is placed in operation through the Privy Council of the sovereign, and is administered by the Ministers, who may be regarded, as will be hereafter shown, as either a Committee of the Privy Council, or as a Board of Commissioners for executing the duty of such administration as the Council does not reserve in its immediate discharge. The Ministry is formed of the leading men in the second and third Estates of the realm belonging to the party which for the time holds political power in the country. The accident of birth

which assigns a man a peerage, gives him doubtless a twenty-five years' start in the race of public life ; but the system of handicapping is not without its responsibilities to the favoured entries, or its advantages to the nation. The stakes run for are but social pre-eminence ; and the strong *esprit de corps* which prevails among our nobles enlists their highest ability and most unwearied industry in the service of the community, to preclude official pre-eminence being wrested from their order by any one of a lower "*couche sociale*." Specious as may be the arguments that are repeatedly advanced in favour of an Upper House of the Legislature elected from the ranks of our hereditary nobility, they will hardly be found to be sustained by a dissection of the House of Lords. Its members, as a rule, before attaining their seats among the peers of the realm, have been filtered through the elective branch of the Legislature, or through the ranks of diplomacy, or the executive, the army, or the navy. Quickening early into political life, even under the struggle for political existence engendered by the keen competition of a numerous and yearly-increasing plutocracy to win social eminence by the medium of political distinction, the more ambitious of our nobles surrender their leisure to the wearing toils of a political career to find themselves honourable occupation, or, at the spur of a yet more praiseworthy desire, to emulate the deeds which in a previous age, or possibly through a flow of ages, had rendered illustrious the name of the aspirant to high political office, and bequeathed to him that seat in the hereditary branch of the Legislature to which he, usually, finds himself translated only when he has reached the zenith of his powers, and has qualified himself, more or less according to the abilities with which nature may have gifted him, to fill usefully a place among the political sages of the nation. Men born in a humbler sphere enter upon political life as a means to an end in view. Our nobles adopt it for an occupation and the business of their lives. They reap their reward in the appreciation of their countrymen. The names of a Salisbury, a Derby, a Carnarvon, a Granville are uttered with the respect which their owners have earned throughout the length and breadth of the civilised world, and inspire a sentiment of grateful admiration whenever they are mentioned in any part of that vast dominion which an alien has described, with but little political hyperbole, as an empire on which the sun never sets, and which sees pass no hour of the twenty-four without, in some portion or other of its wide extent, the beat of the morning drum being heard summoning the Empire's defenders to rally under the flag of their sovereign. It is such men as these that, after a lifetime of devotion to the business of the nation, become the leaders of the House of Lords, an assembly almost unduly subordinate to its chiefs ; for even within

the pale of that august confraternity of illustrious men, calm in their survey of political rivalry, almost stolid in their indifference to political ambition, to none of whom can the query of the satirist of old apply—

“Jus habet ille sui, palpo quem ducit hiantem  
Cretata amfitio?”—

mediocrity, if it be sensible, hides its diminished head, or it is quickly snuffed out of political life, or at least of political influence. Investing its members with a fixity of tenure, a hereditary Upper House supplements, too, a want—created by the legislation of the last forty years, which has surrendered seats in the elective branch of the Legislature to local influence, to the influence of money, or to that won by adroit coquetry with popular whims—of enabling the country to secure places in the Estates of the realm for men whose services to the nation in letters, in administration, or in arms, have given evidence of the possession of vigorous ability and powers which may be utilised, even in the sunset of life, for the benefit of the community. But political power lies in other hands.

“Nihil est quod credere de se  
Non possit, cum laudatur Dīs aqua potestas.”

In Mr Mill's “Essay on Liberty” we find the assertion that “the masses are but collective mediocrity.” The legislation of our times has accepted this attribute as a qualification for the exercise of political power. The masses are “our masters;” but the political sagacity of “collective mediocrity” is entitled to every excuse for not being of a very high order. Hence, too, all possible excuse may be pleaded for elections to the Lower House of the Legislature which sometimes startle by their eccentricity. If a constituency is to be judged by its representative, the responsibility for retaining a title to general respect lies with the electors. A sense of that responsibility may not be very deep-rooted or very keen in the constituencies of Stoke-upon-Trent or Cavan County, or even of Waterford City—their elections pass as characteristic with the community, teach us what spots may be considered as the great centres of lawlessness or rowdyism in our midst, and in their results, combined with other returns, serve to afford

“The lights and shades whose well-accorded strife  
Gives all the strength and colour of our life”

to that Estate of the realm which professes to include every complexion of popular opinion. The power of the House of Commons has been so stringently felt in our history, and has now for many years been so loudly proclaimed in the columns of our press, that



the third Estate may be itself excused for at last believing itself to be constitutionally endowed with every attribute of power. The changes which have passed over the Lower House of the Legislature within this generation have to a great extent escaped observation. Recruited nowadays from men who have toiled a lifetime in trade or in law at home, or in higgledy-piggledy business of every kind in our colonies to acquire wealth, its ranks contain but few who can prefer any claim to an acquaintance with the science of government, and yet less to any practical experience of administration. The *copia fundi*, which sways "a mad-brained senate's mood" may be a high qualification in a politician—it can hardly claim to argue the possession of administrative ability; yet it is, under our public system, the passport to high political office, and, in virtue thereof, to the control and administration of the great departments of public business. The two careers of an eminent politician and a practical administrator are as wide as the poles apart; and yet under our system the one qualification is supposed to imply the other, and an absolute control over the present and the future of the latter is assigned to the former, although the existence of the controlling authority is as ephemeral in its *personnel* as the most insatiable craving for change of men can possibly desire. The practice of supplying chiefs to the nation's executive staff from the leaders of political parties in Parliament may claim the merit of periodically infusing new blood into administration, and placing men free from the rust of officialism at the head of the executive; but although "the collective action of the nation" is applied through the Legislature in the promotion of certain politicians to hold for a brief period the reins of power over the nation's administrative staff, that "collective action" is applied to the units of the community through its executive, and consequently such acts of the Government of the day as touch the administration of public business require the closest scrutiny from the nation. The conduct of the business of the country, and the care of its interests, are intrusted to the functionaries of the State; and their careers, as well as their lives, are under the protection of the community. The American practice of giving up public administration to be a prey to political parties is one too obviously fraught with mischief to the nation to be tolerated in this country; but even among us the permanent servants of the Crown are, so far as their interests and their careers are concerned, at the whim of the Ministers who may for the time be intrusted with the government of the country. "The collective action of the nation," applied through Parliament, and receiving its sanction under the sign manual of the sovereign in the year 1855, wrested employment in the service of the public from the patronage of Ministers, and surrendered such employment to be won as careers for life by units of the

community, in virtue of the possession of superior ability and education, under tests applied by the State; but, with characteristic carelessness, it left such careers to be tampered with or thwarted according to the whims of politicians. To this oversight on the part of the Estates have been due the repeated changes in the constitution of the administrative staff of the nation which have cropped up during the last twenty years. The tenure of political power endures, on an average, three years and six months. A new Ministry usually reverts, sooner or later, during its tenure of office, to the system which prevailed before the defunct Ministry came into power; or at least it undoes much that its predecessor may have effected. "Changes," says Machiavelli, in his "*Il Principe*," "but supply the materials for future changes." Such changes, however, are but an application of new ideas; and new ideas, when they affect the administration of the business of the community, need to be applied with caution, as success alone is the touchstone of their practical value. Administrative efficiency is too sacred a matter for tentative innovations. The interests of the nation and of its servants are equally compromised by experiments upon the administrative staff intrusted with the business of the country.

State administration has devised two different methods of carrying on the business of a community. One of the two methods is entirely our own, and one is the system prevailing in other countries. Under the latter, the formula, "*M. le Ministre de — est chargé de l'exécution de ce décret*," may pass as a stereotyped formula for the discharge of public business by the transfer of a matter, discussed and settled by the sovereign and his Council of Ministers, for execution by the Minister to whose department the matter may appertain, upon his responsibility by such agents as he may appoint. Under our system the political chief of a department of State is, strictly speaking, but little more than its mouth-piece in Parliament. At his entry upon office he finds an administration provided for him; and although he may shape the policy of his department, in his conduct of its business he finds himself under the necessity of accepting instruction from his staff, and under their guidance and counsel of working out his government. A divided responsibility consequently subsists between the political chief of a department and its permanent staff, placing the latter under the control of the former, but limiting their mutual interference. The positions of the chief and of his staff are thus clearly identified by supreme control being vested in the one, and fixity of tenure in the other, and any undue interference of one with the other is a collision of positions. In any collision of the kind, the weaker must give way to the stronger; but to yield is no admission of right on the part of the stronger, and in the

eyes of the public does not detract from the moral turpitude of an unjust attack upon the rights of the permanent service. Further than this, however, fixity of tenure implies experience; and if superiority of intelligence be supposed to dwell in the political chief of a department of State, practical knowledge of administration may be claimed for its permanent staff. Absolute control over his department undoubtedly is vested in its political chief, and abolition of office may enable him to reduce his staff at his discretion; but this dispensing power has to be purchased at the expense of the nation. A reduction of the kind is a determining of vested interests; and the sense of justice of Parliament has sanctioned compensation out of the nation's exchequer, by the award of increased rates of superannuation allowances, to the sufferers by an enforced surrender of their vested interests in consequence of an abolition of office.

It is thus obvious that the supreme but ephemeral power of the political chief of a section of the executive has a counterpoise in the fixity of tenure of his staff, and its exercise in an extreme degree is restrained by a sense of the cost to the nation, and the peril that may result to the Minister from that expense to the nation failing to receive the approval of Parliament. But our public men are too keen-witted as a rule not to recognise, when promoted to high office, the great law which governs all systems—that small bodies gravitate to a larger one. A timely recognition of this principle at entry upon office goes far to wearing the edge off inexperience, and supplying the tact which speedily places a Minister on easy working terms with his department. Affability and courtesy on the one side are gladly reciprocated by considerateness and zeal on the other. A sense of his ephemeral tenure of power usually renders a Minister somewhat diffident of upsetting the organisation of his department. He realises that to him office may yield distinction, but to his staff, office yields their bread; that high official position is to him the reward of a political career, but official status is their career itself to his subordinates; that removal from office in his case would be a grateful release from cares, but to his subordinates such removal would be the break-up of a career upon which they had entered under the promise of a fixity of tenure. Hence it has resulted that the permanent service has rarely had to reproach its political chiefs with any injury to the careers of the administrative staff of the nation, or with failing in the protection of their interests. But that service has been in process of formation during a period of fifty-three years. Until the year 1822, the persons who were intrusted to perform the business of the nation received remuneration for their work in fees from the public, which were occasionally supplemented by grants from the Treasury when the amount received by the department in fees



was deemed an inadequate remuneration for the staff. Under the administration of Lord Liverpool the staff of the several departments of public business first received pay formally from the exchequer of the sovereign, and became in a full sense the Civil Service of the Crown. Until that date subordinate officials had practically been but clerks to the members of the Government, and were usually rated as first, second, third, &c., clerk in the office of each Minister. The history of the rise and expansion of the Civil Service of the Crown, as it now exists, is entombed in a long roll of Privy Council Proceedings and Orders in Council. We have placed at the head of this article such as touch upon the constitution of officialism in the United Kingdom; and we will endeavour to lay before the reader a succinct *résumé*, and as accurate a one as the imperfect records allow of being drawn up, of the rise and growth of public administration in this country.

It seems to us that the Civil Service is mainly indebted for a failure of a due recognition of its status at the hands of the Legislature to the epithet of Clerk, which through a long flow of ages has been the generic term for persons performing the civil business of the country. It is but a few years ago that the late Lord Palmerston found himself under the necessity of explaining this to the House of Commons, and pointing out to members that a clerk in a public office was sometimes a very responsible official, and intrusted with duties of very considerable trust; and that the title had been retained, *faute de mieux*, for the permanent executive, without doing justice to its status or to its duties in the modern acceptance of the term in the business world. And yet in its origin the term was one eminently honourable. From the dawn of Western civilisation the man of mental culture and polite learning, and of orderly life, usually found himself compelled to take refuge from the universally prevalent rowdyism of the times under the ægis of the Church, or was indebted to its training for his superiority over his compeers. Entering the ministry of religion, he acquired the degree and title of *Clericus* or Clerk, a title retained to our own day for the religious order. To that order, in recognition of its possession of a higher degree of mental culture than was to be found in any other class of society, the great offices of State were intrusted through a long flow of generations. The great place of Lord High Treasurer of England was held by a long chain of clerics from the time of the Norman Conquest until the year 1371. The great dignity of Lord High Chancellor, the first post in the realm, and one that combined administrative with legal functions, was almost invariably held by ecclesiastics for a hundred and fifty years longer than the Lord High Treasurership. The appointment of Sir Thomas More to the office in the year 1529, in succession to Cardinal Wolsey,

broke the long series of Clerks who had almost continuously for several centuries been intrusted with the functions of the office. During the succeeding thirty years the post thrice reverted into clerical hands. The elevation of Sir Nicholas Bacon to the office, in the year 1559, commenced the series of lay Lord Chancellors. It is thus obvious that the epithet of Clerk, still in use with unimpaired dignity for those members of the Civil Service of the Crown who are intrusted with the administration of religious worship, was originally applied to Government functionaries in recognition of that order to which the administration of public business was intrusted in early times. Even in modern times the Clerk of the Admiralty and the Clerk of the Ordnance have been functionaries of high official rank, the former a permanent, and the latter a Parliamentary official. The modern depreciation of the term in public opinion—a depreciation which led to the suppression of these two titles, although the historic title of Clerk to the Privy Council, an office of no mean estate or petty emolument, is still retained—recoiled upon the imperial executive, which was powerless to procure some other generic cognomen in accord with the susceptibilities of the age, until the Royal Order in Council of May 21, 1855, reconstituted public administration on a new basis, and formally transformed persons employed in public offices from being simply clerks to members of the Government into Civil Servants of the Crown, receiving pay from the imperial exchequer, and endowed with a status in the official hierarchy won by success in competitive examinations, held under the authority of the State, for employment in the service of the Crown.

Apart, however, from the great offices of State, held originally, and for a long period of history, by clerics, we find frequent mention of the King's Clerk in the Close Rolls of King John and of King Henry III., the title *Secretarius* being substituted for the epithet in the State instruments of the day. A distinction between the two terms of Clerk and Secretary was first created in the reign of Henry VI. The delivery of the King's Signet to a person created him the King's Secretary. This dignitary had two clerks under him as "Writers of the Signet." The records of the time give the precise items of the pay and of the board of these servants of the monarch, who appear not to have fared so well as do the young "cits" in the employ of modern bankers and other business firms. In the reign of Edward IV. the increase of the King's business under his Signet of Patents necessitated the employment of four clerks by his secretary. The Statute of Precedence, passed in the 31st year of Henry VIII., first assigned an official status to the King's Secretary, and determined his rank, awarding him precedence in the Upper House of all unofficial peers if he were of the degree of a baron and assign-

ing him, if he were a commoner, the privilege of taking a seat on the uppermost part of the sack during the deliberations of the Peers. This statute is doubly noteworthy, inasmuch as it first gave the dignity of official status to a personal servant of the sovereign, and created the right, which has been perpetuated to our day, by virtue of which a Secretary of State, even if he be a commoner, is entitled to take his seat in the House of Lords while the Peers are sitting. In the year 1539 this monarch appears to have appointed two Principal Secretaries for the work, which had to be done under the Royal Signet, and, with Tudor precision, to have laid down clear definitions of their duties and rank. This order of the King is very remarkable. It directed that both secretaries should be in attendance upon the royal person when he was present in the House of Lords, but that at other times one secretary should attend the deliberations of each House, the two relieving each other weekly; and further, that during the royal absence from London one secretary should attend the royal person, and the other be present with the Privy Council. It thus made the two secretaryships co-ordinate, and created them of identical rank. This practice of the sovereign of having one of his secretaries in attendance upon the royal person when absent from London, has been perpetuated to our times in the custom of a Minister of the Crown, of the degree of a Principal Secretary of State, being always in attendance upon the sovereign when absent from London; and the equality of rank of the secretaries has been likewise maintained to our own day, although the number has been increased from two to five Principal Secretaries of State.

Our historic records give the year 1601 as the date of the first creation of a "Principal Secretary of Estate," in the person of Sir Robert Cecil. A second was subsequently appointed. The duties of these two great officials were confined to the foreign affairs of the realm. Two great departments of State were created for the conduct of the foreign relations of the country—a Northern department, which comprised all Northern Europe; and a Southern department, which included France, Spain, and the Peninsula generally, Turkey and Barbary. Under this arrangement the secretaryship practically lost its original character of a simple discharge of the personal business of the monarch under his signet, and developed into an office of State. The transition is very noteworthy, as it is indicative of the gradual passing of active administration of the nation's affairs from the sovereign to his Ministers. The Secretaryships of State continued two in number until the year 1708, when Queen Anne appointed a third Principal Secretary for the management of Scottish affairs. The third Secretaryship was, however, shortly afterwards suppressed. In the year 1768 a third Secretaryship was again created—for the



management of the Colonies ; but it was again suppressed in the year 1781. It thus appears that the post of Principal Secretary of State was created for the conduct of an important department of public business, independently of any control over it by the Lord High Treasurer, the highest official dignitary in the realm. The duties of Secretaries of State were restricted to the work of the Foreign Department until the year 1782, when the two sections, the northern and southern, were consolidated into a Foreign Department, under the management of one of the Principal Secretaries of State ; and a Home Department was created for the internal affairs of the kingdom, and placed under the control of the other of the two Principal Secretaries of State who were in existence at the time. A staff of subordinates was assigned to each ; and thus the embryo of the modern Civil Service of the Crown was quickened into life. In the year 1801 a third Secretaryship of State was again created for the management of the Colonies and the department of War. In the year 1855 a fourth Secretaryship of State was added to the number already in existence, for the duties of the War Department alone. In the year 1858, upon the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, a fifth Secretaryship of State was created for the duties of imperial rule over that vast dominion. We accordingly have at this moment five Principal Secretaries of State, to retain the original wording of the Patent of creation of the post in the year 1601, all of equal rank ; each entitled, even if he be a commoner, to a seat on the uppermost portion of the woolsack in the House of Lords during the deliberations of the Peers ; each told off for the duties and intrusted with the seals of a particular department of public business, but available at any moment, as occasion may need, for the duties of any other department, and consequently having no fixed domicile in Pall Mall, Whitehall, or Downing Street ; all mutually interchangeable for the conduct of the duties of the great departments of State, and all in receipt of a common rate of pay of £5000 a year.

Having thus sketched the rise and history of the great Secretariats, we turn to trace the origin and progress of the great departments of the fiscal executive, which were formerly included in the department of the Lord High Treasurer of England. From the Norman Conquest, to the year 1371, this exalted dignity was usually held by an ecclesiastic. Richard Lord Scrope, of Bolton, was the first layman formally elevated to this great post under the Crown ; but after his five years' tenure of the office it reverted into clerical hands, and continued to be held by Churchmen until the year 1399. The series of lay Lord High Treasurers commenced from that date, being henceforward only interrupted by the appointment to the office of Henry Bowet, Bishop

of Bath and Wells, in the year 1403; of Nicholas Bubbewith, Bishop of London, in the year 1408; of John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the year 1422; of Marmaduke Lumley, Bishop of Carlisle, in the year 1447; of Archbishop Abbot, in the year 1618; and lastly, of the celebrated Bishop Juxon, in the reign of Charles I. The department of the Lord High Treasurer was subdivided into the Exchequer of Receipt and the Exchequer of Account. Historians differ as to the origin of the term Exchequer. Camden tells us that the term was derived from the chequered cloth, with squares like those of a chess-board, which was placed on the table before the barons, and on which upon fixed occasions the king's accounts were made up. The origin of the term is to be probably found in a corruption of the word *saccarius* (*ad saccos pertinens*), a money-bag carrier. The business of the first-named of the two sub-departments under the Lord High Treasurer was to receive and disburse the moneys of the Crown; the business of the second was twofold,—administrative in keeping the accounts of public moneys and approaching the Commons for grant of the moneys required by the sovereign, and discharging the duties of a tribunal in fiscal matters under the legal fiction which permitted a suitor to try to recover upon the plea that, unless he were paid what was owing to him, he should be unable to discharge his own dues to the sovereign.

The first mention that we find in history of the appointment of a Secretary to the Treasury is in the employment of a secretary by Lord High Treasurer Burleigh in the time of Queen Elizabeth to signify his orders to the officers of the Receipt side of the Exchequer. From the days of Lord Burleigh until the year 1714, sometimes one and sometimes two Secretaries were attached to the Treasury, or to the Treasury Commission. In that year the office of the Lord High Treasurer was placed permanently in commission; and henceforward two Secretaries were invariably attached to the Board of Commissioners, and changed with each Administration. The repeated changes in the *personnel* of these important officials during the ensuing ninety-one years entailed so much inconvenience to the public service that an Order in Council of August 19, 1805, appointed a Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, in addition to the two Parliamentary Secretaries who continued to change with the Ministry. The Consolidated Fund Act of 1816 combined the offices of the Lord High Treasurers of England and of Ireland, which had been distinct until that year, and created the department of an Imperial Treasury. The constitution and usage of the ancient Receipt side of the Exchequer merit a passing mention. Moneys paid in by the public were received by Tellers, who delivered a record of the sums to the Clerk of the Pipe.

This official threw the record down a pipe into the tally-court below, where the bill was received by the Auditors. They inscribed the particulars on a wooden tablet, leaving a margin on which they inscribed a duplicate. This tablet was called a tally, from the French *tailler*. It was then delivered to the Chamberlains of the Exchequer to cut in two. One part, called the stock, was delivered to the person who had paid in the money: the other part of the tally, called the counterstock, was delivered to the Clerk of the Pells (from the Latin *pellis*) to copy out on parchment. On repayment of the loan, the lender returned the stock, which was then placed with the counterstock. Thus a permanent record of the close of the transaction was secured. In this primitive manner the Crown accounts were kept for generations. Hence, too, possibly the origin of the term Stock for investments of money. The offices of Tellers, Auditors, Chamberlains, and Clerk of the Pells came in time to be sinecures, and their duties were performed by deputies; but the statute 57 Geo. III. c. 84, ended this state of things by ordering that the duties should in future be performed by the persons holding these appointments, and that, in lieu of fees from the public, they should henceforth receive fixed salaries from the Treasury. This statute thus determined the sinecures in the ancient department of the Lord High Treasurer,—sinecures which had been sold by Ministers for generations, and which, reaping their profits in fees from the public, represented in the portion surrendered as purchase-money of the posts a part of the emoluments of the Ministers of the Crown; and it converted the sinecurists into Government officials. The statute 4 and 5 William IV. c. 15, in the year 1834, created the Treasury and its hierarchy as they are at present constituted. This statute abolished all the above-named officials, and extinguished the receipt side of the Exchequer, making the Bank of England the future recipient and depositary of all public moneys. The Lord High Treasurership had been placed permanently in commission in the year 1714. The Act of 1834 withdrew from the Board of Commissioners all control over the receipt side of the Exchequer by the creation of a Comptroller-General of the receipt and issue of H. M. Exchequer, and it defined the immediate department of the Commissioners as an office of registry and supervision of the appropriation of public moneys, leaving to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Commission the duty of approaching Parliament annually for the grant of the moneys required for the departments of public business paid out of votes submitted by him to the House of Commons, to one of the Commissioners, under the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer, the duty of enlightening Parliament as to the ways and means of meeting the expenditure of the country during the ensuing



twelve months, and to a quorum of three Commissioners under the Sign-Manual of the sovereign, of transferring moneys granted by Parliament to particular credits under the Appropriation Act. The statute assigned to the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer supreme control over public moneys at the Bank of England, empowering him to make transfers of such moneys to the credit of particular departments upon Treasury warrants, "after having satisfied himself that the order is in accordance with the Parliamentary grant," and it thus constituted him Chairman of the Board of Audit of Public Accounts. The Act further empowered the Treasury to establish rules, &c., for the Revenue departments, and consequently placed the whole of the fiscal administrative under Treasury control; but it made no mention of the departments of the Secretaries of State, and gave no authority to the Treasury Commission over the constitution of the offices of the great Secretariats, or of the Admiralty Commission. Under the control, then, of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury may be included all the outlying departments of the fiscal executive, such as the Stamps Department, instituted in the year 1694, by the Act 5 and 6 William and Mary, c. 21; the department of the Excise, established under the Commonwealth, and formally accepted in the year 1660 by Charles II. under the statute 12 Car. II. c. 23, in exchange for certain feudal rights of the Crown; the Income-Tax Commission; the department of Legacy and Succession Duties; the vast department of the Commissioners of Customs, which formed naturally the earliest source of revenue in an insular country, and dates back to times far beyond the days of the illustrious author of the "Canterbury Tales," who is recorded in State documents to have received the appointment of Comptroller of Customs, and of Wool and Hide Subsidies in the port of London, upon the condition "that he should write the rolls of his office with his own hand, and perform his duties personally, and not by deputy;" the department of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, created by the statute 50 Geo. III. c. 65, and dating from July 31, 1810, under a Treasury warrant of March 26, 1811; and the national mint, wherein is coined "the definition of the mutual relations of mankind," to standards kept for centuries in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey, and which submits to the presidency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the highest officer of the fiscal department, at the historic trials of the pix or assay of the new coinage at each coronation.

The statute 25 Geo. III. c. 52 abolished the Exchequer officials called Auditors of Imprests and Land Revenues, and created in their place the Commissioners of the Audit of Public Accounts. This commission passed under the control of the Comp-

troller-General of the Exchequer under the statute 4 Will. IV. c. 15. We have accordingly traced the extinction of the ancient office of Lord High Treasurer by its being placed in commission in the year 1714, and under subsequent legislation the delegation of nearly all the powers of the Commissioners to newly-created great departments of State. The Receipt side of the Exchequer having been entirely withdrawn from the control of the Lords Commissioners by the creation of a Comptroller-General, the Account side alone was left under their authority. The legal jurisdiction of the Treasurer was transferred to a tribunal of judges appointed to try fiscal cases, with the title of Barons of the Exchequer, under the phantom authority of the Treasury Commission, only recognised in the practice of the Chancellor of the Exchequer taking his seat upon the bench with the Barons upon certain occasions. The legal section of the Account side of the old department of the Lord High Treasurer was thus withdrawn from the Treasury Commission. Of the administrative business of this side of the Exchequer, the duties in connection with the pricking for Sheriffs, recovery of feudal dues and assessment of tithes, first-fruits, &c., due to the sovereign as original owner of the land under ancient feudal customs, were handed over to the Queen's Remembrancer and the Tithes Commission. The ancient powers and duties of the Treasurership were thus almost entirely withdrawn from the Treasury Commission, the only work left in their discharge being the supervision of the appropriation of public moneys, under the check and audit of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer, who is specially ordered by statute to satisfy himself, before transferring moneys to individual credits upon the warrants of the Commissioners, that the transfer is in accordance with the Parliamentary grant, and to lay before Parliament on the 20th day of April in each year a schedule of all such appropriations.

The Comptroller-General of the Exchequer is a high officer of State belonging to the permanent Civil Service of the Crown; the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are Parliamentary officials, and perform political duties. A reformer might perhaps suggest the suppression of the Commission, and the consolidation of all its work in the office of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in virtue of his preparation of the Budget of Ways and Means for meeting the yearly expenditure of the nation, is undoubtedly the Parliamentary head of the hierarchy of the fiscal department. A Lord Commissionership appears to be little more than a sinecure; and even the First Lordship, although usually assumed by the Premier or First Minister named on the list of persons commanded by the sovereign to assume the government of the country, as it

leaves him free of administrative business to give up his time to political work, is rather a nominal than a substantive post. In the instance of Lord Chatham, upon his accession to power in the year 1757, electing to be a Principal Secretary of State in lieu of First Lord of the Treasury, we find a practical repudiation of any theory of the supremacy of the Treasury Commission over the nation's administrative staff. It would consequently appear that the inquiry into the Civil Service of the Crown instituted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was an act *ultra vires* of the authority instituting the inquiry, and that any measure of the kind should have proceeded under an Order in Council. A great act of State created the Civil Service of the Crown upon its present footing. In the year 1855, the abolition of the patronage of Ministers over employment in the nation's service was determined on by the Estates of the realm which, through a royal Order in Council, threw open employment in the cabinets of Ministers to the competition of such units of the community as might elect an official career. Any inquiry with a view to the modification of that decree should have proceeded under a similar authority.

From the earliest period of English history the Privy Council of the sovereign has been the arena for the administration of public business, the executive of such business resting in the hands of the servants of the Crown. We have seen officialism succeed to the personal service of the sovereign in the conduct of the foreign business of the realm towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and extend to other departments of public business with the expansion of the empire. The great offices of State in all the different lines of public business were executive posts; the supreme administration of public business rested with Committees of the Privy Council, which, we find from public records, carefully steered clear of all interference with the executive. The Council of the sovereign appears to have been divided into Committees for different sections of public business since the days of the Tudors. The records of their reigns are defective; but under the Stuarts the custom of a Committee of the Privy Council assuming the administration of a particular section of business is clearly indicated in the State documents of the times. In the State Paper Office we find a letter from Sir William Trumbull, bearing the date February 19, 1620, to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Minister at the Hague, mentioning the nomination of a Committee of the Privy Council for War; and we also find a record bearing the date February 23, 1631, in which it is stated that a matter touching the affairs of the King of Bohemia was with "the Lords' Committee for Foreign Affairs." Under the Commonwealth all public business was conducted by Committees



of the Commons. But the disturbance of the regular government of the country, which the subsequent decision of the nation for a restoration of the monarchy overruled, deserves but a passing mention in a review of the constitutional process of public administration as it has come down to us through successive generations. The State Records of the reign of Charles II. are more clear than any documents of a prior date upon the subject of Privy Council administration of public business. In the archives of the Record Office we find a State instrument of this reign creating four Committees of the Privy Council—

1. For foreign affairs and duties of correspondence with justices of the peace and other officers in the counties, the executive being vested in the two Principal Secretaries of Estate who were in existence at the time for the management of the Northern and Southern departments ;
2. For Admiralty, naval and military matters, fortifications, &c., in all points not within the immediate province of the great officers of the two departments of war by land and sea ;
3. For dealing with acts of State, and receiving petitions of complaint and grievance ;
4. For trade and matters relating to Ireland, Scotland, the Channel Islands, and Foreign Plantations ;

and directing that, as occasion might need, other special Committees should be appointed for particular matters, "as hath been heretofore accustomed." A subsequent decree, bearing the date November 7, 1660, created a Council of Trade and Plantations; and one bearing the date December 1, 1660, created a Council of Foreign Plantations alone. A Royal Order, dated September 27, 1672, subsequently combined the two councils in a joint "Council of Trade and Plantations." This Council was afterwards extinguished by a Royal Decree bearing the date December 21, 1672, which further *ordered the delivery of all the papers of the suppressed department to the Clerk of the Privy Council.*

The business of the commerce and of the foreign plantations of Great Britain appears to have been directly administered by the Privy Council until the year 1695, when William III., by a decree bearing the date December 16, appointed a Commission "for Promoting Trade and Inspecting, &c., Plantations." We have seen that in the year 1768 a Secretaryship of State was created for the conduct of the business of the Colonies; but the Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations still continued in existence until the year 1781, when all the departments for the business of trade and the Colonies, together with the third

Secretaryship of State, were suppressed, and in lieu thereof an addition was made to the office of the Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, under the title of "The Office for Plantations," and was placed under the direction of an Under Secretary of State. An Order in Council, bearing the date July 11, 1794, created a Department of War, under the management of Mr Dundas as First Secretary. In the year 1801 the business of the Colonies was transferred from the Home Office to the Department of War; and a third Principal Secretary of State was again created for the management of the affairs of the Colonies, and, as Secretary at War, the business of warlike administration.

In the year 1855 the civil administration of the army was withdrawn from the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and consolidated with the department of the Master-General of the Ordnance into a War Department. This was placed under the management of a fourth Principal Secretary of State, who was created for the purpose of controlling warlike administration by land, advising Parliament as to the armed force which should be allowed each year to the sovereign, obtaining the sanction of the Legislature to the passing of the Mutiny Bill on the 23d day of April of each year, and also obtaining from Parliament the funds that may be required for meeting the military exigencies of the empire.

In the year 1828, upon the resignation by the Duke of Clarence of the post of Lord High Admiral, the office was placed in commission. The Clerk to the Admiral had long previously developed into a Secretary to the Admiralty, and in lieu of receiving "such a gratuity as it may please the Admiral to give him" out of the poundage of 4d. on mariners' wages (received for a long period of our history by the Lord High Admiral of England), had received a salary out of the vote of moneys for the navy. The First Lord of the Admiralty was constituted a great parliamentary official, holding a position in respect to the navy similar to that with which the Principal Secretary of State for War was subsequently invested in respect to the land forces. Amid all these changes and new creations of administrative departments, a Board of Trade was revived, and has been perpetuated to our day as a section of the direct administration of the Privy Council. It is still addressed as "The Lords' Committee of Privy Council for Trade." We have thus traced the inheritance by four Principal Secretaries of State and the First Lord of the Admiralty of the business of three of the Committees of the Privy Council instituted by a State instrument of Charles II., and the retention to our day by the Privy Council of a portion of the business of one of these committees, and the business of the fourth of the committees appointed under that monarch's hand,

together with such other business as might have been within the province of other committees to be appointed, in the words of the State Record, "as hath been heretofore accustomed," and which no specific act of State may have since withdrawn from the Council's immediate administration,—together with that appellate jurisdiction which is the seal of the Privy Council's supremacy over the administration of public business in these realms.

With this *resumé* of the rise of the great departments of public business before us, it appears difficult to understand what authority over their constitution or over their administrative staff is vested in the Treasury Commission or in the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Commission has authority over the transfer of public moneys lodged at the Bank of England to the credits to which they were voted by Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is entrusted by his colleagues in the Ministry with the duty of advising Parliament as to the ways and means of raising during the ensuing twelve months such moneys as may be required for the public service. To the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury is assigned by the Ministry the duty of approaching Parliament to obtain its grant to the Crown of moneys required by certain departments of the public service. But even if, because application to Parliament for the moneys required for payment of the salaries of certain departments is made by the Treasury Commission, authority over the constitution of the functionaries of those departments be vested in a Commission, such authority can hardly be claimed by it over the administrative of the Admiralty and the War Department, as the salaries of the Admiralty officials are paid out of the navy vote, which is moved in the House of Commons by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the salaries of the War Department officials out of the army vote, which is moved in the House of Commons by the Principal or Under Secretary of State for War. Such authority may perhaps be claimed over the functionaries of these two departments under the Appropriation Act, which connects the Treasury Commission, once removed, with the expenditure for the salaries of these two sections of the Civil Service of the Crown. But the staff of the Principal Secretary of State for India is likewise a section of the Civil Service; and with the expenditure for the salaries of these officials, as it is defrayed out of the revenues of India, the Treasury Commission and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have nothing to do. These officials are as essentially a portion of the Civil Service as the staff of any of the other Secretariats, or of the Treasury itself. Against this view the argument will not lie that the India Office clerks are officials on the Indian establishment as much as the Civil Service in India, as there is the marked distinction between the two services that the one is local and the other imperial, the three Indian



services being the establishments of the Governments of the respective Presidencies, whereas the India Office staff is the establishment of the imperial Minister to whom the Indian section of public administration is entrusted. It would consequently appear that the somewhat ambitious measure of the appointment by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of a Committee of Inquiry into the Civil Service, with a view to determining admission within its pale, its constitution and its grading, found itself thwarted *ab ovo* by the limited power of the authority which delegated the duty to Mr Playfair.

The Treasury Commission has been located for generations on the site of the Cockpit, added by Henry VIII. for his favourite diversion of mains to the palace which he purchased from Cardinal Wolsey, who had originally acquired it from the Archbishop of York (a building which, from its new appearance, had received the name of White Hall), and even within the present century the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury addressed their letters officially from *The Cockpit*. The term was suppressed in deference to the susceptibilities of the age in favour of the modern address of Treasury Chambers. The sway of the Commission is extended enough without touching the great Secretariats. The authority of the Commissioners is recognised by the fiscal departments lodged in the stately palace which Protector Somerset built for himself in the Strand; in the busy Custom House lost to society afar off in the heart of the great city; in the murky edifice of the Mint, standing with significant rivalry, indicative of the new power which has succeeded to the old, in close proximity to the grey walls and turrets of the Tower of London; and in the mighty Post Office built over the brow of Ludgate Hill, and within the shadow of St Paul's Cathedral. From the east to the west of the great metropolis is a wide flight, and to some who alight in the region of South Kensington the spectacle that meets their eye may possibly suggest ideas similar to that expressed by Queen Elizabeth during her memorable tour into the western counties, that "the further west she went, the more the conviction grew upon her that the wise men must have come from the east." In the far west of the metropolis, in a district which, within the recollection of comparatively recent settlers in the locality, was a nursery-ground sending its daily supplies of fruit and vegetables to Covent Garden market, has sprung up a vast educational department, which, in the costly magnificence of its protection of the arts, has succeeded in eclipsing aught recorded in history of the mediæval Italian republics:—this section of public administration is under the immediate control of the Privy Council, but is supplied with funds by Parliament under Treasury mediation. Situate within the great official quadrangle bounded on the north by Trafalgar Square, on the south by Great George Street, on the east by the Thames

Embankment, and on the west by St James's Park, and bisected by Whitehall and Parliament Street, may be found the offices of the Lord Privy Seal, of the Copyhold and Tithes, the Ecclesiastical, the Lunacy, the Public Works Loan, and the Civil Service Commissioners, the Stationery Department, the Local Government Board, the Admiralty, the great Secretariats, and of the Privy Council itself; while, until such time as the State shall have built itself the contemplated great office for a combined administration of war by land and sea, the War Office seeks refuge in Pall Mall in the building formerly tenanted by the Dukes of Cumberland, and abandoned by the last of these princes for a palace of cards in Hanover. In the purlieus of St James's Square the Charity Commission modestly hides what good it does; while, withdrawn entirely from the official world, the archives of the State find shelter in Fetter Lane, within the precincts of the Courts of Chancery, in a Record Office instituted in 1840 under the control of the Master of the Rolls, but preserved from the corrupting influences of law-courts by the refined courtesy of its staff, which preserves to it the character of a department of State. In Northern Bloomsbury the great library and museum of the nation, with its numerous officials, appear beyond the ken of the Treasury Commission; and finally, with the mention of the staff of the Legislature, which, occupying the domain of St Stephen's, basks in political sunshine on the south of the official boundary of Great George Street, the tale of the several departments of State administration is complete.

[In our next number we shall advert to the constitution of the Civil Service.]



ART. VIII.—THE INTELLECTUAL REVIVAL OF THE  
MIDDLE AGES.

*The Conflict of Science and Religion.* By Dr DRAPER, LL.D.  
London. 1875.

UNLIKE the previous volumes of the International Scientific Series, the new work of Dr Draper, entitled “The Conflict of Science and Religion,” addresses itself to a literary and historical subject. The author commences by briefly sketching the state of the Hellenic mind in the age of Alexander, the conquests of that monarch, and the effect upon the Greeks of a more extended acquaintance with foreign lands, and a more intimate connection with Oriental nations. Thence he passes to an account of the Alexandrian Library and Museum, of the scientific discoveries which have immortalised that renowned seat of learning, and of the wealth, luxury, and scepticism of the Roman Empire in the first centuries of our era. The rise of Christianity, the decline of the Empire, the decay of genius and of knowledge, and its probable causes, are next considered. He then reviews with rather more fulness the early history of Islam and the growth of the Saracenic power, devoting a considerable space to the progress of Arabian learning, and its influence upon the European mind. The revival of that mind, the vain efforts of the Church to retain her empire, the gradual advance and diffusion of scientific truth, and the present conflict between enlightenment and orthodoxy, afford materials for the remainder of the work. From this imperfect sketch our readers may conceive the magnitude of the subject, which is virtually the history of the human mind during twenty-two centuries. Dr Draper is a gentleman of high literary and scientific distinction, well known on both sides of the Atlantic by several excellent works, and well fitted for this theme by reason of his twofold knowledge of nature and of history. Whether the present volume will add to his reputation, we are unable to say. It wants neither extensive reading, nor original reflection. It is written in a lively and interesting style; but the mind is dissatisfied by the treatment, always cursory, and sometimes inaccurate, of a subject which deserves and would require the varied learning of Buckle, the judicial impartiality of Hallam, and the concise yet clear and majestic eloquence of Gibbon.

It would, however, be unjust to blame the author for the



painful necessity of bringing his work within the compass of a single small octavo, or to deny that, even in its present cramped state, it suggests many new and interesting reflections. The most satisfactory portion is that which relates to the period intervening between the fall of the Western Empire and the outbreak of the Reformation—a period whose history, full of the most valuable instruction, seems to have been either perverted or misunderstood by the most gifted and penetrating writers. It has been the fashion to represent the Church throughout the Middle Age as the preserver of learning, the friend of civilisation, and the parent of all that was elevated or beautiful in that gloomy time. Few who have read Macaulay's splendid, though, alas! unfinished "History of England," will forget the noble passage where, with all the impetuous ardour and gorgeous eloquence of his peerless style, he urges this strange theory to its utmost extent, and even struggles to prove the beneficial effect of the monasteries, the pilgrimages, and the crusades which were the fruit of mediæval piety. He looks with complacency on that Church which established the most grinding of all intellectual slaveries, which constantly encroached on the rights of states and individuals, and which awarded the crown of virtue, not to active and useful merit, but to misdirected liberality and degrading asceticism. The perusal of the work before us confirms an opinion which we had long ventured to entertain, that, on the contrary, the Church was sometimes hostile, and almost always culpably indifferent, to the promotion of learning; that Europe, beneath her undisputed rule, made scarcely any progress in civilisation; and that the revival which followed the year 1000 owed its origin to the Saracens of Asia, of Africa, and, above all, of Andalusia. But as this unfortunate opinion is neither venerable on account of its antiquity, nor rendered orthodox by a numerous body of supporters, nor gilded by the splendours of classic eloquence, we shall perhaps be forgiven if we venture to urge a few certain and well-known facts in support of so audacious and unpalatable a theory.

If the strength of a religion is to be measured, not by the number and intelligence of its professors, but by their unquestioning faith and ardent devotion, the close of the seventh century is perhaps the era at which Catholicism reached the full maturity of power. Not only did she reign without a rival in all the countries which had once been united beneath the Roman sway, she had annexed Ireland, an island in former times severed by a lonely ocean from the rest of mankind, and Caledonia, whose fierce mountaineers had, during many generations, successfully resisted the imperial armies. The Arian heresy had been completely crushed in France, Spain, Italy, and the Byzantine Empire. Justinian had extinguished with pious cruelty the last relics of the Greek religion

and the Greek philosophy. During three centuries the hoarded wealth of the ancient world had been showered with an unsparing hand on the Church and her ministers. We learn from Ammianus that in the reign of Valentinian I., the table of the Roman Pontiff surpassed in luxury and elegance that of the Emperor himself. The same monarch found it necessary to incapacitate the clergy from receiving those legacies which were so frequently bequeathed to them by wealthy saints, especially of the fair sex. But his successors, by their laws and example, rather stimulated than checked this dangerous munificence. On the church of St Sophia alone, Justinian expended at least one million sterling ; the columns were of marble, porphyry, and jasper, crowned with capitals of gilded bronze ; the walls and cupola were encrusted with gorgeous mosaics ; the sanctuary contained forty thousand pounds weight of silver ; and the vases for the use of the altar were of pure gold, adorned with the richest gems. Nor was this the only instance of his piety : he erected twenty-five churches in Constantinople and its suburbs, covered the provinces with temples and monasteries, presided in the synods, persecuted the heretics, and augmented the privileges of the orthodox clergy. Whatever portion of the consecrated treasures had been lost by the Arian heresy, must have been recovered with large increase on the extinction of that schism. But the Gothic kings spared the wealth of the Catholic clergy, and, even in the sack of Rome, Alaric respected the massy gold plate destined for the altar of St Peter.

The number and organisation of the clergy, both regular and secular, were not inferior to their wealth. In the reign of Constantine, eighteen hundred bishops governed the spiritual provinces of the Roman Empire ; the inferior ministers were proportionally numerous ; and their discipline and obedience were far more complete than could be found among the servants of the civil power. Yet even they seem few in comparison with the recluses, whose mode of life, originally introduced from India, soon met with general favour in every Christian country. Although Egypt was the chief home of these ascetics, they were distributed over the whole Western world, from Syria to the Hebrides. Five thousand inhabited the Desert of Nitria, fourteen hundred occupied the island of Tabenne in the Upper Thebais, and the city of Oxyrinchus contained the astonishing number of twenty thousand monks, and ten thousand nuns. The rocky islets that rise above the waves of the Mediterranean, our own and the adjoining countries were filled with these brethren, whose multitude may be conceived from the fact, that the monastery of Bangor once contained more than two thousand votaries. In the severity of their penance, as much as in their numbers, the monks of that age excelled their degenerate successors ; the followers of Antony and Pachomius refrained from

the use of meat, and considered bathing a sinful luxury, whilst other anchorites carried their humility to the extent of literally grazing in the fields.

The natural consequence of the advantages possessed by the clergy was that they became the most influential order in the Christian world. A pontiff seated on the throne of Rome or Alexandria, armed with the spiritual thunders, and strong in the reverent affection of an immense capital, was often able to defy the feeble successor of Constantine. Heretics and idolaters were taught by frightful experience to what a degree the hierarchy controlled the legislation of every orthodox state. The Arians, Nestorians, and Jacobites; the Samaritans of Palestine, the Jews of Spain, and the heathens of northern Germany, were persecuted with unrelenting cruelty; death was inflicted by Charlemagne on those who refused baptism or ventured to eat meat in Lent, and the laws of Alfred chastise idolatry with all the rigour of the Mosaic code.

The professed business of every priesthood is to guard the piety and morals of true believers, pure and undefiled; and in addition to these onerous duties, the care of education, as we are informed by the highest authority, has always belonged to the Catholic Church as her especial province. When we remember this, and remember also the zeal and numbers, the wealth, the leisure and the careful organisation of the clergy, our imagination is filled with a splendid scene of intellectual activity. We picture to ourselves the stately colleges, the innumerable schools, the vast libraries, and the well-equipped institutions for scientific research which must have been the fruit of such riches and genius devoted to the cause of human improvement. We seem to see discoverers who eclipse the profane glories of Alexandria, learned scholars publishing magnificent editions of the classics, historians and philosophers enriching mankind with the most permanent and valuable of all earthly treasures. We turn to the real history of those ages; and darkness covers the face of the earth. The clergy appear eager to extend their sway over the minds and bodies of men, but not at all anxious to use the dominion thus obtained for the intellectual welfare of their flocks. Gregory the Great sternly rebuked a bishop who had the impious audacity to teach grammar and to study the Latin poets, and it could hardly be expected that any of his brethren should excel the wisdom of a pontiff and a saint. How much progress the Christian world was likely to make under such teachers the candid inquirer may judge for himself. But the results of ecclesiastical supremacy will best be understood by recalling to mind, however imperfectly, the general state of Europe from the beginning of the seventh to the close of the tenth century.

Our first attention is due to the Eastern Empire, the most ancient, extensive, and civilised of the Christian states. The



spacious territories from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, which formed the wealthy inheritance of the Byzantine Emperor, were divided into 64 provinces, and adorned with 935 cities. To these fair dominions the victories of Belisarius had united the southern half of Italy, Sicily, and almost the whole province of Africa. By the labours of Tribonian and his colleagues, a code, incomparably the most perfect yet devised by human ingenuity, had been elaborated from the confused mass of Roman jurisprudence. In the splendour of its capital, the revenue annually poured into its treasury, and the pomp of Court and Church, the Greek Empire surpassed every other state of Europe, and perhaps of Asia. The useful arts were still practised with diligence and success. But these fading glories could not veil the progress of a rapid and incurable decay. A weak, wasteful, and arbitrary government, despised by its enemies, distrusted by its allies, hated by its subjects, paralysed the national strength and exhausted the national resources. Trade was burthened with heavy exactions, the administration of justice was corrupt, offices were sold in the palace itself, and, whilst rapacious favourites accumulated vast wealth, the soldiers and sailors were left without pay or provisions. Province after province was rent by victorious invaders from the once-dreaded Roman Empire. The capital was thrice besieged in the space of a single century. In conjunction with these national misfortunes were a decay and stagnation of the intellect such as can hardly be credited. Philosophy, after passing through a tedious period of decline, had been forcibly extinguished by the despotic bigotry of Justinian. The eloquence and poetry of Athens had long since followed her liberty and virtue. With Procopius disappeared the last Greek historian worthy of the name. A magnificent, though clumsy, style of architecture flourished on the wealth of the Empire; but in the land of Phidias and Apelles we might long search in vain for a painter or sculptor of even average merit. Science, the first department of knowledge to feel the blighting influence of tyranny and superstition, had absolutely retrograded. The ridiculous fables which Procopius, a traveller and a scholar, relates about Britain, show in the most striking manner the decline of geographical knowledge since the days of Constantine. In the opinion of his contemporaries the world was an oblong plane, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in width; they adopted the Homeric idea of a surrounding ocean, denied the existence of more than one temperate zone, and piously rejected the heathen absurdities of Ptolemy. But the culmination of folly was reached by a geographer named Cosmas, who says, in a passage quoted by Dr Draper, that "the plane of the earth is not set exactly horizontally, but with a little inclination from the north; hence the

Euphrates, Tigris, and other rivers running southward, are rapid ; but the Nile, having to run uphill, has necessarily a very slow current."

Still even the decaying civilisation of the Greek Empire derives an accidental splendour from its contrast with the absolute and unmitigated barbarism of the West. The wars, indeed, consequent on the fall of the Roman power had at length come to a close. Throughout the greater part of what had once been Gaul, the dominion of the Franks was firmly established ; the rich plains of Northern Italy were held by the Lombards ; the Goths ruled over Spain in luxurious tranquillity ; and the Angles and Saxons possessed the fairest districts of Britain. Yet, in spite of this comparatively peaceful state of affairs, no general and sustained improvement is noticeable until the beginning of the eleventh century. Layman and clerk, prince and peasant, were almost equally destitute of the most rudimentary knowledge. "In almost every council," says Hallam, "the ignorance of the clergy forms a subject for reproach. It is asserted by one held in 992, that scarcely a single person was to be found in Rome itself who knew the first elements of letters. Not one priest of a thousand in Spain, about the age of Charlemagne, could address a common letter of salutation to another. In England, Alfred declares that he could not recollect a single priest south of the Thames (the most civilised part of England), at the time of his accession, who understood the ordinary prayers, or could translate Latin into his mother tongue. Nor was this better in the time of Dunstan, when, it is said, none of the clergy knew how to write or translate a Latin letter." It would be rather interesting to know how these holy men could have performed the sacrifice of the mass, administered the sacraments, or pursued their theological studies whilst thus unacquainted with the language of Jerome and Ambrose, of Augustine and Lactantius. As all schools and libraries were then attached to monasteries or cathedrals, and as no places of instruction for secular purposes then existed, the laity were, if possible, more ignorant than the clergy. Charlemagne, the restorer of the Western Empire, the patron of learning, was unable to write ; Pope Sylvester, the only philosopher of the time in Italy, was accounted a magician by his illiterate countrymen ; and Alfred himself with difficulty translated the pastoral instruction of St Gregory. After such instances of barbarism as these, it need scarcely be said that the literature of the dark ages is lamentably wanting in extent and fulness, and that its best specimens are characterised by poverty of style and matter, by the utter absence of the critical faculty, and by a miserable want of original thought or expression. During this long period of more than four centuries, the West, in the opinion of Hallam,

produced only two men of real literary genius, and it is a remarkable fact that both were obliged to seek in distant lands the cultivation unknown at home. The first of these, John Scotus, the celebrated Irish metaphysician, resided for some time in Greece, and there studied the Oriental philosophy; the other, Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., acquired in the schools of Cordova that mathematical knowledge by which he has gained a just celebrity.

Some authors who ought to have known better have extolled in unmeasured terms the virtue and piety of the dark ages; but a very slight acquaintance with history will lead the impartial critic to form a far different judgment. The practice of exporting slaves hence to Ireland prevailed until the reign of Henry II.; the Venetians carried on a lucrative trade in human beings with the Saracens, and the prohibitory law of Carloman shows that the French were no less guilty in this respect. Could anything be more immoral than the customs of judicial perjury, of private war, of plundering travellers, and even of selling them as slaves unless a ransom were forthcoming? Frequent complaints are made by the writers of that age of the lewdness which disgraced convents and monasteries, pilgrims and crusaders. Yet the virtues which excite their loudest applause are a childish veneration of saints and relics, the liberal endowment of religious foundations, and a fanatical hatred for all outside the pale of the true Church. "Robert, King of France," says Hallam, "perceiving how frequently men forswore themselves upon the relics of saints, and less shocked, apparently, at the crime than at the sacrilege, caused an empty reliquary of crystal to be used, that those who touched it might incur less guilt in fact, though not in intention." At Toulouse it was the custom to give a blow on the face to a Jew every Easter, and at Beziers to attack the houses of these unfortunate infidels with stones. In a much more enlightened age St Louis sought the salvation of his own soul and those of his ancestors by remitting one-third of the debts owed by Christians to Jews, and exhorted his lay friends never to argue with pagans, but instead to run them through with their swords. Nor could there be a more ludicrous instance of superstition than the use, as modes of determining guilt or innocence, of the ordeal, the decision by the cross and the judicial combat, which, although of Germanic origin, were during the dark ages uniformly sanctioned by the Church.

The physical condition of Western Europe in that age was in accordance with her intellectual and moral state. These countries, so flourishing under the Roman domination, had almost relapsed into a state of nature; the greater part of their surface was covered with vast forests, morasses, and bogs; and although the



population was exceedingly thin, the inhabitants suffered frequently from scarcity. Out of the seventy-three years occupied by the reigns of Hugh Capet and his two successors, forty-eight were years of famine, and from 1015 to 1020 every country in Western Europe was destitute of bread. Contemporary authors relate that in these famines mothers ate their children, children their parents, and that human flesh was exposed for sale, although not without some attempt to conceal its real nature. The total population of England at the Conquest seems not to have exceeded one million and a half; at the compilation of Domesday Book York contained only seven thousand inhabitants, and London in the reign of Stephen could not boast of more than forty thousand. Germany, until the age of Charlemagne, contained no towns except a few Roman cities on the Rhine and Danube. The public buildings were generally insignificant, the private dwellings generally miserable. Amongst us the art of erecting structures in brick was forgotten until reintroduced in the fourteenth century. Manufactures were only carried to the extent absolutely required by human wants. Leather was extensively used as a material for clothing. So late as the reign of Frederic II. the Italians of the middle class were unacquainted with the luxuries of wooden-handled knives or tallow candles. It would be unnecessary to dwell on the state of commerce, for the essentials of its existence, the strict enforcement of a uniform code, the facilities for cheap and easy transit of goods and passengers, and the resources of accumulated capital were so utterly wanting as to render it of no importance in the economy of nations.

When we compare the state of Europe during the above-mentioned period with the magnificent picture of wealth, order, and refinement which it presented even in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, we are naturally led to inquire what was the cause of so mournful a change. The enfeeblement of the human mind which is seen in progress so early as the death of Augustus, and the ruin and desolation wrought by the barbarian conquests must be regarded as the direct and primary causes. But the more fully the history of that period is considered, the more evident does it appear that these alone were inadequate. In the first place, the sterility of mind characteristic of the Roman Empire in its later days should have been corrected by a large infusion of fresh and vigorous blood. The blending of the Græco-Latin, the Celtic, and the Teutonic races should have produced, and did, as history shows, actually produce, a family of nations gifted with such capabilities for art, for literature, and for science as in ancient times had been found in Hellas, and in Hellas alone. Secondly, the barbarians do not appear to have been the cruel and licentious conquerors they have been depicted

by the prejudice or imagination of ancient writers. The ravages of the Huns were indeed terrible, but they were transient, and the empire of these savages collapsed with the death of Attila. There is reason to believe that many excesses were committed by the Vandals in Africa, and still more by the heathen conquerors in Britain. But the Goths, who subdued Gaul, Italy, and Spain, appear to have been earnest Christians, upright and virtuous in their lives, and not without knowledge of Roman literature or veneration for Roman antiquities. Illustrations of this character may be seen in the conduct of Alaric after the capture of Rome and Athens, and in the glorious and beneficent reign of Theodoric in Italy. This enlightened monarch restored the authority of the Roman laws, established order and security throughout his dominions, enforced an impartial and universal toleration, and, beside repairing the monuments of the Empire, himself erected many great works of public utility. Undoubtedly he was a man of rare virtue and talent; yet the same spirit of moderation and humanity is more or less visible in the conduct of other Gothic kings, and Mariana confesses that his countrymen, wearied with Roman oppression, hailed as a relief the yoke of the barbarians. It must always be borne in mind that our authorities for this period are almost all orthodox, and therefore cannot be trusted to do justice to Arian virtue.

Whilst, therefore, making the fullest allowance for the working of these causes, we cannot admit that they were alone sufficient to produce that murky night of ignorance which darkened the Christian world for four centuries, and which, during as long a period, maintained a doubtful conflict with the dawn of light.

A third cause largely contributed. Much, very much, was undoubtedly due to the Church—that organisation which alone remained erect and intact amid the ruins of the Empire and the devastations of the barbarians, to which all looked for guidance, and before which the proudest barbarian cowered, on which rested the obligation, and which alone possessed the means, intellectual and material, to protect her children from the growing ills of a state so wretched. Yet this Church sat for four hundred years, without making one corporate effort to mitigate the ever-deepening gloom, though all the time quite busied about her rights and her power, her moneys and her privileges.

Whilst Europe, after a thousand years of intellectual supremacy, was sinking rapidly into this abyss, a mighty revolution was already taking place amongst the despised barbarians of Arabia. Although the character, life, and teaching of Mohammed have a direct and important bearing on our subject, they form a theme far too extensive and far too well investigated for cursory treatment. After centuries of misrepresentation, after appearing

in the drama of Voltaire as a fiend who disguised the most atrocious schemes of ambition and revenge under the hypocritical mask of piety, and after being described by Southey as a stupid and mischievous impostor, the Arabian Prophet has at length met with discerning and impartial criticism. The work lately published on Islam and its Founder, by a clergyman of the Church of England, is a most striking instance of this enlarged and tolerant spirit. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with observing, that no religion has ever been more rapidly propagated, or more stubbornly upheld, than Mohammedanism, and that perhaps none, after an existence of more than twelve centuries, can boast of having equally retained its primitive vigour and simplicity. Within the ten years which elapsed between the Hegira and his death, the whole of Arabia acknowledged the temporal and spiritual supremacy of Mohammed; within one hundred years after his death, his successor ruled over the nations of the earth, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Douro, and from the Caspian Gates to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. Without reaching any remarkable age, one who in his boyhood had seen the Prophet a helpless and lonely fugitive, on the road to Medina, might behold his successor on the throne of Damascus, sending one army to besiege Constantinople, another to subdue Mauritania, and a third to invade the regions beyond the Oxus, whilst his fleets swept the Mediterranean, and his treasury was filled by the tribute of Persia and Syria, Egypt and Arabia.

The narration of these conquests belongs to the historian; but there is one celebrated incident, the alleged destruction of the Alexandrian Library, which demands a moment's notice. Gibbon has urged with great force the arguments against its truth; the silence of contemporary authors, both Christian and Moslem, the inconsistency of this act with the teaching of the Islamite casuists, and the probability that the library no longer existed. That part of this famous collection which had been deposited in the royal palace was destroyed with the building in Cæsar's Alexandrine War; and although renewed by Antony, it is uncertain whether it escaped the fate of the edifice, which perished a second time in the reign of Gallienus. The remainder, which was placed in the Serapeum, was certainly destroyed by Theophilus, the Christian Bishop of Alexandria, and uncle of St Cyril, in the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 389. Such is the power of bigotry that the vandalism of this prelate is suppressed by almost every historian, while the fiercest invective is hurled against the unfortunate Omar, the Arabs and Islam in general, on the strength of a very doubtful anecdote. But several subsequent Mohammedan writers are said to confirm the usually received version of this story, and in such a case great importance may be attached to their testimony. It therefore remains an open question, whether the library was de-



stroyed by the Arabs, but it is certain that it could not have been large or valuable, nor does it seem likely that the conflagration would have caused any serious loss to mankind.

The stability of the vast Arabian Empire was secured by colonies, such as Cufa, Bassora, and Cairoan, which were planted throughout its whole extent, by the alliance of the Jews, Nestorians, and Jacobites, and by the intermarriage of the dominant race with the conquered nations. Brought into close contact with the most civilised portions of mankind, a people naturally so intelligent and inquisitive as the Arabs, began to make rapid progress. Under the Caliph Abdelmelik, a mint was first established, a step which, like every improvement in every age and country, was met by resistance on the part of some stupid fanatics. Walid, who reigned in the beginning of the eighth century, and whose palace was adorned with the spoils of Bokhara and Toledo, was a liberal patron of Saracenic architecture. The order and discipline of regular warfare, and the refined life of great cities, alike contributed to polish and restrain the rude native of the desert. Nor is it probable that the successful resistance of Constantinople, or the Frankish victory of Tours, could have stayed the torrent of Arabian invasion, had the Moslems preserved internal unity and concord. It was the memorable civil war between the houses of Abbas and Omeya which divided the Empire, and moderated the ambition of the Saracens. The Abbasides obtained the sovereignty of Asia and Africa, and founded the splendid capital of Baghdad on a spot which the experience of twelve centuries had proved a natural seat of empire. Spain consoled the last of the Omeyyades for the defeat and slaughter of his kindred.

The rivalry of the two dynasties, and the cessation of conquest, directed the energies of the people into a nobler channel, where they acquired a glory, and exercised an influence which have survived their Empire, and will survive their religion. With an impetuosity such as they had displayed in their martial career, the Saracens applied themselves to the study of every branch of human knowledge, real or imaginary, minute or important, abstract or concrete. At the date of the Hegira they had been a barbarous race, skilled only in war; in the short space of two centuries they became the most refined and intellectual people of the Middle Ages.

In every study the essential preliminary is to acquire whatever has hitherto been known concerning the subject. All of Greek literature that yet survived the neglect or vandalism of centuries, was eagerly sought after by the Saracens, especially scientific and philosophic works, which were translated with elaborate commentaries. Whether the Greek poets were translated, is a disputed point which has been generally decided in the negative. Almanun, seventh Caliph of Baghdad, had agents

to collect the treasures of Greek learning in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, and even extorted from the Byzantine Emperor a library which contained the *Μεγαλη Συνταξις* of Ptolemy. Hakem II., of Cordova, had collectors in Egypt, Syria, Irak, and Persia. He requested all men of eminence to send him their works, and employed others to compose fresh ones on history and science; and no present was so agreeable to him as that of a book. In this manner the Saracenic kings formed libraries of unparalleled size and number. That of Hakem amounted to 600,000 volumes, of which 44 were employed in the mere catalogue. Upwards of 70 public libraries were established in his dominions. 100,000 volumes were numbered in the library of Cairo, and were freely lent to the studious citizen. The taste of the sovereign communicated itself to the subject, and a private doctor declared that his books were sufficient to load 400 camels.

Nor were the Saracens less attentive to the foundation of schools and colleges. Eighty of the latter institutions adorned Cordova in the reign of Hakem; in the fifteenth century fifty were scattered over the city and plain of Granada. 200,000 dinars (about £100,000 sterling) were expended on the foundation of a single college at Baghdad. It was endowed with an annual revenue of 15,000 dinars, and was attended by 6000 students. The princes of the house of Omeya honoured the Spanish academies by their presence and studies, and competed, not without success, for the prizes of learning. Numerous schools for the purpose of elementary instruction were founded by a long series of monarchs. Even our own age and country might derive a lesson in tolerance from the conduct of Haroun Al Raschid, who placed a Nestorian at the head of the system of schools he had organised throughout his Empire. In this manner the Arabians, within two centuries, constructed an apparatus for mental improvement which hitherto had not been equalled save in Alexandria, and to which the Church, after ruling the intellect of Europe for more than five hundred years, could offer no parallel.

Whilst thus exploring the mines of ancient wisdom, the Saracens were no less actively engaged in the formation of a new and splendid literature, whose mutilated fragments still excite the respect and admiration of European scholars. That literature appears to have been remarkable for its bulk, the multitude of the topics treated, and the care bestowed by authors on finish and elegance of style—qualities which especially distinguish the writings of the Spanish Arabs, in whom culminated the intellectual powers of their race. Cordova, Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia alone produced above three hundred authors; women and blind men contributed to the literary riches of

their country, and a single individual published one thousand and fifty treatises on subjects so extensive and so various, as ethics, history, law, and medicine. For the purpose of a brief sketch, it will, however, be convenient to divide the works of Arabian genius into three classes, according as their subjects belong to the domain of philosophy, of science, or of what is incorrectly termed literature as separate from these.

A taste for high and mystic speculation has always characterised the inhabitants of Asia, amongst whom the six great religions of the earth have originated, and still exist in a more or less flourishing condition. Nor were the Arabs an exception to this rule. Such was the ardour with which they entered on the path of philosophic study, that their treatises on logic and metaphysics form a ninth part of that celebrated collection which moulders in the gloomy halls of the Escorial. They chose Aristotle as their master, probably because his system had fewer local peculiarities, and more affinity with the Oriental mind than that of any other Greek writer. Through the Saracens he was made known to the Latin Christians, who for many generations were incapable of reading his works in the original language. In some respects, the excessive veneration entertained for Aristotle was injurious to the Arabian intellect, since the pleasing fields of original research were abandoned for the barren trade of the commentator. But the Moslem sages, thus trained to reason and reflect, were led to perceive the fallacies of the national creed, and to adopt one more consistent and elevated. A variety of pantheism—a belief always congenial to the educated Asiatic mind, which conceives the human soul as emanating from and absorbed into the infinite intelligence—met with very general favour. The halls where Averroes and his brethren lectured have long since been levelled with the dust; their works are only studied by the learned and curious; but they were the first to diffuse through mediæval Europe that sceptical and inquiring spirit to which we owe the blessings of freedom and science.

From their study of Grecian literature the Saracens derived not merely a large store of scientific knowledge, but, what was infinitely more valuable, that sound method of investigation which had been used with such effect by Hipparchus and Archimedes. The experimental method, neglected in Athens and Ionia, had been developed in the schools of Alexandria, and had fructified in many splendid discoveries. By the Arabs it was drawn from obscurity, and again employed in the study of physics, and it again enriched mankind with results which heralded its crowning glory in the hands of Newton and Galileo. Mathematics, the queen of sciences, was ardently cultivated by



the Saracens, who introduced, though they did not invent, the numerals which still bear their name, and enlarged the study of algebra by several important discoveries, including the solution of quadratic and cubic equations. Trigonometry, both plane and spherical, was familiar to the Arabians, who substituted sines for chords, and first gave the science its modern form. Al Mansur, the founder of Baghdad, himself studied astronomy. Al Mamun, in spite of orthodox denunciation, caused a degree of a great circle of the earth to be measured by his astronomers, and thereby proved that our planet is a sphere 24,000 miles in circumference. This great discovery is the more striking, inasmuch as Columbus, nearly seven centuries later, based his scheme of reaching India across the Atlantic on a false estimate of the magnitude of the globe. During several centuries the various celestial phenomena, such as eclipses, equinoxes, solstices, conjunctions of planets, and occultations of stars were carefully observed, and various minor errors of ancient writers on this subject corrected. A celebrated instance of the skill of the Persian astronomers in the eleventh century is afforded by their reformation of the calendar five hundred years before a similar improvement was executed in Europe. By the Arabs, the pendulum was first employed for the measurement of time, and the numerous observatories which studded their vast Empire were the earliest buildings of the kind with which we are acquainted. But their real discoveries were blended with the mysterious nonsense of astrology, a science little honoured by modern Europe, though dear to the Oriental nations of every age.

Mechanics and hydrostatics were much developed by the industry of the Saracens, who wrote treatises on the flotation and sinking of bodies in water, constructed tables of specific gravities, and had some general notions of the immortal discovery of Newton. The science of optics was placed on a sure foundation by the correction of the Greek error that rays proceed from the eye to the object, instead of from the object to the eye. Alhazen further proved that the path of a ray of light through the air is curvilinear, and that we see the sun and moon before they have risen and after they have set. Chemistry is, however, the only science which owes its origin to the Arabs. The invention of the alembic, the preparation of mineral medicines, the discovery of the relation between acids and alkalies, and of the reagents sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and alcohol, are all due to them. The revival of the medical art was a natural corollary of this extraordinary progress in physical science, especially in chemistry. An excellent regulation, then and long after unknown in Christian Europe, compelled the student to prove his knowledge by passing an examination, and rewarded with authority to

practise the successful candidates, who must have been numerous, since Baghdad alone contained 860 licensed physicians. Nor can we have a more decisive testimony to the skill of the Arabians than the fact that they gained frequent admission to the proud and bigoted courts of Southern Europe.

Although keenly pursuing the intricate and stony paths of philosophy and science, the Arabs did not neglect the lighter and more graceful branches of literature. In the days of ignorance, as they were called, the nation had cultivated eloquence and poetry with considerable success, and the latter remained the favourite amusement of their period of civilisation. This remark applies especially to the Spanish Arabs, amongst whom the poetical talent seems to have been universally diffused, from the magnificent sovereigns of Cordova and Granada to the humblest peasant. Their muse was not indeed grand or sublime, for the epic and the drama were unknown, but it was exquisitely tender, melancholy and voluptuous. As the Arabs studied Greek literature chiefly through the medium of translations, and were but slightly acquainted with the Greek poets, the progress of learning and civilisation effected little change in this art, and the strains which resounded through the marble palaces of Cairo and Damascus were but little removed from those which during a hundred generations have cheered the monotonous life of the desert. With poetry we may class those innumerable tales and novels of which the "Arabian Nights" is the best known specimen, and which, in spite of frequently-recurring extravagance and absurdities, display no mean degree of wit and imagination.

The Arabian historians are, on the whole, more remarkable for their number than their merit. Spain alone is said to have given birth to thirteen hundred. But the absence of criticism or philosophy, the adulation so freely bestowed upon very indifferent princes, and the narrow-minded orthodoxy of these writers degrade them to the level of mere annalists, and render their perusal tedious and disagreeable to the modern reader.

The consequence of this mental activity, especially in science, was a great advance in those humble but necessary arts which directly contribute to the happiness of mankind. Irrigation, so essential to the fertility of southern lands, was practised with remarkable care, and afforded the means of subsistence to a dense population in tracts now returned to almost primeval solitude. Many valuable plants, such as the palm-tree, the cotton plant, and the sugar-cane, were introduced by the Arabians into Spain, and their matchless breed of horses was naturalised in the provinces of Africa and Andalusia. Gunpowder was used by them upwards of two centuries before it was known to the Christians, and specimens of their cotton and linen paper so early as

1009 and 1106 have been discovered by Casiri. The sword-blades of Toledo, Fery, and Damascus, the silks and cotton of Granada, and the leather of Cordova and Morocco, were all unsurpassed during the Middle Ages. Mining was prosecuted with such energy that five thousand excavations of the Saracenic period have been discovered in the small district of Jaen alone, and the revenue of the Spanish caliphs was swelled by an abundant yield of the precious metals.

This laborious development of every natural advantage produced a wealth and splendour which would justly be deemed fabulous, were they not attested by numerous contemporary historians.

“After his wars and buildings, Almansor left behind him in gold and silver about thirty million sterling; and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanserais, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet. The courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Almamon, who gave away four-fifths of the revenue of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride, and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune.”

From a few particulars relating to the condition of Spain, we may conceive the grandeur of that Empire of which Spain was but a fragment. A census taken in the tenth century by Hakem II. of Cordova, represents that city as containing two hundred thousand houses, six hundred temples, and nine hundred baths. The grand mosque was supported by one thousand marble columns; the roof was of odoriferous wood, curiously carved, and the edifice was lighted for evening prayer by above two thousand lamps. Whatever could contribute to the beauty or convenience of the Spanish capital—quays, aqueducts, fountains, and hospitals—was liberally provided by the care of the Omeyades. Three miles from the city, and embowered in delightful gardens, rose the magnificent palace of Zahra, now vanished like a mist, but once the noblest monument of Arabian grandeur, famed for its fountain of purest quicksilver, its endless arcades of the richest marble, and its hall of audience encrusted with gold and gems. Eighty cities of the first, three hundred of the second order obeyed the caliph of the West; twelve thousand villages and hamlets studded the valley of the Guadalquiver;



the annual revenue amounted to six million sterling, and the royal bodyguard consisted of twelve thousand horse gorgeously armed and equipped.

Even so late as the fifteenth century, the kingdom of Granada, in a space not larger than Belgium, displayed the strength and magnificence of a powerful empire. The capital was described by the Genoese as the largest fortified city they had visited. The massy walls were defended by one thousand and thirty towers; the larger of the two citadels could accommodate an army of forty thousand men, and the town could pour fifty thousand warriors through her seven gates. Tessellated pavements, fretted ceilings, fountains, and turrets of wood or marble adorned the lofty dwellings of the nobility. The streets, it is said, were paved and lighted—improvements rarely found in Northern Europe even at a much later period. Strangers from every clime thronged the bazaars of Granada, and “such,” says a Spaniard quoted by Prescott, “was the reputation of the citizens for trustworthiness, that their bare word was more relied on than a written contract is now among us.” In a lesser degree, the great ports of Malaga and Almeria, which maintained an active trade with Italy, Africa, and the Levant, might boast an opulence similar to that of the metropolis. Schools, colleges, hospitals, asylums, aqueducts, and even public slaughter-houses and ovens, were erected in great numbers by the wealthy princes of Granada, whose revenue amounted to one million gold ducats, or about eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. The preparations for war were equally extensive. Seven thousand horsemen were kept in pay on the peace establishment, and the fortresses of the kingdom were ten times as numerous as all that can now be found in the entire Peninsula.

However fragmentary and incomplete the facts above-mentioned may be, they at least serve to show the immense superiority of the Arabians at that period over all the neighbouring communities. The next point to be considered is, what amount of intercourse had the Saracens with European nations? Sicily was possessed by them for two centuries, and a gradually-diminishing, but always considerable portion of Spain for seven hundred and eighty years. Amalfi, the first great commercial republic of Italy, was also the most southern, and the nearest to the Moslem dominions, with which she maintained a profitable trade. A writer of the twelfth century, says Hallam, reproaches Pisa with the Jews, the Arabians, and other “monsters of the sea” who thronged in her streets. And Hallam elsewhere tells us with regard to Venice—“No Christian state preserved so considerable an intercourse with the Mohammedans. While Genoa kept the keys of the Black Sea by her colonies of Pera and Caffa,

Venice directed her vessels to Acre and Alexandria. These connections, as is the natural effect of trade, deadened the sense of religious antipathy; and the Venetians were sometimes charged with obstructing all efforts towards a new crusade, or even any partial attacks upon the Mohammedan nations." It appears that the Genoese had mercantile establishments in Granada, and even entered into commercial treaties with her monarchs, whilst Florence imported thence large quantities of silk, and, like other Italian cities, derived her skill in its manufacture from the Spanish Arabs. The long intercourse, both in peace and war, of the Moors and Spaniards, which has been so fertile a theme of romance and poetry, need not be dwelt on here, but it may be noticed that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many Saracens continued to inhabit Aragon under the Christian kings. The intimacy of the Arabs and Provençals was less close and durable; but it is well known to have been not unimportant. Thus, an intercourse as extensive and unbroken as the feelings of national and religious hatred, and the exigencies of frequent warfare would permit, appears to have been maintained between the Christians of Italy, Spain, and Provence on the one hand, and the Saracens of Asia, Africa, and Andalusia on the other. Whatever the fear and hatred with which the former viewed the populous cities, the stately palaces, the well-cultivated lands, and the industrial skill of the infidels, they could not help learning from them. From England, France, and Germany the studious youth crowded to those famed academies where learned professors expounded the logic of Aristotle, the geometry of Euclid, and the mechanical discoveries of Archimedes. The adventurous trader hastened to those crowded marts, where the hides, the wool, and the tallow of the North might be exchanged for the diamonds and spices of India, the blades of Damascus, and the silk of Granada. In times of peace, many gallant knights found a hospitable reception in the Moorish courts, and displayed their skill and valour in the friendly contests of the bull-fight and the tourney. Many cases might be quoted to illustrate these and other forms of the ancient intercourse between Christians and Moslems, but they would exceed our space, and weary our readers.

Historians are generally agreed in considering the tenth century as the last age of utter darkness, and date from its close the first feeble efforts of reviving mind. During the four succeeding centuries we observe a slow but steady progress in wealth, order, and intelligence, the growing importance of cities, the first establishment of universities, the development of art, and the birth of literature. This happy change first began and advanced with the most rapid steps in Italy, Provence, and

Spain, countries which, we have seen, enjoyed the most unrestrained communication with the various Saracenic empires. In many features of this great revolution a candid observer will not fail to remark a powerful influence exerted by the Arabs. Their philosophy spread from Sicily and Andalusia, created numerous heresies, and met with such favour that the Church thought fit to suppress it by persecution. But the metaphysics of Aristotle triumphed over the decrees of popes and councils, obtained a firm hold on the educated mind of Europe, and were at length prudently adopted by the very order which had resisted their introduction. The use of the Arabic numerals gradually prevailed among the nations of the West, several mathematical works were translated from the Oriental languages, and the first medical school of modern Europe was founded at Salerno by an Italian pupil of Avicenna who had studied thirty-nine years in the East. Prescott informs us that the literature of both Provence and Castille received a deep and lasting impress from that of the Saracens. Of the various theories broached concerning the origin of Gothic architecture, none seems more rational than that which assigns it an Oriental source. The pointed arch, its distinguishing feature, is found in a Cairene mosque of the ninth century; the use of window tracery, stained glass, and elaborate geometrical ornament is common alike to Gothic and to Saracenic art; and it seems unlikely that, if the style had originated in any of these countries, it should appear almost simultaneously in all the others. Whether our author be correct or not in deriving the spirit of chivalry from Moorish Spain, we are unable to say; but it certainly reached there a degree of perfection unsurpassed in any other country, and the virtues which it inspired are as suitable to the character of a Bedouin as of a Christian. To the same source Sismondi attributes the jealousy of the sex, the ideas of honour, and the spirit of revenge which distinguished Southern Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Thus intellectual activity is awakened all over Europe; the descendants of the barbarians arise as giants refreshed by sleep; ecclesiastics display a devotion to learning never before surpassed; the Church rejoices in the fame, and blesses the glorious achievements of her children. But, alas! soon is the contest renewed between the free mind and infallible authority, between reason and faith. The renewal of that contest was inevitable; for the Church never was, and never could be the cordial ally of progress. A creed which rejects as profane the use of reason, and exacts an implicit belief in the most startling absurdities, can never maintain a sincere and durable friendship with that spirit of honest inquiry and fearless reflection which alone can



elevate the condition of the human race. The increasing strength and boldness of the European mind were always observed by Rome with a jaundiced eye. But to the pious and charitable end of exterminating Mohammedans abroad and heretics at home she devoted all her energy, all her influence, all her resources. It was nothing in her eyes that nearly 900,000 souls had perished in the first crusade, and nearly 400,000 in the second; it was nothing that all Western Asia had been desolated with fire and sword from the waves of the Thracian Bosphorus to the rock-built towers of Jerusalem; it was nothing that the deluded fanatics were exposed to every species of temptation which could harden or corrupt the heart; she still continued to urge forward the nations of the West on their mad career, until reason and experience rendered futile alike her threats and her exhortations. A crusade was organised against the Albigenses; 15,000, or as others say, 60,000 of the inhabitants perished in the sack of Beziers; the peculiar literature and civilisation of Southern France were extinguished, and the celebrated tribunal of the Holy Office was erected to guard against the revival of heresy. Many volumes might be filled with the disgusting recital of similar events, with the various insults and tortures inflicted upon Jews in every Christian country, with the murder of Huss, who was burnt in violation of a safe-conduct, with the extermination of the Lollards, with the forced conversion and subsequent banishment of the Moors in Spain. An elaborate work might be devoted to a subject on which our author touches but slightly, the ruthless warfare carried on by the Church with all heretical science, the 6000 volumes of Oriental learning burnt at Salamanca, the 80,000 manuscripts which flamed in the squares of conquered Granada, the spiritual thunders directed against the Copernican system, the tortures of Bruno and the recantation of Galileo. The reader of history stands aghast at the sight of such boundless influence, of such steady perseverance, of such unquenchable ardour employed for the purpose of cramping and paralysing the action of the mind. Is it credible that the Church which could send millions of men to encounter a painful death in the remote regions of the East, which could vanquish the feelings of humanity, of patriotism, and of family affection, and which could induce the wisest of monarchs to deprive themselves of a numerous and unoffending portion of their subjects, suddenly became feeble and helpless when she directed her power to noble and useful ends? And if the vast resources she possessed were faithfully employed for the improvement of her children, why was Europe of the tenth century as ignorant and degraded as Europe of the sixth? Why did the glorious efforts of Charlemagne to rekindle the flame of

ancient learning produce so small a permanent result, and why did the yet more honourable labours of Alfred produce none at all? Why were the nations of the West employed six hundred years in acquiring the rudiments of civilisation, whilst the Arabs, two centuries after they had emerged from their deserts a barbarous horde, reached a degree of intellectual refinement and material prosperity scarcely inferior to that attained by the most flourishing states of the present age? Few will be disposed to admit that the natives of Asia have mentally or physically any advantage over those of Europe. Few will be of opinion that the soil and climate of our own and adjoining countries are less favourable to human perfection than those of Spain, Egypt, and Persia. If Gaul, Italy, and Britain had been desolated by foreign invasion, so had Africa and Syria. If anarchy prevailed in the West, the East was afflicted by the most absolute despotism. What credence, then, can we give to those who would have us believe that throughout the Middle Ages the Church laboured untiringly for the diffusion of knowledge, that every monastery was a centre of intellectual activity, and that but for her the light of returning civilisation would never have dawned upon Europe?

These remarks we have always intended to apply, not to the action of individuals, but to that of the corporate body. Every candid student of history will admit that we are much indebted to several illustrious ecclesiastics for their efforts in the cause of enlightenment—to Nicholas V. for his advancement of classical learning, and to Leo X. for his patronage of the fine arts. But such exceptions are a matter of course in any society which enlists in its ranks the most intellectual and refined spirits of the age.

Besides, it is well known that men like Leo and Wolsey were not remarkable for the ardour of their piety, and that we might with as much justice attribute their lax morals as their enlarged intellect to the influence of Catholicism. It is to those men who were thoroughly penetrated by the faith that we must look if we would see its workings; and such men were St Gregory, St Dominic, and Torquemada. Nor can we in justice to the Catholic Church deny that her spirit, although sometimes dissembled by prudence and sometimes modified by circumstances, has ever remained substantially the same; that such as it was when it led the fourth Council of Carthage to forbid the reading of secular literature by bishops, and moved Theodosius to establish the office of inquisitor, such it still survives in the Court of Alfonso, who persecutes Protestants; and in the pages of the *Dublin Review*, which expresses the mild opinion that Galileo was treated with excessive lenity, and that Rome may still assert her claim, in this respect at least, to the lofty boast

of "Semper Eadem" so rashly questioned by the malignant bigotry of Mr Gladstone.

Great importance has been justly attached to the beneficial effect which the fall of the Greek Empire, and the consequent dispersion of scholars and manuscripts, produced upon Western Europe. But we may remark that, unless the mind had been thoroughly prepared to welcome these precious relics, a few books and a few students could not have awakened a sleeping world. Every incident in their reception shows the love and appreciation felt by the Italians at any rate for Hellenic literature, and these feelings sufficiently evince the cultivation and refinement they had already acquired. The spread of Greek learning through the countries of France and Germany, Spain and Britain, although not absolutely rapid, went on with a steadiness and success which contrast delightfully with the slow and tedious progress of educational improvement in former ages. The first mighty impulse, whose earliest traces are faintly discernible in the eleventh, and whose maturity is seen in succeeding centuries, must have been derived from some other source, a source which, we think, is found in the Arabian civilisation. No other theory with which we are acquainted rests on such a foundation of historical testimony, or is so completely in accordance with the course of events in the Middle Ages. Doubtless many would feel reluctant to admit that aliens in race, in manners, and in religion, were capable of teaching the orthodox natives of Europe; but this reluctance will not alter facts or bias permanently the judgment of modern criticism.

A few decaying manuscripts, a few crumbling ruins, are all that now remain of the Arabian Empire; the sceptre of the caliphs has long been broken, their very tombs have disappeared, and in cities where they ruled for centuries the race and name of the Saracens are forgotten. The beautiful valleys of Sicily and Andalusia are abandoned to the brigand and smuggler; the northern shores of Africa are divided between a number of petty and semi-barbarous states; the rich plains of the Tigris are uncultivated; and the power, the wealth, and the magnificence, of which they were once the abode, belong to the list of the things that were and are not. But the imperishable glory of mental worth still sheds its lustre over the mouldering palaces of Baghdad and Granada, and when the passions excited by religious conflict have finally cooled, the admiration now lavished on the savage monks and yet more savage warriors of a barbarous age, will be more wisely bestowed on the munificent princes and gifted scholars to whom mankind owes the preservation and revival of learning at one of the most critical periods recorded in history.



## ART. IX.—THE LAWS OF MUSICAL EXPRESSION.

*Traité de l'Expression Musicale ; Accents, Nuances, et Mouvements dans la Musique Vocale et Instrumentale.* Par MATHIS Lussy. Deuxième Edition. Paris : Hengel et Cie. London : Cramer & Co., Regent Street.

A TREATISE on musical expression is by no means a general necessity, and the author of the work before us admits the fact without reserve. Musical expression, in truth, is not a creation of the schools. It existed before books were written to teach it, just as language existed before grammar, and the earliest codification of its laws is only an expression on paper of that which had ever been the instinctive practice of musicians. Speaking of those laws, M. Lussy says, in the course of some prefatory remarks : “Les plus grands maîtres les ont observées de tout temps, d’une manière inconsciente ; instinctivement les artistes et les gens de goût s’y sont conformés.” The true musician will ever continue to do so because there is no other course open to him. He wants no treatises to convey to him that which forms a part of his very nature, and outside of which he cannot place himself. But, unfortunately, all who practise music are not true musicians. The vast majority want the gift to which we have referred. Not to them belongs the spiritual insight which reveals at a glance the meaning of the composer, even where its written expression is obscure or defective ; and, like men who wander in dark places, they are in constant danger of straying from the path. It may be said that such as these should let music alone, and devote themselves to pursuits for which nature has better fitted them. Abstractedly considered, the remark is not without force ; but we know that musicians who are neither “artistes” nor “hommes de goût” will, nevertheless, go on increasing in numbers and assiduity. The question arises, therefore, Shall they be allowed to grope without light or guide, harming themselves, and perverting the taste of all over whom they may have influence ? Only one answer is possible, and that answer M. Lussy has given in a very practical form by means of the present work.

Our author tells us that the idea of a treatise on musical expression was suggested to him by the head of a *pensionnat*, who said, when confiding to him her pupils : “Je veux que vous

leur donniez des principes et des règles dont l'observance leur permette d'exécuter avec expression non tel ou tel morceau aussi facilement oublié que péniblement appris, mais tous les morceaux." How to do this was not, at first sight, clear to M. Lussy. He sought for the codified laws of expression, but without result; and as no aid could come to him from outside, he determined to help himself in a way at once philosophical and laborious. He might have evolved any number of laws from his inner consciousness, pleading against objections the non-existence of any absolute standard of right and wrong; but instead of taking such a course, he patiently watched for twenty years the practice of the best artists, in hope of arriving at some general results wherewith to form the unassailable basis of a system. How he was rewarded, M. Lussy shall himself tell:—

"Par cette observation patiente, par cette étude minutieuse, nous avons acquis la certitude que dans des conjonctures identiques, c'est-à-dire dans les mêmes passages, les artistes manifestent des expressions identiques sans autres différences que celles qui résultent de leur délicatesse de sentiment, de leur virtuosité plus ou moins grande."

It is to be feared that our seeker after the laws of expression did not extend his field of observation to the "higher development" school of pianoforte playing, which would have shown him some "new readings" of a very startling character indeed, but this omission in no degree lessens the value of a discovery which fully realised M. Lussy's hopes. The substantial agreement of the artists whom our painstaking author studied so long, suggests various most interesting questions; as, for example, the possibility that, amid all the conflicting opinions agitating the world of music, the art itself remains the same in its essence, because existing outside of, and distinct from, those who profess it. When M. Lussy discovered the "identical expression" of a number of performers having nothing else in common, he did not light upon an accident, but the result of a law to which all were unconsciously subject—a law necessarily existent, ever in force, and serving to give the expression of musical language a changelessness which must keep in check the vagaries of those who would radically alter its form. Topics such as this, however, can only be indicated as consequent upon M. Lussy's discovery, and we pass on to notice the conclusion at which our author arrived, viz., that the cause of expression lies in the musical phrase, not in those who produce it, whence it follows, as a matter of course, that expression is not arbitrary—"Les phénomènes se reproduisent sous l'empire d'une loi comme tous les phénomènes naturels." Let us not overlook the importance of this fact. It opens to all who follow music the prospect of acquiring a power usually

reckoned as a gift of nature, and incommunicable as between man and man ; and it places, to some extent, the *made* musician on a level with him who is a musician born. Absolute equality there can never be. The *feu sacré* is a divine gift, unattainable by any process of thought. But it is no small thing to be told, at a time when music constitutes an essential of ordinary culture, that its subtlest elements can be reached and grasped by the observance of laws existing in, and deducible from, the music itself. Here M. Lussy at once found a *raison d'être* for a treatise designed to assist students in discovering for themselves the secret of true expression, and enabling them, in the words of the *supérieure* from whom the suggestion of the work came, to interpret, not such or such a piece, but all pieces.

It is obvious that if the expression of a musical phrase be suggested by its structure and the structure of its context, the learner's first step is to master the process by which melodies are reduced to their component parts. This, consequently, forms the theme of M. Lussy's opening chapters, especially that devoted to rhythmical accentuation, which is of the highest importance and value. Our author recognises three kinds of musical accent—the accent metrical, with which we instinctively, and at regularly recurring intervals, invest certain notes in a given melody ; the accent rhythmical, by which the notes are divided into groups, each containing a more or less complete musical idea, and the accent pathetic (with which is associated the *mouvement passionnel*), resulting from certain irregularities of construction that destroy the other accents, and impart to the music an agitated, energetic character. This classification strikes us as being singularly lucid and comprehensive. It covers all the ground, and marshals everything within its limits under well-defined and intelligible heads. Equally happy is the connection of the accents respectively with instinct, intelligence, and sentiment, and the perception of the fact that the second dominates the first, while the third is supreme over all. Here, then, our author has a foundation, true both in fact and in philosophy, upon which to build his superstructure. The chapter treating of rhythmical accent, already mentioned as specially important, demands very careful study ; because upon the mastery of its contents depends the acquirement of that art of phrasing which is the *sine quâ non* of musical expression. It may be said that composers, as a rule, are careful to indicate their phrases, and thus render unnecessary, for a performer's purpose, a knowledge of the underlying laws. But to this rule there are very many exceptions, while it often happens that the phrase-marks are absurdly false and misleading. M. Lussy puts forward several amusing examples in proof, and it is a well-known fact



that a great majority of the editions of Beethoven's pianoforte sonatas are phrased almost at random—certainly without an adequate perception of the composer's meaning. Every musician, therefore, whether professional or amateur, should be able to determine the phrasing for himself. We cannot follow M. Lussy with minuteness through his remarks upon the various kinds of rhythm, regular and irregular, masculine and feminine; but it should be noted that he dwells with emphasis upon the division of the phrase into parts by means which have the force of the *cesura* in poetry. M. Lussy rightly discerns the enormous value of this branch of his subject, and also the difficulty it presents. To distinguish a musical phrase is by comparison easy; but the subdivision of the phrase, through which alone it can be endowed with point and meaning, requires subtler and more highly-trained perceptive powers. Here, therefore, M. Lussy's acute and clear remarks are of special value, and we may even go so far as to say that a careful study of them, illustrated as they are by examples from well-known works, will do for the young musician more in a few days than can ordinarily be accomplished by years of experience and observation. The general laws of musical punctuation are laid down with such preciseness, that "he who runs may read," and nothing is advanced without support from examples which appeal irresistibly to common sense, and ensure conviction. Nowhere else has this strangely-neglected branch of musical education been so exhaustively treated.

We reluctantly pass over the chapter on metrical accent (which contains many things worthy of note) in order the sooner to reach a division of the subject that dominates all others—the *accent pathétique*, or, as M. Lussy sometimes terms it, the *accent poétique*. Doing this, we pass from the domain of instinct (metrical accent), and of intelligence (rhythm), to that of sentiment.

“L'accent pathétique,” says our author, “n'est assujetti à aucune sorte de régularité. . . . L'essence de son caractère se définit par ce seul mot, *l'imprevu*. Mais, quelle que soit sa place, il provoque les contrastes les plus délicats, les alternatives les plus émouvantes. Sous l'empire de son influence persistante, l'artiste subjugué, entraîné, traduit ses émotions non-seulement par un redoublement d'énergie, par une recrudescence de sonorité, mais encore par une accélération de vitesse, nécessairement suivie d'une lassitude, d'une sorte d'alanguissement dans le son et dans le mouvement, d'où naissent mille oppositions charmantes, mille nuances poétiques.”

In this region one might suppose that the performer is without chart or compass, and knows no guide save whatever musical







A moment's reflection will show that this elementary rule is one about which, in practice, if not in theory, most artists are agreed. The veriest stickler for metronomic precision observes it to a greater extent than perhaps he would be willing to confess. Ask him, for instance, to play the opening *allegro* of Mendelssohn's pianoforte concerto in G minor, and see, when he deals with the melodious and tender second subject, whether the *tempo* be not retarded, and the phrases dwelt upon with a desire to prolong the enjoyment of them as much as possible. Equally is it clear that the instinct of every true artist is to abandon himself, when interpreting what are generally called slow movements, to the impressions aroused by the varying character of the music. At the instance of these facts, we agree unhesitatingly with M. Lussy's fundamental rule. Passing to more precise details, we find our author using an illustration readily understood by everybody, viz., the experience of a wayfarer over an irregular country.

“ Monter c'est lutter ; . . . c'est s'élever à un degré supérieur, contre toutes les tendances de notre être. Plus la pente est raide, hérissée d'obstacles, d'aspérités, plus il faut déployer de force ; plus on déploie de force, plus le pouls bat rapidement, plus l'animation devient grande, mais aussi plus vite on est épuisé. . . . Descendre, au contraire, c'est atteindre un degré inférieur ; . . . c'est suivre ses tendances naturelles et l'entraînement est en raison de la longueur et de l'*uniformité* de la pente.”

This observation, so acute in its application of physical laws, gives M. Lussy certain well-defined and easily-comprehended rules with regard to the *accelerando* and *ritardando*, which our musical readers will be glad to have set before them. Acceleration takes place (1) on several consecutive *notes pathétiques*, or on one only when it is of exceptional value at the beginning or middle of a rhythm ; (2) on several notes or groups of notes having an exceptional ascending or descending march ; (3) upon exceptional passages presenting, in the middle of a slow movement, a context provoking agitation. On the other hand, the *ritardando* is used (1) upon one or several consecutive *notes pathétiques* suddenly presenting themselves at the beginning of a rhythm, under circumstances which allow neither the time nor opportunity for *élan* ; (2) when fatigue ensues after an ascending or descending march ; (3) upon exceptional passages presenting, in the middle of a quick movement (like the second subject in Mendelssohn's *Allegro*), a context expressive of calmness or sadness ; and (4) upon the notes and passages *pathétiques* which occur at the end of a phrase. These rules M. Lussy supports by copious illustrations from classical and











Dogma,"<sup>2</sup> transports us into a very different region of the theological world. As far as we can understand Mr Arnold's mental attitude, it is this:—The world is divided into two classes,—those who have read (and appreciated) "Literature and Dogma," and those who have not. The latter class is (at present) numerous, but it is intrinsically insignificant, and tends in the nature of things constantly to reduce itself towards a vanishing-point. We will therefore ignore it. The former class, having read "Literature and Dogma," proceeded to read the Bible, and had just begun to enjoy it, when it was disturbed by certain bishops, metaphysicians, and critics, who—each in his sort—endeavoured to show that "Literature and Dogma," was not entirely to be trusted. Upon this the readers of "Literature and Dogma" turn anxiously to Mr Arnold: "they want to know what they are to think of these things," and of course their prophet is equal to the occasion. Hence these "Answers"—addressed, like the Hampshire farmer's oration, to "most thinking people," *i.e.*, to admirers of "Literature and Dogma." This unparalleled self-assertion is aggravating to a high degree; but Mr Arnold's delicious freshness and raciness can carry off anything, and with whatever feelings we take up and read this book, it is impossible long to resist its fascination, or to lay it down again until absolutely compelled to do so. But as to whether this intense enjoyment in any way "makes for righteousness," we must confess to having grave doubts. We fear it is the carnal, and not the spiritual, man that is refreshed. Considered as *sport*, what can be finer than to watch Mr Arnold "baiting" a bishop! The unhappy ecclesiastic is chained by his position and his antecedents, and the brilliant *littérateur*, unrestrained and reckless, darts round and round his victim, dodges in and out to dig him in the ribs or pinch him black and blue, skips behind him to twitch his hair, and is all the while bubbling over with half-repressed yet wholly irrepressible laughter! And when the miserable victim, who has to retain his dignity (!) under all this, turns round at last and hits out wildly, his assailant suddenly assumes an aspect of grave expostulation, and standing well out of his reach, tells him he wonders how he can be so frivolous! Then we leave the bishops for a moment, and turn upon the metaphysicians. Here we encounter once more that peculiar species of satirical mock-humility in which Mr Arnold is altogether inimitable. "This is the best fooling, when all is done!" but if it is even indirectly to serve any further purpose than that of amusement, the author had better continue his researches in "Walton's noble Polyglott Bible," or gain some elementary knowledge (a very little will do) of Hebrew. When he has done so he will not (on the strength of the derivation of the Hebrew verb "to be" from a root signifying "to breathe") coquet with such a restoration as "Our God *breathes* a jealous God" for "*is* a jealous God;" for he will perceive that in all the passages in which this expression occurs in our Bibles the original has no verb at all, but simply lets the attribute lie in juxtaposition with the subject.

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<sup>2</sup> "God and the Bible, a Review of Objections to 'Literature and Dogma.'" By Matthew Arnold, &c. Smith and Elder. 1875.































attributing an inner *tendency* towards development and perfection ; and that a phenomenon is only understood "if an inner meaning, a rational significance, a worthy end, is recognised" within it. It is, finally, he remarks, the theoretic idealism of a Schelling or a Hegel, rather than a popular realism, that is fitted to serve as a basis for practical ethics ; and he concludes with a hope that the philosophy of the future will remain mindful of its high vocation to nourish and invigorate the moral idealism of the nation.

Monism and Kant seem in a fair way to become the dominant philosophy. It is in Kant, we saw, that Tobias finds the limits of speculation ; the "Monistic Idea," and the "Sketch of a Philosophy for the Times," by Dr Noiré, illustrate the adherence to Kant from the side of popular philosophy.<sup>6</sup> It is a harmony of Darwin's Theory of Development, Mayer's Conservation of Force, and Schopenhauer's Will, that the writer believes himself to have effected in his "Monistic Idea." This idea, it is shown, has gradually developed itself in modern philosophy. The greatest step towards its solution was the Substance of Spinoza ; but it was Kant who especially paved the way for such a view. His two great forms—space and time—form the framework of the monistic creed. The world as a whole reduces to *sensation* on the one hand, *movement* on the other—kinetic and æsthetic are to be the two sciences of the future—and time and space are the forms, the higher unities, under which sensation and movement realise and adjust themselves. The universe, therefore, according to the monistic interpretation, consists of entirely undifferentiated atoms, which are supplied with two properties—an inner, viz., sensation, and an outer, viz., movement. This fact connects the theory with the doctrine of Evolution. So long as the atoms preserve their original movement, and mutually repel one another, sensation remains latent and inactive ; once they combine, a rudimentary consciousness arises. The semi-conscious monads or atoms develop themselves in time ; and "in the general concurrence or competition, reciprocally condition, support, limit, or annihilate each other. In this universal struggle for existence, the higher forms of being acquire naturally the superiority always over the lower." The consummation of this process is attained in man. Out of the "protoplasm" of animal signs he develops language ; and "language has created reason." "The development of the world is therefore a continued evolution of new properties, in which the extent of the period of development stands in direct relation to the permanence of these properties. Sensation and movement are, however, the ultimate factors of all other qualities ; and this further in such wise that sensation is the creative movement, on the other hand, the instrumental or executive factor." We have displayed the monistic idea as far as possible in its own language, but we hardly hope to

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<sup>6</sup> "Der monistische Gedanke. Eine Concordanz der Philosophie Schopenhauer's, Darwin's, R. Mayer's und L. Geiger's." Von Ludwig Noiré. Leipzig. 1875.

"Grundlegung einer zeitgemässen Philosophie." Von Ludwig Noiré. Leipzig. 1875.



have made it either consistent or intelligible. If monism of this type is to be the philosophy of the future, it must mean that philosophy is to be an ill-digested heap of scientific formulæ. Philosophy has indeed to read the actual, but its actual is the rational. Noiré's task is an ambitious one; it can hardly be described as successfully accomplished. A similar criticism applies, we fear, to Dr Czolbe's posthumously published "*Spatial Theory of Cognition*," a work which, holding *all* perception to be a perception of phenomena of three dimensions, and thus regarding time itself as only a special form, the fourth dimension, of space, claims to have indicated a hitherto unrecognised connection between philosophy, mathematics, and natural science, in a monism which concludes that space and time are the one substance of the innumerable attributes of the universe.

That Kant should be made the basis of a monistic theory of development will surprise none who remember that the great metaphysician of Königsberg took no small part in the physical researches of his age; and, under the somewhat sensational title, as we should regard it, of "*Kant and Darwin*," Dr Fritz Schulze gives a detailed account of the different points in which Kant anticipated those conceptions of adaptation and development, which are chiefly connected at present with the name of our great English naturalist.<sup>8</sup> A contemporary of Herder could hardly fail to be affected by the idea of development, though the opposition of Herder to Kant shows how slight this influence was. In the "*Theory of the Heavens*" (1755), "*Physical Geography*," "*Races of Men*," and other works, Kant did no doubt propound those ideas of gradual creation, of sexual selection and adaptation, of evolution and epigenesis, which were only fully executed by modern science. But perhaps his main service to the idea of development was his statement of the law of homogeneity, specification, and continuity of form, as put forward in the "*Critique of Pure Reason*" in 1781. These conceptions, with his idea of an immanent objective teleology, formed his chief contributions to the theory of development; and we doubt whether they are sufficient to merit a monograph upon the subject.

Kant was no exception to the general law of intellectual development under which most thinkers have advanced their views; and Dr Paulsen, in his "*Genetic History of the Kantian Theory of Cognition*," has supplied an interesting sketch of the different stages through which Kant passed before he stereotyped his intellectual attitude in his celebrated *Critique*.<sup>9</sup> The writer shows in detail how Kant, beginning with the realistic rationalism of Wolff, passed into the stage of empiricism; and then, awakened from this position by the results of

<sup>7</sup> "*Grundzüge einer Extensionalen Erkenntnistheorie. Ein räumliches Abbild von der Entstehung der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung.*" Von Heinrich Czolbe, Dr. Med. Herausgegeben von Dr Eduard Johnson. Plauen. 1875.

<sup>8</sup> "*Kant und Darwin. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entwicklungslehre.*" Von Fritz Schultze. Jena. 1875.

<sup>9</sup> "*Versuch einer Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kantischen Erkenntnistheorie.*" Von Dr Friedrich Paulsen. Leipzig. 1875.

David Hume, returned to a critical or idealist rationalism, which maintained that there is a knowledge of objects from pure reason, but only of objects as they are given to us. Dr Paulsen disclaims the attempt of providing a genetic history of Kant's philosophy in general; but it is not too much to say that the account he gives of the genesis of Kant's theory of cognition throws the greatest light upon the whole philosophy of the sage of Königsberg.

A professor at Königsberg is naturally a disciple of Kant; and Dr Bergmann publishes, on the occasion of his translation to a chair at Marburg, a section of a work which he had meditated on the general significance of Kant's philosophy.<sup>10</sup> The main object of the treatise is to show the necessary place of Criticism in the history of philosophy; and in the execution of this idea the author casts most valuable light upon the course of Greek and modern philosophy. The history of philosophy, he holds, displays no mere accidental sequence, but organic development. There are, however, "two histories of philosophy"—the ancient and the Christian; and these present a close resemblance to each other. In three chapters of his work Dr Bergmann traces, with much freshness, the course of Greek philosophy as it passed from the "dogmatism" of Eleatics and Ionics to the "criticism" of Socrates, and finally developed itself in the "reflective idealism" of Plato. It is this last stage which is still wanting in modern philosophy. We have had our Anaxagoras in Descartes; our full-blown dogmatism in Spinoza: we still want a reflective idealism to apply the results of Kant. Dr Bergmann has treated an old subject in an original manner; and we trust he will go on to throw the same light on the philosophy of Kant that he has on its antecedents. A small—but very small—contribution to such a work may perhaps be found in his dissertation on the "Theory of the Judgment," which he has just issued from Marburg.<sup>11</sup>

A pupil of Bergmann's, Dr Busolt, is the author of the "Elements of Spinoza's Theory of Cognition and Metaphysic."<sup>12</sup> The work is a good instance of the valuable results which we in England might effect by means of prize essays at our universities on questions of philosophy and history. It supplies a thorough and well-founded analysis of the difficulties and insufficiencies of the dogmatic monism of the great excommunicated Jew; and shows how these difficulties arose out of the empirical tendencies of the age. Rightly enough, Dr Busolt has referred the defects in the metaphysic of Spinoza to the unproved basis of his theory of knowledge.

Spinoza attempted to overcome the dualism of Descartes; but before his time, Arnold Geulninx had advanced a theory to bridge the gulf,

<sup>10</sup> "Zur Beurtheilung der Criticismus vom idealistischen Standpunkte." Von Dr J. Bergmann, ordent. Prof. der Philosophie zu Königsberg. Berlin. 1875.

<sup>11</sup> "Grundzüge der Lehre vom Urtheil." Von Dr J. Bergmann. Marburg. 1876.

<sup>12</sup> "Die Grundzüge der Erkenntnisstheorie und Metaphysik Spinozas." Dargestellt, erläutert und gewürdigt von Dr Georg Busolt. Von der Universität zu Königsberg, gekrönte Preisschrift. Berlin. 1875.

which Descartes had left between mind and body. This theory, it is well known, lay in supposing that, on the *occasion* of certain movements in our body, God created certain corresponding ideas in our mind; the point, however, of Dr Edward Grimm's work<sup>13</sup> is to show that it was the theory of cognition which formed the distinctive point of the labours of Geulninx in relation to Descartes, and that Occasionalism is a mere appendix to this theory, added on to form the transition between theoretical and practical philosophy. Dr Grimm has pleaded his case with much vigour; but we doubt whether Occasionalism was not to Geulninx the basis of his theory of cognition, and the means by which he secured reality for the objects of our perceptions.

The Occasionalism of Geulninx presents some resemblance to the theory of spiritual influx by which Swedenborg explained the relation between mind and body, in a treatise of which a translation has just appeared.<sup>14</sup> This year of grace will be stamped for ever in the history of thought. "The principles"—so asserts the translator, Mr Gorman—"of a complete psychology have at length been discovered;" Swedenborg's writings "present all the facts and principles essential to the construction of a psychology which shall be at once truly rational and pre-eminently Christian." Surely, we might suggest, if this be so, Mr Gorman should not find it necessary to play the philosophical Ishmael. Herbert Spencer, we find it stated, "in the way of perverse ingenuity deserves to be placed among the chief corruptors of philosophy;" Dr Maudesley is characterised as a "boastful dogmatiser;" "the chimerical lucubrations of Kant," it is said, "culminated in the grotesque and shocking absurdities of Hegelianism." Charity hopeth all things; and we trust the absurdities of Swedenborgianism, if grotesque, are at least not shocking.

Professor Erdmann's well-known Letters on Psychology have reached, we are glad to see, a fifth edition.<sup>15</sup> These Letters no longer need to be introduced to English students of philosophy. But the general reader in German literature may be with advantage advised to take them up. Professor Erdmann is well known as one of the most successful expositors and interpreters of Hegelianism in Germany; and in the Letters he has succeeded in giving a most intelligible, clear, and interesting rendering of the Hegelian philosophy of mind. Supposed to be written to a young man entering on the study of mental science, and read by him in company with his sister, they supply an admirable framework for a successful exposition of psychology. We attempt no description of their contents, but simply recommend them heartily to

<sup>13</sup> "Arnold Geulninx' Erkenntnistheorie und Occasionalismus." Von Dr Eduard Grimm. Jena. 1875.

<sup>14</sup> "Christian Psychology: The Soul and the Body in their Correlation and Contrast. Being a new translation of Swedenborg's Tractate 'De Commercio Animæ et Corporis, &c., Londini, 1769,' with Preface and illustrative Notes." By T. M. Gorman, M.A. London. 1875.

<sup>15</sup> "Psychologische Briefe." Von Dr J. E. Erdmann, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Fünfte vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig. 1875.



those of our readers who are not yet familiar with them ; those who are will find interest in the postscript, in which the Nestor of German philosophy gives expression to his views on the want at present of a series of letters on politics.

If Professor Erdmann writes as a Hegelian, it is as a modern interpreter of Fichte that Professor Fortlage issues his "Contributions to Psychology."<sup>16</sup> Intended to complete and expand certain portions of the "System of Psychology" which the author published twenty years ago, these "Contributions" pretend to little systematic connection, and are in some cases reprints of papers that had otherwise appeared. But throughout they are pervaded by the same mental tone ; and modern psychology, the author himself remarks, is not a system, but a way of thinking. This guiding thought is the conception of a teleological impulse as regulative of all organic nature ; and the distinctive point in Professor Fortlage's dissertations is the way in which he combines this idea with the empirical psychology of Beneke. Fortlage therefore deals equally with the problems of physiology and metaphysic. Beginning with several sections on the method of natural investigation and the character of psychology, he passes on to facts of physiology and zoology, providing an interesting section on the diffusion of the moral sentiments amongst animals, and closes with Fichtean speculations respecting the relation of the human and the primal mind or the absolute ego. Professor Fortlage's contributions will be most interesting to those already acquainted with his previous work, but we believe all will derive profit from his new speculations. In particular, we might recommend the sections in which the author discusses the ground of immortality as arising from the obligation of the moral law, and those in which he shows that, while the world of inner experience is regulated by laws as thoroughly as the sphere of outward experience, "the freedom of the will is the expression of the law of causation in its highest development."

The question of freewill has been discussed so often, that the work of philosophy in our day does not lie in further dissection of the subject, but in attempting to collect the scattered limbs into which the truth has been divided. Mr Alexander's work is different.<sup>17</sup> He has resolved to break a lance or two with Mr Mill ; and he does so with a vigour and vivacity which is all the greater because it is, by confession, so "free and easy," and so negligent of all the ordinary proprieties of style. Throughout, then, the work is that of an original and active mind ; but the tournament, which is at first exciting, begins, after some bouts have passed, to lose its interest. Mr Alexander, of course, is unconscious of this. His enthusiasm is evident in

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<sup>16</sup> "Beiträge zur Psychologie, als Wissenschaft aus Speculation und Erfahrung." Von Dr Karl Fortlage, Prof. an der Universität Jena. Leipzig. 1875.

<sup>17</sup> "Moral Causation ; or, Notes on Mr Mill's Notes to the Chapter on 'Freedom,' in the third edition of his 'Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy.'" By Patrick Proctor Alexander, M.A. Second edition, revised and extended. Edinburgh. 1875.

every page ; but the interest becomes personal and subjective : his primary object, in fact, he himself admits, is to amuse himself. It is in great part on the value of experience *versus* consciousness that Mr Alexander joins issue with Mr Mill. "Experience," he says, "tells us what we *did* ; as to what we *could* do, it tells us something ; as to the other thing which we did not do, it makes no deliverance whatever either of *could* or *could not*." Mill, however, would not accept his critic's direct appeal to consciousness. He would not answer simply yes or no to the question whether, having touched the left side of his nose, he did not *feel* he could have willed to touch its right. Instead, he kept answering, with what his opponent regards as "exceedingly *Scotch* metaphysic," the entirely different question—can this consciousness of freedom give good logical account of itself ? Mr Alexander, however, is undaunted by Mill's refusal to accept the decisions of consciousness : "the ego," he holds, "primarily reveals itself in consciousness as an energy." The best part, indeed, of the book is its consideration of the will as "simply the ego as it flashes into conscious act," and its defence of Hamilton's position with reference to the *co-existence* of causation and freedom as a law of the conditioned. But it nowhere distinctly shows the *necessary unity* of the two ; and while it indicates various defects in Mill's theory of causation, and shows, perhaps, to some extent that it is "neither philosophic fish nor flesh," it remains doubtful how far it has itself supplied a substitute.

After the lively onsets of Mr Alexander, "Gravenhurst" comes with a refreshing tranquillity, which, however, does not check, but rather stimulates speculation.<sup>18</sup> Mr Mill, indeed, has invaded even the peaceful and ideal village of Gravenhurst. But the questions, which General Mansfield, Ada Newcome, and Mr Sandford discuss, are those questions of good and evil, of justice and punishment, of faith and immortality, which are as old as the Book of Job—perhaps coeval with humanity itself. Dialogue fits itself naturally to such questions ; and in "Gravenhurst" the dialogue is managed with much speculative power and literary skill. The same combination of philosophic and literary ability shows itself in the papers on "Knowing and Feeling," which are appended to the larger discussion. They argue forcibly but inquiringly against the position of sensationalism, while they show that "in the simplest perception there is an intellectual element of judgment." These papers have been collected by the loving hands of Mrs Smith, who has also prefixed a simple but interesting sketch of her husband's life. The memoir forms an appropriate introduction and commentary to the author's writings ; both display an inquiring mind, earnestly but dispassionately striving to attain to truth.

The "Economy of Thought,"<sup>19</sup> Mr Hughes leads us to infer, does

<sup>18</sup> "Gravenhurst; or, Thoughts on Good and Evil. [Second edition.] Knowing and Feeling: a Contribution to Psychology." By William Smith, author of "Thorndale," &c. With a Memoir of the author. Edinburgh. 1875.

<sup>19</sup> "The Economy of Thought." By T. Hughes, author of "The Human Will; its Functions and Freedom," &c., &c. London. 1875.

not involve the economy of language. "The style of people," he observes, "differs much;" and he has "not written the book for the sake of the style, but because of the matter it contains." Unfortunately, however, the character of the matter does not lead us to regret the baldness of the form in which it is enclosed. The power of the writer lies in his capacity of spreading commonplaces over 400 pages, and in the patience with which he prosecutes the most fruitless analysis. How can any one find time to write down—"Pecuniary need is another impediment to thought, which is more felt by individual thinkers than known to the many;" how, if he has time to write it down, can he not express himself with some degree of elegance?

Our space does not let us do more than notice the fourth edition of Professor Drobisch's deservedly popular and admirably succinct "Logic;"<sup>20</sup> Kirchmann's "Explanations" to the Metaphysic of Ethics, and other smaller works of Kant;<sup>21</sup> also his useful annotated translation of Cicero's Academics;<sup>22</sup> Professor Benedikt's "Psychophysik of Morality and Justice"<sup>23</sup>—a good popular exposition of the influence of physiological conditions on moral character; and the first part of Hartsen's "Outlines of Philosophy"<sup>24</sup>—a useful introduction to the questions with which speculation is concerned.

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## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

A VERY few months have sufficed to exhaust the first edition of Sir Henry Rawlinson's<sup>1</sup> volume on the "Political and Geographical Condition of Central Asia." He now publishes a second edition, the only drawback from which is one attaching also to the first—namely, that it should have been recast, if Sir Henry Rawlinson was to stir the pulses of English politicians, as he would fain do. He reprints review articles and official minutes prepared by him years ago, and endeavours

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<sup>20</sup> "Neue Darstellung der Logik nach ihren einfachsten Verhältnissen, mit Rücksicht auf Mathematik und Naturwissenschaft." Von M. W. Drobisch. Leipzig. 1875.

<sup>21</sup> Erläuterungen zu Kant's kleinern Schriften zur Ethik und Religionsphilosophie." Von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Leipzig. 1875.

<sup>22</sup> "Erläuterungen zu Kant's Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten, und zu Kant's Metaphysik der Sitten." Von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Berlin. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> "Des Marcus Tullius Cicero Lehre der Akademie." Uebersetzt und erläutert von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Berlin. 1874.

<sup>24</sup> "Zur Psychophysik der Moral und des Rechtes." Zwei Vorträge, gehalten in der 47 und 48 Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher von Dr Moritz Benedikt, Professor an der Wiener Universität. Wien. 1875.

<sup>1</sup> "Grundriss der Philosophie." Von F. A. v. Hartsen. I. Abtheilung. Nordhausen. 1875.

<sup>1</sup> "England and Russia in the East." By Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., F.R.S., President of the Royal Geographical Society, and Member of the Council of India. London: John Murray. 1875.



to bring them up to the requirements of the present day by a double scaffolding of footnotes, some of which are dated, and some not. To the ordinary reader, the dates of his "last November," "the year before last," and "recently," are excessively vague. This is a pity, for his subject is of great importance, whether his views be those of an alarmist or of an optimist. He holds that Merv is the central point around which the present and future of the Eastern Question, so far as India is concerned, revolves. So long as a belt of desert stretches between the Russian base and the Afghan frontier, the movements of Russia are of small moment to us; but if the Russian advance towards the south-west continues, and Merv falls into their hands, Herat, only a hundred miles from Merv, will be imminently menaced, and with it our frontiers. Sir Henry Rawlinson points out that the first Russian post on the east of the Caspian was taken without excuse; that the advance has not been on the necessary lines of commerce, but towards our frontier; that although the present Emperor's enlightened inclination is against annexation, the traditionary policy of Russia was too strong for him in the case of Khiva, and therefore probably will be too strong again; and that, in recent negotiations about the boundaries of Afghanistan, Merv was spoken of in a way to increase apprehension that Russia has proximate designs upon that town. The importance of Herat consists in its being an admirably healthy and well-fortified city on the frontier of Persia and India, and connected by highroads with the capitals of all the surrounding countries. It is a position whence the military resources of Persia and Afghanistan would be commanded. Sir Henry Rawlinson urges that we should amend the cold and irregular policy which has checked the friendliness of both the Shah and the Amir of Afghanistan, should encourage British commerce with Persia, and should strongly garrison Herat, thus ensuring Afghanistan against the dreaded inroads of the Russians, and helping the Amir to maintain the threatened authority of his throne and succession. The Amir is quite willing that we should have any friendly relations with his dominions, except that he objects to a residency in his capital, Cabul. Sir Henry Rawlinson presses the importance of actively friendly relations with Persia as a mere matter of precaution. Already Russia has raised a boundary question with Persia, and has arranged for the building of a fort on territory claimed by Persia, and at a point which is a distinct step towards command of the road to Merv. The matter, therefore, is pressing for consideration by active political thinkers. To them, as well as to those who are interested as yet merely as geographers or historical students, Sir Henry Rawlinson's volume will have great value, not only because of the assurance given by his name that the information is accurate and the opinions well weighed, but also because the chapters which are reprints of review articles are succinct summaries such as are not easily elsewhere to be found of our past relations with Persia, of Russia's gradual establishment in Central Asia, of the geography of Central Asia, and of the later phases of the Central Asian question.

Mr Heneage has translated the "*Journey in the Caucasus*"<sup>2</sup> of Baron von Thielmann, which we noticed in the April number of this *Review*. If we recommended that it should be translated for the use of tourists, we are glad to see that the English rendering does justice to its original ; and to those who are inclined to agree with Sir Henry Rawlinson's forebodings about the relations of Russia and Persia, we suggest that they should notice with what decision this young Russian military diplomatist speaks of Persia as a country with a bad sovereign, bad people, and bad land—in fact, as a mere subject for kindly interference as its last chance of survival. He represents Russians, their coinage, their commerce, their everything, as being the objects of enthusiastic preference to anything native among the Persians themselves. The wish may, on Sir Henry Rawlinson's showing, be father to the thought.

At a time when the thoughtful report of a competent man on the condition and resources of the Russian Empire is of more than usual interest, Mr Butler-Johnstone<sup>3</sup> does himself much less than justice in publishing his small volume under a title which does not represent the character of its contents. For it would not be easy to name an equally compact and vigorous compendium of information on the internal economy and vast reserves of that ambitious and progressive power, modest as its author's preface is. Starting from Astrakhan, and visiting on his way to Nijni-Novgorod the most interesting portion of the Russian Empire, Mr Butler Johnstone had great facilities for obtaining an insight into the characteristic features of that great rich country, which, he says, should rather be called a continent; of its sixty millions of population, more than half of whom are Slaves; and of its highly centralised government, and the universal military system which makes it "an armed and drilled continent." He points out the progress made by Russia since the Crimean war. Her administration has been in large measure freed from the rampant corruption which paralysed her everywhere; her bondsmen have been converted into a free and loyal peasantry; her internal communication has been reorganised, and—a thing little heeded in England, but of vast importance in Mr Butler-Johnstone's opinion—the question of Poland has ceased to be a source of political weakness and danger to her. On this showing, the real difficulty of that question lay in the determination of Russia to "russify" the Slave or Lettish populations of the Lithuanian provinces, while Poland claimed them as essential to its integrity. That process of "russification" has been carried out, and now the question relating to a small remnant of irreconcilable Poland is of no moment to the great and strong Empire. A minute but well-digested historical and actual description of the various tribes and peoples who inhabit the regions watered by the Volga serves as the story of the "Trip up the Volga," and is followed by a

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<sup>2</sup> "*Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, and Turkey in Asia.*" By Lieut. Baron Max von Thielmann. Translated by Charles Heneage, F.R.G.S. London: John Murray. 1875.

<sup>3</sup> "*A Trip up the Volga to the Fair of Nijni-Novgorod.*" By H. A. Munro-Butler-Johnstone, M.P. James Parker & Co.: Oxford and London. 1875.

vivid and lively description of the great Fair, the importance of which as an imperial centre is said to have departed, while its actual amount of trade is increasing side by side with that of other commercial centres created by the increased and increasing trade of the whole Empire. The Fair is admirably organised by a special police official, and all possible precautions are taken to secure an order which already contrasts marvellously with the tolerated debauchery of which the great Fair used to be the annual scene. But it must cease in time to be attractive to the mere sightseer, as commerce seeks directer avenues than through the cumbrous machinery of a yearly fair, and even now most business is conducted without show or bustle in the eating-houses. No one will be disappointed who seeks at Mr Butler-Johnstone's hands a concise and intelligent story of travel, by a man with eyes and ears, and an idea how to use them.

The Royal Colonial Institute is a Society which has for a leading idea the desire to hasten a Federation of all the British dominions. Mr W. M. Thorburn<sup>4</sup> dedicates to that Society a volume, in which he says that Federation, Alliance with Russia, and the Partition of Turkey are the three principal propositions. He will allow the suggestion that universal suffrage (with some remarkable modifications) throughout the federated territories, the extinction of native rulers in India, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and the Hill States, and the *annexation of China (sic !)*, are large enough ideas to have been classed with the others. Mr Thorburn thinks that his second edition differs from the first inasmuch as the first contained statements of opinion which were unwise in the present "callow state of public opinion, and many violent and undignified expressions; the first chapter was full of rhapsody and hysterical grandiloquence." To those who are amused by such displays even this second edition may be confidently recommended. Should Mr Thorburn not be exercising his discretion for the benefit of our fellow-subjects in India, whose future he feels so competent to arrange, his friends would do well to care for his health.

Sir Roland Wilson's<sup>5</sup> "History of Modern English Law" is a thoroughly good book, thoroughly well written, from the first page to the last, and it only suffers from the imperious necessity of being short. If English law ever takes—as of course it ought—a prominent place in the general education of English youth, Sir R. Wilson's book will be, of necessity, the first and the best of text-books. It exhibits, and is likely to impart, the enthusiasm of the reformer, while it achieves an accuracy, in respect of historical detail, of a very high order. The account of the relation of Bentham to Blackstone, and of more recent-law reformers to Bentham, is, considering the narrow compass of the whole work, quite exhilarating. Speaking of the neglect of a philosophical study of law in this country, Sir R. Wilson says, "Unless a very different proportion can be established in future

<sup>4</sup> "The Great Game." By Mr Walter Millar Thorburn, B.A., H.M. Madras Civil Service. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Waterloo Place. 1875.

<sup>5</sup> "History of Modern English Law." By Sir Roland Knyvet Wilson, Bart., M.A. Rivingtons, London. 1875.



between the thinkers and workers, the work will be, as before, aimless, botchy, superficial. . . . The work now to be done, though it demands the renunciation of forensic or political ambition, by no means demands such seclusion as that of Bentham, but, on the contrary, may be much better accomplished by the mutual assistance, and under the mutual correcting, of many like-minded students."

We have received Sir Patrick Colquhoun's<sup>6</sup> edition of the two "Supreme Court of Judicature Acts." It is prefaced by a brief historical review of English procedure.

Mr William Oke Manning's "Commentaries on the Law of Nations"<sup>7</sup> was, at the time of its first appearance in 1839, the first text-book on the subject produced in this country, and all but the first published in the English language. In spite of the smallness of its compass, and its incompleteness in some aspects, it attained a gradual though noiseless reputation for the author as an authority on the Law of Nations, which in all countries has gone far to place him in the same rank with the great line of jurists by which this law, as a system, has been built up. The fulness and accuracy of historical research, the clearness of conviction, and the masterly grasp of principles of law and conditions of fact which mark the book throughout, have rendered it about the best book a student could read, if he had only the opportunity to read one book, and an indispensable complement to his studies if he were able to read more than one. To the new edition the author has prefixed an important preface, in which he glances at all the events as affecting the progress of the Law of Nations which have taken place since the book was first published. The late Brussels Conference and its results are submitted to a careful review, and Mr Manning does not disguise his opinion that it was a lamentable mistake for England to abstain from active co-operation with the Conference. He says—"As an Englishman, I cannot but regret that our country, which has always hitherto stood in the front of all movements of humanity and progress, should have taken a position that has gone far to neutralise, or to frustrate, proposals which were intended to lessen the miseries inseparable from warfare. It appears to have been chiefly a jealousy respecting maritime rights which has occasioned the coldness shown by England towards the promotion of the Conference. But even if all intention of discussing these had not been expressly disclaimed, it would appear that, even with respect to maritime regulations, any definite agreement must be to the advantage of Great Britain." The editor of this edition, Professor Sheldon Amos, has completed the unfulfilled plan of the original work by inserting a new "Book" on "States and their Rights," including the topics of the Sovereignty and Independence of States, of Ambassadors, and of Treaties. He has also added an Appendix, in which the condition of the Law of Nations and of England is

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<sup>6</sup> "The Supreme Court of Judicature Acts of 1873, and 1875." By Sir Patrick Colquhoun, M.A., LL.D., Q.C. London: Clayton & Co. 1875.

<sup>7</sup> "Commentaries on the Law of Nations." By William Oke Manning. A New Edition, by Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: H. Sweet. 1875.

investigated on the subject of the "Reception and Treatment of Fugitive Slaves in Ships of War." Speaking of what is now known as "The Admiralty Circular," he concludes by saying—"It is the first time since the general abolition of slavery in the British dominions—and it is to be hoped the last—that the captains of British men-of-war have been formally instructed, not merely to recognise and countenance slavery in other countries as a legal 'status,' but to co-operate actively with the slaveholder in preventing his claims being casually evaded."

Dr Carl Walcker's<sup>8</sup> "Sketch of Universal Constitutional Law" should be a very interesting work for the English political reader, as the writer not only draws (as does every continental writer on such subjects) all his more important illustrations from English instances, but refers throughout to Guest's and Bluntschli's criticisms and accounts of English institutions. The work, which is in a very short compass, is one which cannot fail to be most instructive to the constitutional student.

A more speculative treatise, although also written for educational purposes, on the whole subject-matter of a complete mental training, is presented by Herr Loehnis,<sup>9</sup> who dates his preface from Dulwich. The reach of the work is extremely wide, as it commences with the topic of "Man," then travels on to "Speech," then to "Religion," then to "Art," and this is only the first volume.

Herr Rudolf Friedrich Grau<sup>10</sup> contributes a short essay on the development of culture, its origin and aims. The writer not only investigates the historical vicissitudes of the leading races and religions of the world, but glances at the character of their probable destiny.

The recent purchase by the English Government of nearly half the shares in the Suez Canal, and the public discussion which has attended the step, enforce the lesson of the importance of promulgating, among the people generally, sound and exact notions of the economical nature of money. Mr King, who was the publisher of Mr Walter Bagshot's "Lombard Street," has just published two other works of a like description, calculated to spread abroad an intimate knowledge of the mechanism of exchange, which is usually only to be met with in the profounder depths of elaborate treatises on political economy, and is too often treated in a style difficult to be apprehended by the ordinary reader. Professor Price's<sup>11</sup> little work on "Currency and Banking," and Professor Stanley Jevons<sup>12</sup> on "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange," are both lucid, systematic, and interesting expositions of

<sup>8</sup> "Grundriss des Allgemeinen Staatsrechts für Studierende und Gebildete." Von Dr Carl Walcker. Berlin: Heymann. 1875.

<sup>9</sup> "Unterricht, Erziehung und Fortbildung." Von H. Loehnis. Erster Band. London: Siegle. 1875.

<sup>10</sup> "Ursprünge und Ziele unserer Kulturentwicklung." Von Rudolf Friedrich Grau. Gutersloh. 1875.

<sup>11</sup> "Currency and Banking." By Bonamy Price. London: Henry S. King. 1876.

<sup>12</sup> "Money and the Mechanism of Exchange." By W. Stanley Jevons, M.A. London: Henry S. King. 1875.

all that part of those subjects which it concerns ninety-nine persons out of a hundred to know. It is the custom in noticing such books to dwell rather on what is debatable, and therefore held in many quarters to be heretical, than on the large mass of matter which owes its merit to clearness, fairness, and fulness of statement. It is curious that varieties of view in economical matters stir up almost as angry passions as are raised in medical disputations; and the cause of popular instruction suffers grievously in consequence, many a book of the highest educational value being practically suppressed by the critics, simply because the writer, in some out-of-the-way corner of it, intimates an opinion which, for the time, is not in the ascendency. On the topic of the currency, cold and passionless as it might be held to be, it is hardly possible for a writer to express himself at all without incurring the risk of falling into the jaws of rival controversialists. Professor Bonamy Price's criticisms, however,—evidently addressed to the American public,—on the accumulated mischiefs of an inconvertible paper currency, will probably commend themselves to most Englishmen:—"It is a marvellous thing that so gross a delusion as the supposition that a reality is given to the paper dollar by granting it an interest payable in another piece of paper should have taken so strong a hold on men's minds in many parts of America—that so acute a people should not have perceived that it was to explain *ignotum per ignotum*. It does not occur to them that the vital question to ask of every currency is, What is the power of buying? Will it do its work, and upon what principle?" Professor Jevons' work contains a quantity of fresh matter, historical and descriptive, on the metallic properties of some sorts of money, on the clearing-house system, and on the Bank of England. Both Professor Jevons and Professor Bonamy Price discuss with some particularity the nature and objects of the Bank Charter Act. Mr H. D. Macleod<sup>13</sup> publishes the third edition of the first volume of his "Theory and Practice of Banking." It contains, among other various matters, a curious account of the early history of Debt in Roman and Feudal times. In fact, voluminousness of a desultory sort seems the writer's besetting sin. The research this work exhibits will, however, be found not without its value and interest.

Dr Schäffle's<sup>14</sup> "Structure and Life of the Social Body" is further described as an "encyclopædic view of a real anatomy, physiology, and psychology for human society, with special reference to political economy as based on a social interchange of materials." The ground covered, as may be gathered from this expansion of its title, is, in some respects, though not all, the same as that to which Mr Herbert Spencer, almost alone of English writers, is devoting himself. It is a subject of great interest to philosophical minds, but will never be so popular in England

<sup>13</sup> "The Theory and Practice of Banking." By Henry Dunning Macleod, M.A. Third Edition. Vol. I. London: Longmans. 1875.

<sup>14</sup> "Bau und Leben des Socialen Körpers." Von Dr Albert C. Fr. Schäffle. Erster Band. Tübingen: H. Laupp'sche Buchhandlung. 1875.



as purely political or purely religious controversy. Dr Schäffle's work is thorough and exhaustive.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to Dr Willmann's<sup>15</sup> republication of Herbart's treatises on educational subjects. They afford a curious instance of the extraordinary quantity of purely philosophical thought a thinker at the commencement of the present century was able to pour into a subject which is, even yet, scarcely rescued from the slough of empiricism. The editor has made the edition more valuable by prefacing it with some interesting notices of Herbart's philosophical biography.

Mr Higgins<sup>16</sup> was six feet eight, and a gentleman of the same name who boasted six feet four went in Rome by the title of "Little Higgins." Thackeray got him (our Mr Higgins) into a giant-show without paying, by whispering to the manager "We are in the profession." It is only fair to say that they paid as they came out. Mr Higgins' stature was not his only claim to public attention. He was Jacob Omnium; and the short Memoir prefixed to these "Essays" contains some interesting facts about the Irish famine, and an account of his connection, as a contributor to the *Times*, with the Crawley Court-martial. The essays are chiefly about horses and dogs, and the people who care for them. Owners of valuable dogs may find some useful information in the story of his struggle with "the Fancy," and final capitulation—the agreement being that his dog, though stolen as usual about four times a year, should be neither ill-treated nor long detained, and that on its presentation to its master the quarterly guinea should not fail to be forthcoming. One essay supports the proposition that the horse-dealer is not more than half the cheat he goes for—the other half of the cheating being done by the buyer himself, in the attempt to overreach the seller. Along this moderate line of defence we think Mr Higgins makes out a good case for the dealer. Other essays are on gambling and various forms of swindling. Monaco evokes a burst of sober indignation. The rest of the volume is everywhere easy, light-handed, and only softly satirical.

No one can complain of Dr Travis<sup>17</sup> that he is a half-hearted or weak-handed reformer. He wishes to begin at the very beginning, and he invites his readers to co-operate towards the general formation in the country, first of a "new character," and then of a new social system. The fact that character is largely dependent upon modifiable circumstances is one which will hardly be contested by any modern thinker, nor does the new social system which Dr Travis advocates as a substitute for the existing one seem, on the face of it, anything but desirable. But the question of questions for politicians and social reformers is, not what is the best state of things conceivable, or here-

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<sup>15</sup> "Johann Friedrich Herbart's Pädagogische Schriften." Von Dr Otto Willmann. Erster Band. Zweiter Band. Leipzig: Leopold Voss. 1875.

<sup>16</sup> "Essays on Social Subjects." By Matthew James Higgins. With a Memoir by Sir Wm. Stirling Maxwell. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.

<sup>17</sup> "Effectual Reform in Man and Society." By Henry Travis, M.D. London: Longmans. 1875.

after attainable, but what is the best possible state within reach now considering the obstructions in the way, and all the existing circumstances as historically evolved. We fear what is called "effectualism" will not carry us very far, however much we may admire the generous enthusiasm of its earnest advocate.

The author of "*Absolute Money*"<sup>18</sup> deprecates, in anticipation, the criticism which seeks to dismiss a subject of such importance by simply representing it as too visionary to deserve reply. We can only say that "*Absolute Money*" means the abolition of gold and silver, or any substituted metal coin, as legal tender, and the recognition of no legal tender whatever other than an inconvertible issue by the Government. Those who need more information must read Mr Hill's argument for themselves. Professor Kirk's<sup>19</sup> essays on British Trade are brief, popular, and if not profound, at least innocent.

M. M. E. Lacroix<sup>20</sup> has prepared what seems to be an extremely serviceable "*Industrial Dictionary*." It is in two densely-packed little volumes, and is said to contain 100,000 "secrets and receipts of modern industry." These secrets are not always of the kind that alchemists deal in, as such commonplace topics as telegraphy, ventilation, photography, paper-making, and locomotives, are treated with the greatest fulness, and with the aid of copious illustrations.

The translation of M. Comte's<sup>21</sup> great work on "*Positive Polity*" into English, tests the quality of a translator almost more severely than does the translation of Plato's Republic. M. Comte lacks most of the common peculiarities of a French writer, being profound, and philosophically exhaustive rather than aerial, luminous and methodical in superficial arrangement. For this reason M. Comte has suffered almost more misrepresentation in England—often in the most unexpected quarters—than any other writer of equal philosophical importance. It is fortunate for the interests of philosophical truth that the task of translating M. Comte's great work has been voluntarily anticipated by those Englishmen who, like Dr Bridges and Mr Frederick Harrison, have given a good part of a lifetime to study M. Comte's system, and have the intellectual and moral sympathy needed to enable a translator to reproduce the true spirit as well as the mere words of the author.

Mr Holyoake's<sup>22</sup> "*History of Co-operation*"—of which the first volume, dealing with the Pioneer Period from 1812 to 1844, is now published—is a book unpretending enough in its outward appearance, yet

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<sup>18</sup> "*Absolute Money : a New System of National Finance under a Co-operative Government.*" By Brillon A. Hill. St Louis : Soule. 1875.

<sup>19</sup> "*British Trade : or Certain Conditions of our National Prosperity.*" By Professor Kirk. London : Hamilton. 1875.

<sup>20</sup> "*Dictionnaire Industriel à l'Usage de Tout le Monde.*" Tomes Premier et Second. Par M. E. Lacroix. Paris : Lacroix.

<sup>21</sup> "*System of Positive Polity.* By Auguste Comte. Second Volume, containing Social Statics, or the Abstract Theory of Human Order." Translated by Frederick Harrison, M.A. London : Longmans. 1875.

<sup>22</sup> "*The History of Co-operation in England : its Literature and its Advocates.* Vol. I. By George Jacob Holyoake. London : Trübner. 1875.

containing an account of a class of social phenonema of the greatest historical and political interest, and of which a trustworthy account is most difficult to be found when needed. The book is full of out-of-the-way biographical details and social reminiscences, for which the curious as well as the reflective reader will be most grateful.

It is not easy to estimate too highly such a book as that of Mr Francis Adams <sup>23</sup> on the "Free School System of the United States." It is so much the fashion to cite the precedents supplied by America on both sides of every political question, either as an encouragement or a warning, that it is a true service to expound to the English public the real state of the facts as presented in America, in reference to any much-disputed topic. Mr Francis Adams' work must henceforth be treated as a text-book on the subject, and the subject-matter is handled in such a way as to make it the most convenient of text-books. The distribution of the topics is into "Government" (including an investigation of the "relation of the State Government to the Municipality") "Cost," "Attendance," "Religion and Morals," "Teachers," and "Grades." The problem with respect to direct compulsion seems to be almost exactly in the same condition as it is in England. The law providing for it has been passed only in seven or eight States, and is regarded as tentative. The "religious difficulty" has very slightly obstructed the work of education, and it seems probable, especially in view of the President's late speech to Congress, that the common school will in time be made purely secular. Public opinion seems against the employment of pupil-teachers, and in favour of the retention of an absolutely "free" system for the common schools.

Mr Chesson <sup>24</sup> has rendered a service to political morality, as well as to the truest interests of Canada, by a complete and masterly exposure of the breach of faith committed by the Dominion Parliament in the "Marine Telegraphs Act," by which the vested rights of the Anglo-American Telegraph Company have not only been recklessly violated, but violated under circumstances of secrecy and conspiracy, which leave a deep stain on the political character of all the promoters of the original Bill. Mr Chesson describes the spirit of enterprise and courageous adventure with which the Anglo-American Company became established in 1866, and, by amalgamation with the French and Newfoundland Companies, has now become the owner of five Atlantic cables, various Canadian cables, and one cable between England and France. This amalgamation was barely a year old when a Bill was introduced into the Dominion Parliament, and which is the basis of the recent Act, by which the Company was prevented using its own cables or constructing new ones, unless thereafter authorised by an Act of the Canadian Parliament, or incorporated afresh under a later section. The directors of the Company were not furnished with information which enabled them to judge of the proposed legislation until May 15,

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<sup>23</sup> "The Free School System of the United States." By Francis Adams. Secretary of the National Education League. London: Chapman & Hall. 1875.

<sup>24</sup> "The Atlantic Cables. A Review of Recent Telegraphic Legislation in Canada." By F. W. Chesson. London: Effingham Wilson. 1875.



1874 ; and yet on May 19th, six days after the first meagre intelligence reached London, the Bill was read a third time in the Senate without discussion. In addressing a Committee of the Dominion House of Commons on the provisions of the Bill, Lord William Hay compared the conduct of Canada to that of a footpad who bade his victim choose between giving up his purse and suffering the inconvenience of being knocked down. The injustice is all the greater inasmuch as from 1854, the date of the charter of the original Newfoundland Company, to the year 1866, the monopoly had been practically valueless, and for only nine years has it had any substantial value. Mr Chesson rightly argues that, even could it be shown that there was any legal infirmity attaching to the original title of the Company, it was a case in which the amplest moral and political consideration ought to have been shown to those who had conferred, though under a misapprehension of their technical legal position, such a world-wide service. Mr Chesson describes, in language not too fervid for the occasion, the serious effect which such an act of confiscation must have on the credit of Canada, and especially on the interests of the colony of Newfoundland.

The editors of *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*, a magazine which is becoming better and better known on this side of the Atlantic, desired to afford to their readers an account of the material resources, and of the present social and political condition of the people of those of the United States of America which before the great war were under the dominion of slavery. They therefore organised a staff of artists to accompany Mr King<sup>25</sup> on his journey through those States, and the papers published by them form the basis and bulk of the volume named below. It is large, detailed, and for practical purposes exhaustive in its information, giving minute pictures of the relations of the former proprietors and slaves, and of the immigrating whites. On the whole, the political situation is appalling, though perhaps onlookers may have more patience than Americans with a state of affairs which is only too just a result of the long years of tyranny in those States. What else could be expected for a time but that the suddenly-freed negro would disregard any claim to fairness put forward by his late owner and driver, at the same time that he would, by the necessity of his ignorance, be the ready dupe of the unscrupulous portion of those Northern communities to whom he owes his freedom ? With every effort to look on him as a man and a brother, the writer of this volume and more especially the gentlemen who have so profusely and well illustrated his text, cannot help displaying a comic memory of the black man as "Quashee," and a patronising observation of him as a creature scarcely on a par with themselves, lurking in the background of the work of their pen and brushes. Mr King and his coadjutors certainly succeed in making the Southern States appear most attractive to immigrants, so far as chances of commercial success go, and

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<sup>25</sup> "The Southern States of South America." By Edward King. London : Blackie & Son, Paternoster Buildings, E.C. Glasgow and Edinburgh. 1875.

they speak on the whole with great hopefulness of the political future, when the enormous pains now being taken to educate the next generation shall bring forth their due result. To recapitulate a small portion of the information here collected would be, in small space, too dreary a mere catalogue of the names of industries existent, past, or possible; and in recommending the book to those who find Yankee stories racy, to those who would familiarise themselves with the condition of the States since the war, or to those whose eyes wander over the earth seeking a fresh home, there is no danger of condemning them to wade through a single page which is not bright and sparkling or vividly descriptive, and scarcely through one which is not enlivened by some telling sketch of men or places.

Captain Richard Burton<sup>26</sup> publishes two thick, handsome, and sufficiently illustrated volumes on Iceland, founded partially on a visit there, and worked out by the help of various native Icelandic and other gentlemen whose names and whose share in the work he specifies in the Preface. Captain Burton thought an exaggerated idea of Iceland, and of the delights and perils of travellers there, was common, and writes this book to disabuse an over-credulous public. The value of his share of the work will vary according to the dependence which his former works have induced readers to place in his accuracy, impartiality, modesty, and discretion. He treats of the Geography of the island under the two heads of Physical and Political, of the Anthropology, Social Conditions, Fauna, Flora, and Literature. The second volume narrates his personal experiences, with an appendix on Sulphur in various parts of the world.

Six years ago the reigning Queen of Madagascar declared definitely and officially against idolatry, and in favour of Christianity. An earlier turning to Christian faith, by a previous sovereign, had been followed by a persecution; and under the present queen and her principal advisers the secret Christian element has come to the light, and is becoming so strong as to give good promise of permanence. The Malagasy are a Malay people inhabiting the whole island, and probably amounting to about 2,500,000 people, divided into three principal tribes; of these about 1,700,000 are under the dominion of this queen, while the others are still pagan independent tribes. The Christianisation of the island has been chiefly carried on under the auspices of the London Missionary Society; and that body, when the queen took so important a step as the one already spoken of, thought the occasion urgent enough to call for a special mission. Accordingly Dr Mullens,<sup>27</sup> and another gentleman and his wife, were sent. They have taken pains to make geographical surveys to the utmost of their opportunity, and to collect as much reliable information as they could; and this is all given to the public in a simple and straightforward way. Those who

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<sup>26</sup> "Ultima Thule; or, A Summer in Iceland." By Richard F. Burton. In Two Volumes. London: William P. Nimmo, King William Street, Strand; and Edinburgh. 1875.

<sup>27</sup> "Twelve Months in Madagascar." By Joseph Mullens, D.D. London: James Nisbet & Co., Berners Street. 1875.

hesitate to rejoice to see all the growing civilisation of the country centring round a specific creed, will at least agree that there is something noble in the spectacle of a government which, hampered by treaty engagements with France, and compelled to admit French spirits on its shores, levies its duties in kind, and at once publicly pours the contents of each tenth barrel into the sea. The missionaries find there a strong and individual people, and are unable to impose forms or to press many reforms that are needed; for instance, they have not yet succeeded in abolishing domestic slavery, although there is a growing feeling against it. A foreign slave-trade is now done away with by treaty.

We have received some more interesting volumes of Statistics<sup>28</sup> published by the Italian Government. They concern the actual amount of population on 31st December 1871, the changes in the population during the year 1872, and the amount and kind of negotiable paper in circulation, as reported upon to the Chamber of Deputies on the 15th of March 1875. The population statistics are arranged in a form most convenient for the purpose of rapid comparison; in one column each year of life being taken by itself for each province in succession; and then in successive columns the number of males and females, their condition as married, unmarried, widows or widowers, and their capacity of reading being stated in order. In the statistics of changes in the population each small district is taken by itself, and the population at the end of 1872 is compared with that at the end of 1873, the number of marriages, births, and deaths, of males and females, of children born dead, and of accidents during the year being recited. The statistics of paper circulation are extremely minute and exhaustive, containing, among other matters, a comparison of the variations of discount given by the Italian banks with that of the discount given by the banks of all the other chief countries of Europe in the course of every year from 1861 to 1874.

Mr Mahaffy's<sup>29</sup> "*Social Life in Greece*," of which a second and revised edition is now published, will be found a thoroughly refreshing book for the student who is overdone with the effort to master the intricacies of Greek writers, or with the necessity of getting by rote a cut-and-dry account of Greek institutions and customs. The work has the effect, not only of making Greek life real and intelligible, but also of supplying an original contribution to the solution of some moral and social problems of modern life. Mr Mahaffy says he cannot, with Mr Grote, accept the political condition of things in the Homeric poems as a safe guide to the political life of Greece in the poet's own day. He also refuses to assent to Mr Grote's position, that all inquiries into the

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<sup>28</sup> "*Statistica del Regno d'Italia. Popolazione per Et , Sesso, Stato Civile, ed Istruzione.*" Censimento, 31 Dicembre, 1871. Vol. II. Roma. 1874.

"*Popolazione. Movimento dello Stato Civile. Anno 1873.*" Roma. 1875.

"*Relazione sulla Circolazione Cartacea.*" Roma. 1875.

<sup>29</sup> "*Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander.*" By the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, M.A. Second Edition. London: Macmillan. 1875.



previous conditions of Greece are impossible and useless; on the contrary, he thinks that "the consistent voice of the older Greek legends, coupled with what we know of early Phœnician and Egyptian history, wellnigh solves the difficulty." As to the Greeks of the Attic age, Mr Mahaffy is of opinion that "an accurate and calm review" of the old comic fragments, and of Aristophanes, of the orators Antiphon and Andocides, and other documents, may "bring us somewhat to lower the estimate usually formed of Periclean Athens, and to consider that both the incomparable literature and the incomparable art then produced were to some extent the work of a select few, who stood apart from the crowd as they have done in other golden periods, and who in many respects owed their success to the patronage, first of the tyrants, and then of the tyrants' successor, Pericles.

It may seem questionable whether Mr Jones'<sup>30</sup> book about East London ought to be classed among writings on Social subjects, which are really his topics, or among Travels, because the regions he tells of are commonly spoken of with a distant ignorance that would be thought uneducated if India even, or certainly America, were on the *tapis*. But in truth we have commonly a much greater proneness to acquaint ourselves with the state and condition of other people than with those of our fellow-subjects, possibly because we can learn from strangers lessons which we should feel reluctant and ashamed to learn at home. Mr Jones' volume is just of that broad, hearty, genial, spicy sort that brings subject and reader most thoroughly face to face, and it ought to hasten the result that the East End of London, with its hard-working, respectable population, should be recognised as ranking with other seaports, and not be any longer vilified as the hot-bed where the vice of London is raised. Mr Jones had long experience of West-End London life before he took up his abode in St George's-in-the-East, and he says that the assumption that the East is morally worse than the West is one not supported by facts, and is inclined to think that the West has quite as much to learn from the East as the East from the West. His chapters are on Parochial Subdivision, which he thinks has been carried too far; on Church Endowments; on Lay Help; on the Trades and Industries of the "East End," the principal of which are sugar and wild beasts; on Education; on Sailors' Homes; on Social, Physical, and Civil Life; and on his own trials, hopes, and prospects in his East-End parish, a chapter which will arouse warm sympathy.

Mr Smiles'<sup>31</sup> writings, if not exhaustive in their ethical aspects, are always healthy and bracing in their tone, and likely to do a large amount of indisputable good. "Thrift" is crammed with instructive instances of persons struggling upward amidst all kinds of obstacles, and often showing their sympathy with the struggles of others by a large-hearted and unostentatious charity. The book, though naturally

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<sup>30</sup> "East and West London." By the Rev. Harry Jones, M.A., Rector of St. George's-in-the-East. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., Waterloo Place. 1875.

<sup>31</sup> "Thrift." By Samuel Smiles. London: Murray. 1875.

desultory in its style, may be read with interest if only for the quaint, out-of-the-way picture it presents on every other page of the manners of very humble and obscure personages, and of the practical problems which beset the lower grades of social life.

The Principal<sup>32</sup> of the Church of Scotland Normal School at Glasgow is a very fit person, by position, to publish an account of the great innovators in education. As the successor of David Stow, he must frequently be inclined to bring before his students the necessity of vigorous individual thought to readapt teaching to the new wants of the day. Nothing is more imperatively needed for a teacher than a rooted conviction that almost each year will work such changes in the social surroundings of his charge, that unless he is very wide awake and broad in his sympathies he must infallibly miss that delicate reciprocity of feeling which alone can make him an educator rather than a mere "dominie." This is especially true of male teachers, who are more naturally apt to crystallise their views than women are. In fact, teaching can never become a science except in an inexact sense, since it consists of no grouping and generalisation of already existing and invariable facts, but in a constant reaching forward to an ever-developing practical art. Mr Leitch's book is useful, therefore, rather as a recognition of the labours and virtues of the past, as a warning against former blunders, and as an incitement to originality in teaching, than as a contribution to a science. At the same time, it should be said that not only has he sketched the lives and labours of his heroes with a vivid pencil, but also that he would apparently be among the first to dread any pressing of teachers into one mould, however carefully prepared. Locke, Pestalozzi, Bell and Lancaster, Stow and Herbert Spencer are the names he has selected as pre-eminently interesting to the embryo educator.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to Messrs Dalby & Isbister's series of Copy-Books<sup>33</sup> and Drawing-Books.<sup>34</sup> The former are refreshing after the trite commonplace maxims familiarly associated with a "copy," in that the copy in this case is a sort of continuous narrative of some true and interesting class of facts. Thus the connection between writing and its purposes is in some way kept up in the student's mind. The drawing-books are extremely various, and seem well suited for their ends.

It is always a pleasure to see German maps, and the specimen maps and coloured geological plans<sup>35</sup> sent us by Messrs Artaria are of a very high order of merit. The fulness of detail, the clearness of delineation, and the richness of colour are especially conspicuous.

The "Library Atlas,"<sup>36</sup> consisting of a hundred maps of modern

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<sup>32</sup> "Practical Educationists and their Systems of Teaching." By James Leitch. Glasgow : James Maclehose, St Vincent Street. 1876.

<sup>33</sup> The Public School Series Copy-Books, in twelve books. London : Dalby, Isbister, & Co.

<sup>34</sup> The Public School Series Drawing-Books. London : Dalby, Isbister, & Co.

<sup>35</sup> "Verzeichniss der Landkarten im Verlage von Artaria & Comp. Wien. 1871.

<sup>36</sup> "The Library Atlas." London : Collins, Sons, & Co.

historical and classical geography, with descriptive letterpress by such high authorities as Dr Bryce, Dr Collier, and Dr Schmitz, must take a very high place in English educational literature. There is a copious index.

We think Mr Kelly<sup>37</sup> is supplying a real want in preparing a series of County Topographies. Hitherto the only books available for solving a puzzle about some out-of-the-way place in the country has been Lewis's antiquated volumes of enormous size, an obsolete itinerary, or a Post-Office Directory. Mr Kelly's topographies, of which we have received those on Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight, seem in all respects well calculated to serve the chief purposes for which they may be required.

It is needless to say anything in favour of Mr Cook's "Tourist's Handbook"<sup>38</sup> for Southern Italy." The work includes Rome, and is clear, full, and of course thoroughly practical. A different sort of guide-book, though with great merits of its own, is an American Resident's "Switzerland and the Swiss."<sup>39</sup> It is a book which is well worth reading at home, as well as abroad, and this cannot be said of even some of the best guide-books. We wish well to Dr Fallon's<sup>40</sup> new Hindustani-English Dictionary. It is to be completed in 25 parts of 48 pages each part, forming together one volume. The work seems full of promise.

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## SCIENCE.

NEARLY fifteen years ago geologists were startled by the announcement that in the old Laurentian rocks of Canada, always previously regarded as Azoic, traces of very lowly organisms had been discovered. These consisted of undulated and usually more or less concentric layers of green serpentinous mineral, separated by portions of calcareous matter; and the notion that they might be of organic origin seems to have been first suggested to the late Sir William Logan, by the resemblance of weathered specimens to certain Silurian fossils of rather problematical nature, known as *Stromatopora*. Examination showed that parts of the calcareous layers presented an appearance of minute tubulation more or less closely resembling that observed in the shells of some of the Foraminifera. The animal whose existence was thus imperfectly revealed was accordingly regarded as a Foraminifer of gigantic size, but of rather indefinite growth, and described under the name of *Eozoon Canadense*, the Canadian Dawn-animal. This view of

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<sup>37</sup> County Topographies—Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire. Edited by E. R. Kelly. London: Kelly. 1875.

<sup>38</sup> "Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Southern Italy." London: Cook. 1875.

<sup>39</sup> "Switzerland and the Swiss." By an American Resident. Zurich. 1875.

<sup>40</sup> "A New Hindustani-English Dictionary." By S. W. Fallon. Banara. 1875.



the nature of the so-called *Eozoon* was received with considerable doubt by many, and a violent discussion ensued, in which the chief parts were taken by Dr Dawson of Montreal and Dr Carpenter on the affirmative side, and by Professors King and Rowney on the negative. The latter gentlemen still maintain that all the appearances of the structure of *Eozoon* may be accounted for upon mineralogical principles; Mr Carter declares that the structure, whatever it may be, is not Foraminiferal; whilst Dr Dawson, the original describer of *Eozoon*, and Dr Carpenter, who has been his coadjutor throughout, hold their original position with equal determination. It is fortunately not our duty to decide this question, the settlement of which is of great importance in the history of life upon our earth, but simply to call attention to the publication by Dr Dawson of a small volume bearing the title of "The Dawn of Life,"<sup>1</sup> in which the whole of the extant evidence on both sides is discussed in a very pleasant and intelligible manner. In the present state of the question, and especially considering the discovery in the same rocks with the *Eozoon* of numerous small bodies which present every appearance of being the serpentinous and siliceous casts of the chambers of small Foraminifera of a normal type, it seems to us that the balance of evidence is at present in favour of those who maintain the organic nature of the supposed fossil. Dr Dawson's book is well and abundantly illustrated, and will be read with interest by those who are not geologists.

Professor Haeckel's "Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte" is perhaps the book which has done more than any other to popularise the Darwinian theory of the origin of species by natural selection in Germany; in fact, he has been called by his countrymen the German Darwin, although, for his own part, he is far from seeking to appropriate to himself any of the laurels awarded to the great English naturalist, of whom and his works he speaks always in the most enthusiastic terms. He is indeed never weary of singing the praises of the great master, whose thoughts have within the last few years so completely changed the whole aspect of biological science, that in the consideration of the history of opinion upon most questions, we are compelled to fix almost a hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the views entertained before and after the promulgation of his theory. But among the apostles of Darwinism, Haeckel certainly occupies the leading place. He has not merely written an exposition of his own opinions on the subject, but has carried out an important scientific investigation in the spirit of the theory, and founding his work upon the results of this investigation, has boldly attempted what Darwin himself has hitherto shrunk from doing, namely, to establish on Darwinian principles a natural classification of organisms, and to indicate the steps by which, in the lapse of untold ages, organisms have become what they now are. That in the edifice he has raised first in his "Generelle

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<sup>1</sup> "The Dawn of Life; being the History of the oldest known Fossil Remains, and their Relations to Geological Time, and to the Development of the Animal Kingdom." By J. W. Dawson. Sm. 8vo. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

*Morphologie der Organismen*," and subsequently in the work above mentioned, six editions of which have appeared in Germany, there are many points open to attack, no one can doubt, but even those who differ from him in some or in many particulars, must admire the boldness and ingenuity of his arguments, and feel that, if still unconvinced, they have at least gained much by his labours.

Professor Haeckel regards the phenomena of life as of a strictly mechanical nature, and as thus brought into accord with the monistic conception of the universe, namely, that every phenomenon since the beginning of things has been produced by purely mechanical causes, without miraculous intervention. We do not know that a vitalistic conception of organised nature is so completely incompatible with this monistic conception of the universe, as Haeckel seems to think; at any rate, until the possibility of absolute spontaneous generation, or of the direct production of organic beings from inorganic matter under the influence of the ordinary physical forces can be demonstrated, the mechanical theory of life, in the strictly Haeckelian sense, cannot be regarded as finally established. It must be confessed, however, that for all practical purposes the question as to the origin of life may for the present be allowed to rest; and without absolutely accepting or rejecting the purely mechanical theory offered to us by Haeckel, we may admit and admire the unity of conception and the perspicacity and ingenuity so brilliantly displayed in his works already cited, an English translation of one of which, under the title of "*The History of Creation*,"<sup>2</sup> has just been published. The object of this is the establishment of a general system of nature on the principles of the theory of descent with modification. It includes a historical discussion of the theory of descent as formulated by various naturalists, especially Goethe, Lamarck, and Darwin; a further development of the general theory as established by the last-named author, the whole leading up to the application of these principles to our conceptions of the natural systematic relations of organisms, founded chiefly on the principle that the phylogeny or tribal history of the development of organisms is represented in their ontogeny or individual development, a principle which Professor Haeckel denominates the "biogenetic fundamental law." It is impossible here to give any idea of the manner in which this difficult matter is handled by the author. Experienced naturalists will, no doubt, find many points in which their opinions differ from those of the author; but even those who are most inclined to cavil at his methods and results, can hardly fail to gather many new and valuable ideas from the perusal of his work. The translation which, as we are informed in a short preface, has been executed by a young lady, and revised by Professor E. Ray Lankester, one of Haeckel's most ardent disciples, is an exceedingly good one,

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<sup>2</sup> "*The History of Creation; or, The Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes.*" A popular Exposition of the Doctrine of Evolution in general, and of that of Darwin, Goethe, and Lamarck in particular. From the German of Ernst Haeckel. The translation revised by E. Ray Lankester. 2 vols. 8vo. London: H. S. King & Co. 1875.

although we do not admire some of the English names which have been employed as equivalents for German terms. Some of these, especially, will be quite unintelligible to readers unacquainted with German scientific literature. Many illustrations are given, and the ethnographical map accompanying the book is printed in colours; but by a singular blunder, which we hope may be soon corrected in a new edition, considerable portions of both North and South America are coloured as if inhabited by Dravidian people from Southern Hindostan.

Professor Pagenstecher's "*Allgemeine Zoologie*,"<sup>3</sup> promises to be the best text-book of the principles of that science that we possess. The first part only has as yet appeared, but the second, which, we presume, will complete the work, is announced as already in the press. In this first part the author commences by giving a historical discussion of the philosophical conceptions of nature, and especially of living nature, prevalent in various ages of the world. In the second book he treats of the general properties of animal bodies, including the description of the cell as the ultimate constituent of living bodies, and of the mode of combination and differentiation of cells to form complete organisms, the notion of animal individuality and its relations to polymorphism, and the arrangement of the parts of animals (homologies, &c.) In the third book, which treats of the division and limitation of the animal kingdom, the important question of the idea of the species is discussed at great length in a historical form, and as a sequel to this, the various modes of classification. In his views on this important section of the subject, Professor Pagenstecher is decidedly evolutionist, as also on the question of the separation of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, which forms the argument of the last division of this first part of his book. We may recommend this work to our readers as an admirable outline of the present state of zoology, and of the steps by which the science has attained the position it now occupies.

The necessity of treating biological science as a whole, that is to say, of combining as far as possible the knowledge of the general phenomena of animal and vegetable life, in order to the proper comprehension of either, is one which has of late years forced itself with more and more clearness upon all naturalists. Professor Huxley, who is teaching biology in this wide sense at South Kensington, feeling that without practical investigation the knowledge acquired from reading and lectures will always remain very imperfect, has always, since he obtained the means of doing so, made laboratory-work one of his chief means of instruction, and he now publishes, in a small volume,<sup>4</sup> a series of directions for the guidance of those who wish to learn the method of investigation to be pursued in order to attain a practical acquaintance with biological phenomena, which will be of the highest value both to isolated

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<sup>3</sup> "*Allgemeine Zoologie, oder Grundgesetze des Thierischen Baus und Lebens.*" Von H. Alexander Pagenstecher. Erster Theil. 8vo. Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel, & Parey. 1875.

<sup>4</sup> "*A Course of Practical Instruction in Elementary Biology.*" By T. H. Huxley, assisted by H. M. Martin. Sm. 8vo. London: Macmillan. 1875.



students, and to science-teachers who design to do something more than communicate the dry outlines of zoology and botany to their pupils. For this purpose he has selected a series of thirteen common and easily obtained plants and animals, and given first a sketch of their general characteristics, followed by a description of the processes to be adopted in their examination, or what he calls the "laboratory-work" for each species. The selection of plants appears to be excellent. To the list of animals we think one or two additions might have been made with advantage, as, for example, the common earthworm and the garden snail. The freshwater mussel is hardly a satisfactory representative of the whole molluscan sub-kingdom. But for what the Professor has here given us, all students of natural history must be grateful.

Dr Carter Blake may congratulate himself on having produced, in his "Zoology for Students,"<sup>5</sup> about as bad a book as can very well be conceived. It is full of errors of various kinds from beginning to end. Fancy the writer of a Manual of Zoology for Students telling his confiding readers, with regard to a certain order of mammals, that "the posterior extremities may be modified, as in the case of the whales and manatees, into a resemblance of the tails of true fishes" (p. 15). It is true that this statement is not repeated in the description of the characters of the Sirenia and Cetacea, but even here we find no mention of the suppression of the hind-limbs in these animals. Of the camels and llamas we are told (p. 23) that they possess no canines, whereas the presence of canines in both jaws is one of the most important characters of these animals. We learn, to our astonishment (p. 36) that in the existing elephant the tusks project from the lower, and in the *Dinotherium* from the upper jaw; while at the bottom of the same page the dental formula of the elephants is given correctly, and on a subsequent page the head of *Dinotherium* is properly figured. The Batrachia are regarded as an order of the class Reptilia, and yet among the characters of the Reptilia we find it stated that "there is an amnios and allantoïd, and no metamorphosis in any of the members of the class." Again, under the order Batrachia, the student is informed that "the order *Anura* have no metamorphosis," and yet three lines below the tadpole of the frog is specially referred to, the frogs being in the meanwhile mentioned as one of the chief examples of the order (p. 175). Who would recognise the structure of the pearly Nautilus from the following description? "The shell is divided into tubes and chambers by a series of partitions (*septa*), or by a tube or siphuncle,"—and what sort of notion of the mode of its formation can be arrived at from the statement that "the last chamber only is occupied by the animal; the others are probably occupied in succession"? With regard to the Insecta, the students will receive the following very novel piece of information:—"The head is distinct from the trunk, to which two antennæ are attached." Lower down on the same

<sup>5</sup> "Zoology for Students: a Handbook." By C. Carter Blake, D.Sc. With a Preface by Richard Owen, C.B., F.R.S. 8vo. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1875.

page, however, he will find that the antennæ are attached to the head. The whole treatment of the class Insecta is worthy of such a beginning; there is hardly an order of which even the general characters are correctly given, and the statements with regard to them contain so many blunders, that one is surprised at their being brought together into so small a space. The fleas, the suctorial and biting lice, and the spring-tails, are all put together in an order of Aptera, which we hoped never to have seen again in a Zoological Manual. Under Hemiptera we are told that "Bugs were unknown in England until the beginning of the sixteenth century,"—a statement which is very doubtful, even with regard to the bed-bug, and certainly not true of bugs in general, to which it would seem here to apply. The water-scorpions are said to "belong to the homopterous division." Of the structure of the mouth in the Lepidoptera all description is omitted, and the reader is left to infer that these insects are suctorial, from the statement that "the mouth of the caterpillar, unlike that of the perfect insect, is formed for mastication." At p. 287 we are told that "The *Tineince* are a form which may be divided into three groups—1st, the species hurtful to our stuffs and furs; 2nd, the species which destroy our corn crops; 3rd, the species which feed on plants." Can anything be imagined much more absurd in a Zoological Manual? This, however, is almost equalled by a delightful passage on the same page, in which the wings of the Orthoptera are described as follows:—"There are four wings; the anterior parts are smaller than the posterior; they are coriaceous or leathery, and form *elytra*; the posterior part of the wings is membranous and longitudinally folded, the under wings being folded over the upper." We must leave this enigmatic statement to be solved by our entomological readers, who will also be surprised to learn that "the Dragon-flies pass through a series of changes which are of extremely short duration, and in the *Ephemera* reach their minimum [*sic*] of brevity." At p. 301, after a passage describing the respiratory organs of Spiders, the account of the Crustacea begins at once without any notice to the reader that he has got into a new class, and even the headline, "Arachnida," is continued to the end of the section. The Cirripedia, on the other hand, have a section as a class by themselves, although we are told that they "are Crustaceans, which are affixed in the adult period;" and the question naturally arises, Why then are they not included with the Crustacea, seeing that a great deal of the interest attaching to them depends upon the recognition of this relationship? The character given of the class is a very queer one, and seems to have been compiled from two descriptions, parts of which crop up curiously in different places. Upon the early stages of the Cirripedes, from which mainly their relationship to the lower Crustacea has been recognised, we find not a single syllable! and indeed the metamorphoses of the Crustacea themselves are passed almost *sub silentio*. The last blunder that we shall notice is really almost inconceivable. Of the Echinodermata we are told—"This class comprises animals having a coriaceous skin, without spines or quills, or a shell-test"!! How such a state-

ment as this could escape any writer in face of the manifest meaning of the name of the group is quite beyond our comprehension.

It is with regret that we have had to pass what may seem to be a harsh judgment upon Dr Carter Blake's book, but we felt it to be our duty to warn students and their teachers that in it they will not find a trustworthy guide to zoological knowledge, and we have devoted to the book a greater amount of space than its importance might seem to deserve, because it bears what the author himself describes as the *imprimatur* of Professor Owen, in the shape of some notes from lectures delivered by the latter, inserted by permission at the beginning of the book as a sort of preface. How the learned Professor was induced to lend the sanction of his name to such a book is hard to understand; and while we may appreciate the kindness of his motive, we cannot but accuse him of having been too easy of persuasion on this occasion. It is equally difficult to conceive how a naturalist of acknowledged repute like Dr Carter Blake can offer to students a "Manual of Zoology" containing such a mass of instances of ignorance or carelessness, or of both combined.

In Dr A. Nuhn's "Text-book of Comparative Anatomy" <sup>6</sup> we have a purely descriptive manual, the author never going out of his way in search of homologies. He treats his subject from the physiological point of view, describing the organs of animals in the order of the functions they perform. In his first part he treats of the organs of vegetative life, digestion, respiration (and voice), circulation, and secretion (including generation); and his descriptions, which are careful and detailed, are illustrated with a great number of woodcuts, many of them more or less diagrammatic. Some of the figures illustrating the circulatory apparatus are coloured with red and blue, to distinguish the venous and arterial portions. Professor Nuhn's work will be a useful manual for students.

We may safely recommend to young entomologists, and to those who wish to furnish young entomologists with a useful guide, the "Sketches of British Insects" of the Rev. W. Houghton.<sup>7</sup> It furnishes a brief outline of British entomology written in a pleasant style, and from it the beginner will obtain a great deal of sound information on the natural history of our native insects. The little work is illustrated with several plates printed in colours, and with numerous wood-engravings.

Although Mr Darwin's reputation rests chiefly in most minds upon that theory which generally bears his name, his claims to rank as a thoroughly practical naturalist and most acute and accurate observer have an equally sure foundation, and are of much longer standing. Even his opponents admit that the qualities of a naturalist of the very highest rank are displayed even in those theoretical works to the general conclusions of

<sup>6</sup> "Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Anatomie." Von Dr A. Nuhn. Erster Theil. 8vo. Heidelberg. 1875.

<sup>7</sup> "Sketches of British Insects: a Handbook for Beginners in the Study of Entomology." By the Rev. W. Houghton. Sm. 8vo. London: Groombridge. 1875.



which they object; and some of the publications which have been produced in support of the theory manifest the same qualities very strongly. One of these is the memoir on "The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants,"<sup>8</sup> originally published in the *Journal of the Linnean Society*, a second enlarged and improved edition of which is now before us. In this work Mr Darwin describes the various modes in which plants climb,—by simple twining, by means of tendrils of diverse origin, by the agency of hooks, and by peculiarly-developed roots. He enters into very full and interesting details of experiments made for the purpose of determining the direct causes of the movements implicated in producing the described results, and shows that, as he himself says, many of the plants cited "display as beautiful adaptations as can be found in any part of the kingdom of nature." By a series of comparative considerations upon the state of the organs in nearly-allied plants, and even in different parts of the same plant, Mr Darwin endeavours to show the mode in which the peculiar structures of climbing plants have been developed in accordance with his theory of evolution. The little book is, however, of the highest interest independent of any theoretical considerations, and to the botanist its study will be indispensable.

Under the title of "*Plantæ Lorentzianæ*"<sup>9</sup> we have from Professor Grisebach a most valuable contribution to the botany of the pampas of the interior of the Argentine Republic. Dr Lorentz of Cordoba has been employed for two years in the service of the Government in investigating the plants of this region, and the collections and notes sent home by him are here worked up by the author into a memoir of great importance, published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen*. The flora of the region examined by Dr Lorentz appears to be a poor one, for although his researches extended over the provinces of Cordoba, Santiago, Tucuman, and Catamarca, stretching through about five degrees of latitude—and parts of this region are of a mountainous character—the total number of species of vascular plants obtained is only 927. From these materials, however, Professor Grisebach has been enabled to indicate the main features of the botany of this little-known region—how little known is best evidenced by the great number of species which he has been compelled to describe as new. Some of these are figured on two plates which accompany the memoir.

Professor Morris has printed a "Lecture on the Geology of Croydon,"<sup>10</sup> delivered by him before the members of the Croydon Microscopical Club, in which, while describing the structure of the immediate neighbourhood of the place inhabited by his hearers, he takes the

<sup>8</sup> "The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants." By Charles Darwin. Second edition, revised. Sm. 8vo. London: Murray. 1875.

<sup>9</sup> "*Plantæ Lorentzianæ*. Bearbeitung der ersten und zweiten Sammlung argentinischer Pflanzen des Professor Lorentz zu Cordoba." Von A. Grisebach. 4to. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1874.

<sup>10</sup> "Lecture on the Geology of Croydon, in Relation to the Geology of the London Basin and other Localities." By J. Morris. 8vo. Croydon. 1875.

opportunity of indicating the geological relations of that locality to other districts, and thus, in brief, the general principles of stratigraphical geology. Such little sketches as these, when executed by the hand of a master, are of the greatest value, by leading those who would probably read geological manuals for ever without getting a single idea into their heads to a comprehension of great facts, through an intelligent consideration of the details which lie within their daily observation. Professor Morris's little pamphlet is illustrated with a coloured map and several woodcuts.

Of Professor Frey's "*Grundzüge der Histologie*"<sup>11</sup> we need scarcely say more than that it furnishes an excellent manual for medical students; whilst from the mode of treatment adopted, and the number of illustrations derived from other animals than man, it will be a useful book of reference to naturalists generally. The style adopted by the author is exceedingly clear, and the subject is arranged so as to carry on the reader very easily; his progress will also be facilitated by the great number of figures interspersed through the text.

A third edition of the English translation of Dr Pouchet's work, "*The Universe*,"<sup>12</sup> will be welcome at this season of gift-books. The main point of the book seems to be to contrast the phenomena of the infinitely great and the infinitely little, as is indicated by its second title; and with this view the author gives a rapid sketch of such portions of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and of the general facts of geology and astronomy, as suit his particular purpose. The science strikes us as being loose and often antiquated, and the style is, *more Gallico*, rather too magniloquent for English tastes. The book is illustrated with a great number of beautifully-executed woodcuts.

The sea, which possesses such a peculiar and mysterious fascination for all of us who are not too familiar with it, and has in all times been a favourite theme with poets, naturally furnished an admirable subject for one of those gushing, semi-scientific books that M. Michelet loves to write,—strange mixtures of science, love, sentiment, and anecdote,—such as we can easily imagine to be the delight of sentimental lads, and the still more numerous young ladies of a similar turn of mind. Accordingly "*La Mer*" forms a companion volume to "*L'Oiseau*," "*L'Insecte*," and "*La Montagne*," and Mr Davenport Adams has just published a translation of it.<sup>13</sup> The work is in the usual rhapsodical style of M. Michelet's writings of this class, and the somewhat difficult task of translating it has been very well performed, although we here and there meet with slight errors arising from imperfect knowledge of the subjects treated of. It need hardly be said that the science is not of the highest class. The book, which is well got up, and will be

<sup>11</sup> "*Grundzüge der Histologie, zur Einleitung in das Studium derselben.*" Vierundzwanzig Vorlesungen von Heinrich Frey. 8vo. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> "*The Universe; or the Infinitely Great and the Infinitely Little.*" By F. A. Pouchet, M.D. Third edition. 8vo. London: Blackie. 1875.

<sup>13</sup> "*The Sea.*" By Jules Michelet. 8vo. London: Nelson & Sons. 1875.

welcome at this season, is illustrated with several plates of marine views, apparently reproductions of drawings in Indian-ink.

Mr J. C. Southall believes that man made his first appearance on the earth about six thousand years ago. In support of this opinion, he has in his book, "*The Recent Origin of Man*,"<sup>14</sup> subjected the evidence upon which modern geologists and anthropologists have assigned to the human race a much earlier origin to a detailed discussion, in which he has certainly, with considerable ingenuity, made the most of the objections that can be raised to the calculations upon which a very high antiquity has been assigned to the human race. Although we do not think he has made out his case, his book evidences an immense amount of research, and will be read with much interest and advantage even by those who do not accept his conclusions. It is illustrated with numerous wood-engravings.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

DR RINK'S "*Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*"<sup>1</sup> is a most interesting work, and one that will certainly be much studied, and make an epoch in our knowledge of our quaint brethren of the North. Dr Rink has spent many years among the Hyperboreans in the service of his Government, and thus has been able to make a very excellent collection. He first published it in Danish in 1866; a second series followed in 1871; and now the whole appears in our own tongue, admirably translated by Dr Rink himself. A book of this kind is not only a new pleasure, as opening up for us another literature (if we may use the phrase), but is of scientific value in its bearing on the theories of prehistoric man. For while, as Dr Rink well observes, the study of that subject has hitherto been based on weapons and other material objects which have been found in the earth, it would be far more conclusive if we can find some relic of the intellectual life of the most ancient times still surviving. Such a survival could be found only among a people which had remained in the same stage of advancement, and in a state of isolation from other peoples, for an immeasurable period. These conditions occur in the case of the Eskimo. This people occupies about five thousand miles of coast between Labrador and Behring Strait. Their southern limit of latitude is between 50° and 60°; and they have been found almost as far to the north as navigators have yet penetrated, Dr Rink thinking it

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<sup>14</sup> "*The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archæology.*" By James C. Southall. 8vo. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.

<sup>1</sup> "*Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo.*" By Dr Henry Rink. Translated from the Danish by the author. Edited by Dr Robert Brown. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons.



possible that other bands may be found still further north. Their living is derived entirely from hunting and fishing, and they invariably dwell on the coast. They are semi-nomadic, generally wintering in the same place for many years, and moving about under tents during the summer in quest of reindeer, seal, and sometimes trade. Men and women dress in trousers and jacket of fur, with high boots. Dr Rink illustrates his book with some very interesting woodcuts, drawn and engraved for him in Greenland; but most of our readers will remember the singular costumes of the Eskimo women in the sketches from the Arctic Expedition published in the illustrated journals a few weeks back. The Eskimo house consists of a large, low, square room, built of stone and turf, approached by a sort of low tunnel in the middle of one side. Around the other three sides of the interior runs a ledge, which forms the sleeping-place. From one to four families (from ten to twenty persons) occupy such a house. The necessaries, such as cooking utensils, a large boat, sledges, winter stores, and the like, are owned in common by the inmates of the house. Personal property consists generally of fishing implements, and the kayak or small fishing-boat. Soap-stone and whalebone are the materials of which most of their utensils are made. Objects of metal are of course very precious. Their weapons are darts and spears, to which they generally attach a small bladder, for the double purpose of impeding the prey when struck, and also of saving the weapon when it has been thrown unsuccessfully. They are accustomed to kill even birds with a spear thrown from the hand. Monogamy is almost everywhere the rule; but divorce and taking a second wife are freely practised. A newly-married pair usually resides with the parents of one party; and a resident mother-in-law takes *de jure* that commanding position which she holds only *de facto* with us. The laws or customs are curious. There appears to be no idea of a central authority. The father, of course, is supreme in the house; but the hamlet, or collection of houses, has no government save the general consent. The laws respecting found floating wood or wounded animals, and those generally relating to hunting, are very quaint. One singular rule is, that if a man borrows a tool or weapon, and loses or injures it, he is not responsible to the owner. There are no law-courts, nor any regular system of punishment for wrong-doing beyond the reproach of public opinion. It should be remembered that offences against property, which form the largest class of crimes among us, are almost impossible among the Eskimo from their poverty. Their gentle demeanour, also, makes quarrels rare. For a serious act of violence private vengeance would be exacted. They hold the soul to be immortal, and incline to the doctrine of transmigration. The world is ruled by various supernatural beings, each having his own locality. There is a world above the sky, and another beneath the earth; and these are the abodes of the dead. Contrary to our notion, the under world, being sheltered, is fruitful, and is the home of the blessed: the upper world, which is cold and barren, is reserved for the wicked. There is an indistinct idea of a supreme being, who

grants to certain men, called *angakok*, a sort of mediumship or control over the ordinary deities for purposes of good. Witchcraft, or a secret understanding with some supernatural power for selfish or wicked purposes, also prevails. The dead are free to revisit the earth, where they manifest themselves by whistling, or by a singing in the ears, and sometimes, more ominously, by a bodily appearance. The sun is a female, and the moon a man, as is generally the Northern theory. On the way to the moon dwells a dreadful woman, who tears out the entrails of those whom she can cause to laugh. Prayer, amulets, and fasting are the principal means of averting evil. A child is generally named, as with many other nations, after his grandfather. To make him a mighty hunter, his father eats with a boot under his plate; and when he is a year old, his mother licks him all over, a practice doubtless imitated from the neighbouring bears. The *angakok* possess a power of summoning spirits; and of flying through the air, which very closely resembles the feats of our own Mrs Guppy and Mr Home. The *angakok*, with his head tied between his legs, is placed on the floor of a dark room; the spirit arrives with a flash of light, and answers questions in the hearing of those present at the *séance*. If the *angakok* flies, he goes through a hole in the roof. It is not quite decided whether his body flies, or whether his soul goes alone, in which case the Eskimo has not nearly reached our pitch of civilisation. But he equals us, and resembles us closely, in one particular: no lights are allowed until the spirit has departed, and then the *angakok* is found untied. The Eskimo of the Danish districts have become Christians. By a happy adaptation, their old supreme being has been identified with the European devil: and as their hell was in the skies, they have constructed a heaven above and beyond this. Dr Rink considers the Eskimo to be akin rather to the American Indian than to the Asiatic. As will be seen, their stories speak of themselves as "coast-people," in distinction to the only foreigners they know, who are "inlanders." The tales in this volume are all short and very simple, as might be expected. There is a fair strain of poetry running through them, and they occasionally show literary art. Thus a man who went out to pray for strength "stood *between two high mountains*, and called out, 'Lord of strength, come forth.'" They refer mainly to fishing, hospitality, and struggles with the "inlanders." They contain a good deal of witchcraft. Human beings are frequently turned into animals, and *vice versa*. There is also a great deal of killing; and this severe treatment is occasionally applied in a way which seems to us hardly logical. The stories make remarkably little mention of love, or of any incidents connected therewith. When marriage is mentioned, it is generally a mere question of taking a helpmate. We recommend this excellent book to all who are interested in ethnology or in primitive literature. We must not pass over the clear notes on the Eskimo tongue.

Two enormous volumes of Memoir and Correspondence of the unfortunate painter Haydon<sup>2</sup> have just been brought out by one of his sons.

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<sup>2</sup> "Benjamin Robert Haydon: Correspondence and Table-talk." With Memoir by his son, F. W. Haydon. London: Chatto & Windus.

The work fills us with deep regret. It was one which did not require doing at all, and it has been done at such extraordinary length as to fill three or four times the bulk of Stanley's *Arnold*. And this, when we knew all that we need to know of Haydon from the extracts from his *Journals* published by Mr Tom Taylor several years ago. But far worse than the size of the work is the tone in which it has been written. We are sometimes tempted to wish that, as good taste does not prevent persons from writing memoirs of very near relatives, a law might do so. The hapless subject of this work, B. R. Haydon, was a man of whom it was most desirable that something should be known. With all his faults he combined virtues, and with his folly, wisdom; and his sufferings were more than sufficient to condone his errors. His career and his teaching are interesting and highly instructive. The present work was, however, rendered unnecessary by the publication of part of his *Journals* mentioned above. An autobiography or journal is not generally a high-class book. A really great man could hardly, perhaps, write his own life. The professedly autobiographical work of Goethe hardly deserves the name. But it is certain that an ordinary man who will take the trouble to keep a true and candid journal will always produce a very readable book. Evelyn, Pepys, Rousseau, at once rise to our mind, with Cicero and Montaigne, among men who wrote much of themselves without intending it. And the more personal the journal is, the more generally interesting it will be. After all, from none of us is anything *humani alienum*. Though a man cannot judge himself, yet he knows his own acts and feelings better than another; and if he will honestly put these on paper, we get something that we can get in no other way. Not to his friend, not to himself does a man speak as Rousseau speaks in his "Confessions." He veils what he knows to be base; and the mere conventionalities of human intercourse prevent him from talking of "my grand bald head"—"my talents! my energy!"—"the professorship, . . . for which I am certainly the most fit man in England,"—all which phrases occur in poor Haydon's journals. So that if we would study the springs which move us, the inmost thoughts and wishes which result in our countless forms of folly, vanity, selfishness, and crime, we can look only into some candid, unprompted confession—or into ourselves. Such a confession are Haydon's *Journals*, which are not sufficiently quoted in this work. In them the man shows himself, both as he was and as he believed himself to be. The style is admirable; it is lively and terse. How much is contained in these lines apropos of a visit to the sea in 1831—

"It is five years since we were at the sea—some of the children never saw it. Twice I have been imprisoned; and though I thought it was a little at the expense of principle to go without settling all my bills, yet as my income is current, and all depends on my talents and the developing of them in health, it may be excused."

This little paragraph is a history of his life, and an analysis of his philosophy. This luckless man was born in 1786. He early devoted



himself to art, and was firmly convinced that life-sized historical paintings were almost exclusively worthy of the name. Such he painted. At the outset of his career he embroiled himself with the Academy, with which he warred all his life. He found considerable patronage, although, from their size, his pictures appealed to a very limited class. From his bankruptcy balance-sheet of 1836 it appears that in no year after his twenty-fourth did he fail to make a handsome income. In Brussels the visitor finds a collection of paintings by a man of similar views, whose career was very different. Wirz would paint none but colossal pictures. When, however, he found that these would not sell, being unwilling to give up his idea, he devoted his evenings to painting cheap portraits; and on the scanty profits of these labours he and his good mother lived an heroically frugal life, while he still gave his best powers to the realisation of his idea, and worked patiently on until name and fame found him. His works, now public property, are permanently exhibited in the studio which the State built for him. But Haydon, who received ample money, was always in difficulties. Twice made bankrupt, constantly arrested or subjected to executions, always forestalling the price of every picture, after years of awful suffering he was driven to suicide. It is a melancholy and improving story, this tragedy of Micawber, with its wondrous mixture of talent, folly, self-will, pride, and humiliation, all related by its subject. Nothing is hidden: his agonies, his begging-letters, his occasional spitefulness and ingratitude, his very prayers—all are there. And so full an exhibition of any human being is useful. Haydon's Journals will be readable long after the Greville Memoirs are forgotten. People will soon cease to care how William IV. conducted himself at table; but, as long as suffering and poverty shall last, we shall always desire with fear to know their results upon the heart of a man. The following passage has lately justified itself:—

“D'Orsay tells me Greville keeps a regular daily journal of everything he sees and hears. If he does, God help his friends! for if he records as he talks, he will put down a great deal of what he neither sees nor hears, but suspects.”

It may be observed that in the Journals of Haydon we get better glimpses even of Greville's world than are to be found in the much-talked-of Memoirs. O'Connell said to Haydon during a sitting—“How could the Government expect, after the character and publicity I gained by emancipation, I could relapse into a poor barrister? Human vanity would not permit it.” O'Connell's private room, with a “shirt hanging by the fire, a hand-glass tied to the window-bolt, papers, hats, brushes, wet towels, and dirty shoes, gave intimation of ‘dear Ireland.’” There is a capital description of the Duke of Wellington's rage with Bailey, the sculptor, who came late to an engagement: “he lifted both his hands above his white head, and cursed all sculptors and painters, declaring he had sat 400,000 times to artists.” Haydon himself had a very curious correspondence with the Duke. We have devoted much of our little space to Haydon, hoping that we shall induce some of our readers to turn to his Journals.

This Memoir contains little that is new, and rather blackens what was already dark in Haydon's character. The artist had a wretched squabble with Sir Robert Peel. He asked him £100 for a picture, and afterwards took it into his head that it was worth 500 guineas. Peel paid £130, and declined further correspondence. Of course Haydon soon felt that he was in the wrong; he said so; and twelve years later he writes in his journals, six days before his death, when Peel had sent him £50 for his relief—"And this Peel is the man who has no heart!" A few months earlier, Peel had given an appointment to the artist's eldest son. He also subscribed liberally for the bereaved family afterwards. And now the present editor (another son), audaciously writes—"I believe Peel had conceived so much regret and vexation over the 'Napoleon,' that nothing but the disgrace of Haydon could cancel his own want of generosity by covering Haydon with shame." Why should a son dishonour his father by thus reviving an error of which the latter had repented? Why, thirty years after that troubled spirit has had peace, does he renew the foolish boasting which cost his father so dear, and which so diminished his utility to the world? Why does he tell us that his father used to insert in the Litany at family prayers a petition for his own health "for the sake of the art of his country"? Is there no such thing as decency?

We may find much that is interesting, if the Memoir is avoided, and the attention limited to the Table-talk and Correspondence. With more liberty we should like to comment on the many points on which Haydon was a wise teacher, and on which his ideas have been carried out, or are growing in weight. Among the latter was his opposition to the Royal Academy, which is becoming sufficiently general to disturb that body, unless they speedily discover that Providence does not invariably keep exactly forty first-rate artists in England. Among his realised ideas are art-professorships at the universities, and the public encouragement of art (as well by the municipalities of Liverpool and other large towns, as by the Government); and we must always regret that Haydon did not devote himself to Letters, in which he would have shone, instead of Art, in which he now confessedly holds no high place.

The "Autobiography of Sir John Rennie"<sup>3</sup> is an excellent sketch of a useful and honourable life. Having been written from memory, shortly before the author's death, it naturally affords none of the details of facts and sayings, or of the exhibitions of character or sensations, which often make a very ordinary diary attractive. John Rennie was born in 1794, the son of a civil engineer, who built Southwark and Waterloo Bridges. Among his early schoolfellows were Shelley and Dean Milman. Being intended for his father's profession, he was removed from school early, and received his further education from masters while acquiring a knowledge of his future work. At the age of twenty-three he started on a tour of two years over the whole South

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<sup>3</sup> "Autobiography of Sir John Rennie, F.R.S." London: E. & F. N. Spon.

of Europe, and these travels are pleasantly described. He returned to England in 1821, just in time to witness his father's death. He succeeded to most of his father's professional engagements, notably to that for removing and rebuilding London Bridge. This great work at once brought him into eminence; and his life from this time is the record of the chief engineering operations in England, we might almost say in Europe, varied with fresh and intelligent narratives of travel. With reference to London Bridge, it is worthy of note that the City Corporation wished to repair the old bridge, and not build a new one; just as to-day, they appear to favour the least thorough plan for enlarging Rennie's work. The book is written throughout in an extremely pleasing and modest manner. While it will have a special value in encouraging or warning the civil engineer, it will be found a book of very general interest.

Messrs Chatto & Windus publish a handsome edition in one volume of Grammont's *Memoirs*,<sup>4</sup> with Scott's ample but necessary notes. The book abounds in portraits of Charles's II. beauties, the plates of which are generally fair, though by no means in their best state. This is a book which has survived so long in French and English, that one would imagine it contained something of power or interest. But we find it very difficult to light upon anything which explains its long life. It is true that it mainly concerns itself with that apparently ever-fresh subject, the breach of the Seventh Commandment; but, unless this be the one good thing of which we cannot have too much, we should say the book is dull. Grammont, being dismissed from the French court, came over here, and spent some years among the intrigues of that worthless crew, the court of Charles II. His friend and brother-in-law, Hamilton, undertook the dirty work of recording what Grammont did, said, and saw. The book is written somewhat in the style of the long romances of the seventeenth century, and is a little more interesting than Homer's list of the ships. It does not even give us a good picture of that miserable court, or amuse us either with incidents or *bons-mots*: it limits itself to the chronicling of dull scandal about a parcel of loose maids-of-honour and demireps. It must be owing to the French being such persistent readers (and writers) of memoirs, especially when they are a little scandalous, that the book has survived so long. There is nothing in it so good as the story told of, and not by, Grammont and Hamilton. The former was hastening from England, when the latter overtook him at the seaport, and asked, "Haven't you forgotten something?" "To be sure," answered Grammont, "I forgot to marry your sister. Let us go and attend to that business at once." And they did.

Dr A. Deez has published some translations into German verse of Pope's "Essay on Man," "Epistle to a Lady," "Rape of the Lock," and "Eloisa to Abelard."<sup>5</sup> Pope himself was a translator, and it is gene-

<sup>4</sup> "Memoirs of Count Grammont." By Anthony Hamilton. Edited, with Notes, by Sir Walter Scott. London: Chatto & Windus.

<sup>5</sup> "Alexander Pope. Beitrag; nebst Proben Pope'scher Dichtungen." Von Dr Albrecht Deez. Leipzig: Mentzel.



rally agreed that his great work in this field is better as a poem than as a translation. The converse may be truly said of Dr Deez's work. The rendering is fairly accurate, but the language is rough, and sometimes forced. Two introductory essays, on our Augustan Age and on Pope, show our author to have read Macaulay and Thackeray carefully. But he is wrong in supposing that the Roman Catholics suffered anything worse than calumny in consequence of the Great Fire of London. He is probably thinking of the Titus Oates persecutions twelve years later. And as these were conducted with due legal forms, there was no mockery, as he asserts, in passing at the same time the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which, after all, introduced no new principles into English law. It is worthy of note that the popular suspicion of the Papist origin of the fire was not without some grounds. Hallam tells us that the *London Gazette* of August 30, 1666, mentions a Papist plan for firing the city on the 3d of September; and the fire actually broke out on the 2d. Very interesting is the paper on "Pope in Germany," calculated as it is to make an Englishman blush. When we remember that German literature was almost unknown here until well into this century, what must we feel on learning that an English edition of Pope in nine volumes was published at Berlin within twenty years of the poet's death? Several of his poems appeared in German during his lifetime, notably the "Lockenraub" by Gottsched's wife, or, as the title curiously has it, "Von Louisen, Adelgunden, Victorien Gottschedinn"! Lessing wrote, of course admirably, on Pope's philosophy. Not the least lively part of this treatise is a discussion of "Herr Hermann Hettner" as an authority on Pope, from which Herr Hettner certainly comes badly off. We regret to see in so respectable a book such a passage as this:—"England wird sich der Einsicht nicht entziehen können, dass das Liebäugeln mit einer Nation, die die Reste ihres Frankenthums absichtlich durch celtisches Wesen mehr und mehr überwuchern lässt, und welche den geschworenen Feinden des gesunden Fortschrittes, und zwar zum Theil wenigstens aus Hass gegen Deutschland, ihre ganze Zukunft in seltener Verblendung überantwortet, eine Verirrung gewesen ist für eine Nation, welche wie die Englische, an der Fortentwicklung menschlicher Civilization in so hervorragender Weise theilhaftig ist." This sentence is neither elegant German nor good sense. It is an assumption that England "liebäugelt" with France. It is an assumption that the errors of France are due to her forgetting the German part of her origin. And this constant abuse of France, which has at least a good excuse for disliking her conquerors for a time, is unworthy of, and ought not to be popular with, a great and successful nation.

The famous name of Thiers is upon three volumes which are before us. The first of these is a school edition, by Mr Bowen of Harrow, of Thiers' narrative of the Waterloo Campaign.<sup>6</sup> It is a neat and well-

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<sup>6</sup> "The Campaign of Waterloo." Extracted from Thiers' "History of the Consulate and Empire," and edited, with English Notes, by E. E. Bowen, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

printed volume ; and the notes seem to be correct (a remarkable thing to say of a schoolmaster's book), and, for the most part, well chosen. We cannot, however, but note, that if publishers had no interests apart from those of parents, fewer school-books and editions would be published, and this to the gain of the world. Here is a book—by a rare exception a good one—costing 4s. 6d., which will afford work for scarcely six months, and, as being an extract, will have no value after that. There was a time when a plain volume of Thiers' would not have been deemed meat too strong for a public-schoolboy ; but that was when less attention was paid to French. Surely a boy in the Modern School at Harrow knows, or could ascertain without the aid of a note, that Hanover belonged to our latest kings, what became of Murat, and something about the Netherlands. However, we admit that Mr Bowen's notes are fewer, as well as more accurate, than those of most recent school-editors. He pays great attention to questions of strategy, and has doubtless found from experience that this interests boys. We doubt, however, if military history, even when well studied, will inform as well as the thinkers and poets who were formerly read by all schoolboys.

The other volumes bearing Thiers' name are translations of his histories of the "Revolution,"<sup>7</sup> and of the "Consulate and Empire."<sup>8</sup> These are cheap editions, each in one large volume, fairly well printed. We greatly regret, however, to notice upon the title-pages, which are dated 1875, the words "Translated from the last Paris edition ;" because we find that the "History of the Consulate and Empire," while professing to be a complete work, is brought down only to 1807 ; whereas Thiers published the completing portion of the work at least a dozen years ago. Such a misstatement is particularly objectionable on a work evidently designed for the poorer classes of readers, because with them it is exceptionally likely to be misleading.

Three later numbers of Guizot's "History of France,"<sup>9</sup> translated by Mr R. Black, contain the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, the regency of Orleans, and the reign of Louis XV. down to the battle of Fontenoy. The narrative is clear and lively, and the translation is well done. The illustrations are of exceedingly high merit, and offer a noble challenge to our producers of books adorned with woodcuts. In comparing these with the illustrations of the "History of Protestantism," noticed on another page, we are forced to own with a blush that we are not keeping the high place which we once occupied in this branch of art. We note that *Morianus pro rege Maria Theresia* still lives in spite of Thomas Carlyle.

"The History of Protestantism,"<sup>10</sup> to which we now turn, is just

<sup>7</sup> "History of the French Revolution." By M. A. Thiers. Translated from the last Paris edition. London : Chatto & Windus.

<sup>8</sup> "History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon." Translated from the last Paris edition. London : Chatto & Windus.

<sup>9</sup> "The History of France." By M. Guizot. Translated from the French by R. Black, M.A. London : Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle.

<sup>10</sup> "The History of Protestantism. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, LL.D. Vol. I. London : Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

such a book as might be expected on that subject from a reverend doctor who announces himself as "Author of 'The Papacy,' 'Day-break in Spain,' &c." It might be supposed that a professional minister of one sect would be the last person to whom we ought to look for a history of another and a hostile sect. Many persons, however, in this favoured land will read the book with avidity, and will find just what they like in its shallow and vulgar tirade against everything connected with Roman Catholicism, and its silly laudation of everything and everybody of whom the author has ever heard of being opposed to that form of religion. This volume of 625 pages, professing to bring the history down to 1530, devotes 270 pages to a dull chronicle of Luther's doings, and a few pages to Wicliffe, the Hussites, the Lollards, and the movement in Switzerland. Ulrich von Hütten, Reuchlin, Savonarola, are barely named; and the same may be said of many others who ought to figure largely. The rest of the book is filled with extremely bad woodcuts of imaginary scenes, and long dull reflections, apparently drawn from a collection of very bad sermons. Dates are generally ignored; as when we read, "That which in Gregory VII.'s time, Arnold of Brescia, and the community of the Waldenses, Francis of Assisi, and the begging orders of the Minorites, strove after," &c. (p. 129). We are amusingly told (p. 338) that there were present at the Diet of Worms "six electors of the empire, most of whose descendants now wear the kingly crown." Probably three of these electors (certainly not more) were spiritual princes. Now as there are only about nine kingly crowns in Christendom, the families of the remaining three electors must have been singularly unprolific, if all their descendants in 350 years do not exceed seventeen in number. The book is quite worthless, and will on that account be less mischievous than it might have been.

The last volume of State Papers<sup>11</sup> issued under the direction of the Master of the Rolls is ably edited. It contains little of greater interest than that Oliver Cromwell attended eighty-one out of three hundred and nineteen Councils of State, and that to thirteen of these he came late. The Parliament and the Council took great pains over the etiquette of a city dinner to which they were invited, and at which the Speaker (under an Act) knighted the Lord Mayor and two of his predecessors. The Generals of the Fleet are instructed to "preserve the dominion of the sea, and to cause the ships of all other nations to strike their flags, and not to bear them up in your presence, and to compel such as are refractory therein, &c. But notwithstanding the said dominion of the sea be so ancient and indubitable, we would not have you in this expedition engage the fleet in any peril or hazard for that particular; so that if you should be opposed therein by a considerable force, then forbear the pressing thereof, and take notice who they were that did it not, that at some better opportunity they may be brought hereafter thereunto." A most discreet and business-like instruction.

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<sup>11</sup> "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1650." Edited by M. A. E. Green. London: Longmans & Co. and Trübner & Co.



The Sanson Memoirs<sup>12</sup> are a thin record of the chief crimes and executions at Paris for many years past. The book is stale, the French edition having been published several years since. It evidently contains many exaggerated or baseless statements. It affords no new or useful information; and is altogether a useless book, unfit for perusal by any save those who delight in crime and torture. The get-up of the book is good. We are sorry to notice this circumstance, because it betokens a taste in the wealthier classes for literature of the Newgate Calendar school.

A short memoir of the German sculptor Rietschel,<sup>13</sup> consisting in part of an autobiographical sketch, is well translated by Mrs Sturge. Rietschel's works which are best known to Englishmen are the monument of Goethe and Schiller at Weimar, and the Luther monument at Worms. He lived a quiet and respected life of fifty-six years, free from incident, and without any special lesson. The book was hardly worth translating.

We should have imagined that no one would care to possess a record of the "Monumental Inscriptions of the West Indies."<sup>14</sup> Captain Lawrence-Archer has, however, thought it worth while to publish in a magnificent volume, with abundant notes, all the epitaphs and armorial bearings which he could find or get found for him. Not one appears to be of the slightest interest, save that of a Littleton, in the statement of whose age the remarkable phrase "noveos menses" occurs. To mark his sense of this error, the author (we use his own term) omits the name from his index, and deservedly, we think. The author also considers that this inscription, on a namesake of the aforesaid—"Lyttleton, D.D., suae in vicinia sepultae filiulus ob. 1662," recalls those of the early Christians at Rome. The epitaph thus distinguished in the introduction is No. 87 in the book. It is perhaps advisable to compare it (though the author does not) with No. 85, which runs—"Hic situs est Henricus Lyttleton, D.D.—Caroli Littleton [sic] et Catharinae Uxoris—suae in vicinia sepultae filiulus semestris—obiit Febr. 1. A.D. 1662." Captain Lawrence-Archer's conscientiousness is shown by the fact, that in a book called "Monumental Inscriptions" he devotes several pages to the "Colonies from which no epitaphs have been obtained." This reminds us of the well-known chapter on the Snakes of Ireland; or of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, which entirely omits Article XXI., and then gravely proceeds with Articles XXII.—XXXIX. The book is very handsomely printed and bound.

"The American Genealogist"<sup>15</sup> is a *catalogue raisonné* of all American

<sup>12</sup> "Memoirs of the Sansons." Edited by Henry Sanson. London: Chatto & Windus.

<sup>13</sup> "Ernst Rietschel, the Sculptor." Autobiography, and Memoir by A. Oppermann. Translated from the German by Mrs G. Sturge. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

<sup>14</sup> "Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies." Chiefly collected on the spot. By Captain J. H. Lawrence-Archer. London: Chatto & Windus.

<sup>15</sup> "The American Genealogist. Being a Catalogue of Family Histories issued in the United States." By W. H. Whitmore. Third edition. Albany: Munsell.

publications bearing on pedigrees or family history. These publications would seem to be made for the sake of gratifying persons who claim descent from "somebody," and in some cases for the guidance of "claimants" of vast fortunes in this country. In fact, "claiming" appears to be a regular and well-organised business in America. The illustrious families of Brown, Holt, Wilson, Collins, Follansbee, Lawrence, Booth, Houghton, and Jennings, all believe themselves entitled to larger or smaller portions of Great Britain. The method in fashion is to form a sort of joint-stock association of persons of the name. The association subscribes money for the "expenses," and presumably some one receives this money. The estate is not gained; but, as no one is condemned to penal servitude, this form of gambling is comparatively harmless. Mr Whitmore is evidently a most enthusiastic and painstaking genealogist; and his remarks on the various publications are very sound and concise. He speaks very plainly when the publication is pretentious or wrong; and he speaks very plainly very often. It is worthy of notice that nineteen genealogical publications were issued in the United States in 1873, and twenty-one in 1874. Is there in that land of equality still a hankering after "birth" and coats-of-arms, just as all reasonable people of all ranks here are giving them up?

We give a cordial welcome to the two somewhat ponderous volumes in which Mr Ward gives us a sketch of the history of "Dramatic Literature"<sup>16</sup> from its origin to the close of the reign of Queen Anne. And we welcome them, not because they excite in us much pleasure or afford much stimulus, for indeed they are at first rather dull; nor as in any way models of English, for they bear evidence of hasty composition, and the writing is at the same time involved and slipshod. But Mr Ward has "with no common love" made himself thoroughly master of a history requiring for its proper treatment most laborious study and great patience in detail, and has brought to bear upon it a critical faculty sometimes, we venture to think, at fault, but always candid and impartial. He has undoubtedly produced a most valuable book of reference in a field where it was much needed, and though we are inclined to wish that he had confined himself more to simple history, and had devoted less time to actual criticism and didactic writing, we cannot but feel that this book is likely to be of permanent benefit.

Mr Ward's account of the origin and gradual development of the Mystery plays is clear, and the continual tendency of the drama to emancipate itself from Church control is well observed throughout the whole work. In chapter ii., he deals with the "beginning of the English regular drama," which he places at the distinct separation of tragedy and comedy, about 1520. He considers that the tragic and comic dramas were already, potentially at least, in existence, and that they needed only the quickening impulse of classic and Italian literature to spring into luxuriant life. Though still under this

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<sup>16</sup> "A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne." By Adolphus William Ward, M.A., Fellow of St Peter's College, Cambridge, &c. Macmillan & Co. 1875.

influence, our drama became national — independent, that is, so far as its essentials of foreign sources were concerned—at the moment when the dire danger of the Armada had, as it were, compressed the latent patriotism of the country into that which we call nationality. It was then that our literature leaped without pause from mediocrity to sublimity; that Madge Mumblecheek and Gammer Gurton gave way to Hamlet and Malvolio. In his chapter on Shakespeare's predecessors, Mr Ward reads us a lecture on the popular prejudice, stereotyped in "*The Monastery*," on the subject of Euphuism, and though we think that he has overrated the effect of the prevailing fashion upon the mind of Shakespeare, he almost makes us believe that perhaps Lyly and his followers did good service. The rest of the chapter is mainly taken up with an appreciative analysis of the plays of Marlowe and Greene.

It is with the pages devoted to Shakespeare that we quarrel most, not because they are uninformative, for that is not the case, but because on a subject on which, even when they talk nonsense, commentators are enthusiastic, Mr Ward is dull. And this is specially hard, for in some places—as, for example, when he discusses the Ireland forgeries—he makes determined efforts to be humorous. The subsidiary remarks on the separate plays which close this chapter are clear and instructive, and we think he shows good judgment in deciding upon the Shakespearian authorship of the first two acts of "*Edward III.*," though we cannot share the intense delight which he expresses in Mr Collier's somewhat confident ascription of the whole play to Shakespeare.

Jonson is, we think, treated more adequately; and the chapter devoted to him appears the most thoughtful, as it is one of the most readable, in the book.

The second volume is divided into four sections—the later Elizabethans, Beaumont and Fletcher, the end of the old drama, the later Stuart drama. To Chapman, Middleton, and especially Heywood, Mr Ward pays a high tribute of praise, giving at length his reasons against Charles Lamb's characterisation (a favourite and disagreeable word of Mr Ward's) of him as "*a prose Shakespeare.*" The judgment passed upon Beaumont and Fletcher is, we think, just, and the following quotation will serve as a fair example of our author's best style:—

"The littleness of their age, not its better aspirations, reflects itself in their plays. It was an age of tyrants and their favourites; of evil counsellors and evil counsels; . . . of the decay of principles and beliefs. . . . Beaumont and Fletcher breathed a corrupt atmosphere, without, as far as we can see, aspiring after rarer and purer air. The national history was to them a source neither of indignant contrast nor of cheering consolation; and of the book of nature they were contented to turn but a few leaves. They were moved by no force of genius or of character to go deeper or soar higher than the age demanded. They neither inherited the divining-rod of Shakespeare, nor laboured with the mattock of Ben Jonson."



Mr Ward shows, especially in the few pages devoted to Milton, a clear appreciation of the fact<sup>1</sup> that while the phrase the "Empire of Literature" has a very distinct meaning (shown, perhaps, in the history of the eighteenth century renaissance in Germany more than elsewhere), yet the literature of a country is either the precursor or the contemporary outcome of its political condition.

We have given what we consider a specimen of the author's best style. He will pardon us if we express a hope that, when a second edition is called for, he will "with no common love" reconsider his English style, and rigidly examine his proofs; that he will not, for example, talk of "taking stock" of such and such plays, and will spare the efforts of mind necessary for the dissection of phrases such as "a still more emphatically unprecedented accuracy," or "a supposed superior literary taste." It is one thing to admire the condensed character of German essay writing, and another to reproduce it literally. A reader, however dull, ought not to be *compelled* to read twice through any passage; such, however, is continually the case in the two volumes before us.

Of the making of school histories there is no end. We are bound to say that the progress of development is an upward one. The school histories of to-day are no more like those of our youth than the modern public schoolmaster is like Dr Blimber. It is unfortunate for Mr Bright's history,<sup>17</sup> which is in many respects well worthy of his reputation, that it has been anticipated by the publication of Mr Greene's "History of the English People." The original nature of the design of the latter, and the really interesting character of the writing, will, we expect, make it, despite its inconvenient size and type, a favourite text-book with students of more advanced standing. Mr Bright, by retaining the familiar divisions of reigns, and by introducing here and there a chapter of considerable length on the social history of the country, instead of the usual two or three paragraphs, has produced a book which, as it tends more to formulate knowledge, is perhaps better adapted to the minds of boys of from fourteen to seventeen years of age. As the early writings of a nation emerging from barbarism usually confine themselves to records of deeds, and show small appreciation of changes, social and permanently progressive, influencing and influenced by political changes; so a boy's mind is seldom able to interest itself in or to understand such changes. That they should have that which, immediately that they can so appreciate, will afford them the materials and the path for thought is to be desired, and that, we think, Mr Greene has afforded better than Mr Bright.

The one volume which has already appeared carries us from the first Jutish settlement of 449 to the end of the reign of Richard III. The two or three plans of battles, and the maps at the end which

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<sup>17</sup> "English History for the use of Public Schools." By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, M.A., Fellow of University College, &c. Rivingtons. 1875

show the English possessions in France, are clear; so are the numerous and useful genealogies—the “who’s who?” of the history. Mr Bright has, however, fallen into the error universal in the relation of the early part of English history—an error of which Mr Freeman is the great apostle—and has made his story “dark with excess of light” by crowding it with names. Having written this sentence from general impression, we began to count the names on the first page which caught our eye, and we stopped when we had counted thirty.

Major E. R. Jones, United States Consul at Newcastle-on-Tyne, has published three interesting essays on Lincoln, Stanton, and Grant,<sup>18</sup> to whom he attributes the chief credit of the conquest of the South. Nothing which touches upon that unparalleled struggle can fail to be interesting. The day, however, has not yet come when we can look at it from a sufficient distance to be able to see it as a whole; the fragmentary glimpses that we now have are splendid. The unconscious way in which the Northern people glided into the fearful contest; their want of skill and preparation, and consequent humiliating defeats; their stern resolution to fight it out to the bitter end; and the unfaltering perseverance with which this resolution was carried out—all these make that war one of the most astounding on record. But it was also one of the most sublime. We do not know here how common a thing it was for old wealthy men to send son after son to fall and rot on the burning plains beyond Washington. These were men who lived in seclusion from the public eye, men who never mingled in political action, who were, therefore, not actuated by any desire of ostentation. No. The whole North, from one reason or another, made up its mind to quell the rebellion; and the individual citizens sacrificed life, love, wealth, and prospects lavishly in carrying out the popular will. We believe that history affords no example of the highest patriotism so widely spread. And it was not only material sacrifices that were made. With the design of prosecuting the war, the majority of the nation absolutely abandoned its opinion on slavery. With that design the people, who are of all peoples, except ourselves, the proudest of their freedom, submitted willingly to a despotic yoke for years; and re-elected to a second term in the presidency a man who was not popular at the time. They had the confidence in themselves to feel that despotism would not last among them longer than might be beneficial; and they knew that their action could be better continued under the man who had begun it, popular or not, than under any other. Their whole conduct, marred as it was by many little inconsequent errors and follies, was a wonderful exhibition of the strong common sense that has somehow so often guided our race. Setting aside any question of abstract justice, the North believed in their cause, and acted on their belief; and did this in a manner and with a result that must make them and their children’s children proud for ever. We, too,

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<sup>18</sup> “Lincoln, Stanton, and Grant. Historical Sketches.” By Major Evan Rowland Jones. London: Frederick Warne & Co.

may be proud of kinsmen who could carry out their mind so well. Let us hope that the day, certain to come, will come soon when those kinsmen will pay to our demeanour during their struggle a fuller justice than they have hitherto shown. Major Jones' accounts of Lincoln and Grant are pleasantly compiled and written. They do not add to our knowledge. It is perhaps hardly advisable for a man to write a biography of another living man, whose servant he is. Lincoln's life has yet to be written; but it cannot be well written for many years. As we have said with reference to the war, so with this man, some distance in time is necessary in order to bring him into proper focus. Hereafter, when the effusive "Honest Old Abe," and the accumulation of sorry and unauthentic "little stories," shall have dropped from off his name, and the real man Lincoln shall stand forth, we shall be surprised if he be not confessed a really great man—a man with the right instinct, the right sympathy, and the right conception of duty. Major Jones' essay says much of him that is very pleasant to read, with some statements about Lord Hartington which, we must hope, are incorrect. The chief merit of this book is, we think, its assigning to Stanton a more commanding position than he has heretofore held. As Lincoln's War Minister, he had to perform a task such as that of Carnot. And when we think how vast were the armies levied, under what difficult circumstances they were maintained, and last, but not least, with what ease they were finally dissolved, we feel that there must have been a master-mind directing this work for a patriotic people. If the Minister did not receive due fame or reward for his services, we must bear in mind that it is quite the rule for successful generals to be rewarded and flattered to such an extent as to eclipse all other candidates for national favour. Moreover, Stanton probably suffered by a silly story, current in 1865, of his being on bad terms with the second of the victorious soldiers, Sherman. It is not a little touching to read that Stanton, through whose hands had passed for many years the countless millions so lavishly expended on the war, left office an extremely poor man. Grant could judge what Stanton's services as War Minister had been; and one of his earliest acts as President was to appoint him to high office. Unfortunately Stanton did not live to act in it. We are glad to welcome and recommend Major Jones' book as very readable and interesting; and, beyond this, to thank him for his useful act of justice to Stanton.

Mr Ewald's *Biography of the Young Pretender*<sup>19</sup> is likely to dispel any romantic illusions about that deservedly luckless man which may perchance still exist. It is, indeed, extraordinary that he should ever have been regarded with any other feeling than contempt. In the "Forty-five" he doubtless conducted himself fairly. His age, his appearance, and the circumstances combined to create popularity for him among his followers, and he acted well enough to retain it during that brief campaign. Had he had the good fortune

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<sup>19</sup> "Life and Times of Prince Charles Stuart." By A. C. Ewald. London: Chapman & Hall.



to die then, he would, as Mr Ewald says, have left a bright reputation. But, with the hereditary ill-luck of his race, he lived, and lived only to wallow in the mire of a degraded old age. Mr Ewald's narrative begins with an exhibition of very remarkable obstinacy on the part of the Old Pretender, a quality which the son inherited, and displayed on many occasions—notably in his treatment of the Highland Chiefs in 1745, and in his conduct towards the French Government after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. After a somewhat unnecessary apology for calling the Prince by his right name, Mr Ewald gives a view of the state of the family. He surprises us greatly by asserting that Charles was above the average in culture and capacity. His wonderful reason for this opinion is that all the contemporary writers whom he quotes state the contrary. The wretched spelling of Charles's letters he gets over by showing that the Duke of Newcastle and several other persons spelt no better. And this reminds us that several of Charles's letters in this book appear to have been translated into good English. In an historical work it is far better to reproduce the original form, even to a misspelling. Mr Ewald himself, however, is not altogether without reproach on the point of orthography. He repeatedly mentions the *Infanta* Don Philip; and also speaks several times of the Prince's stay at *Gavelines*. The ghost of Egmont would be justified in rising at this. The book shows carelessness in some places. Virgil wrote *in utrumque paratus*, not *utrumque paratus* (ii. 69). After being told that the Prince was supposed to be courting the Duke de Bouillon's sister-in-law, we are informed, a few pages later, that he went to the Duke's seat with a view of marrying Madame de Bouillon herself; in which case the Duke's complacency is remarkable even in the France of the eighteenth century. It is hardly necessary to tell us that pamphleteers are "hostile to the errors of a government," as most classes of society share that feeling. However, to turn away from petty errors, Mr Ewald gives a fair account of the "Forty-five." He is evidently in sympathy with the Prince here, though not irrationally so. We do not agree with him as to Cumberland's severity after victory. On this point too much has been said on one side. The action of the Government after the suppression of the rebellion we consider to have been wise, and distinctly merciful, though Mr Ewald thinks differently. Firmness was necessary, because there was every probability of a renewal of the attempt; and the country owes much to the fact that Charles and his brother left no issue. Mr Ewald attributes Charles's reluctance to marry to some illicit passion. He was hardly the man to treat a mistress with very great consideration; and it is more probable that he hesitated because he could not gain the hand of any royal princess, and was unwilling to lower himself in English eyes by an inferior match. The girl he married at fifty was not, as is here hinted, of "blood blue enough" for a king of England. Charles's obstinacy in refusing to quit France at the King's repeated request, and his absurd sense of injury when he was forcibly expelled, show us what sort of king he would have made. It is very

quaint, if it be true, that crimson silk cord was provided for binding him when arrested. We could wish that Mr Ewald had thrown a clearer light on the question of Charles's visit to London. It is undoubted that he came here in 1750; but whether he came again in 1753 or 1754, or in both years, is still uncertain. The witnesses quoted by Mr Ewald might well be alluding in mistake to the visit of 1750. It ought to be comparatively easy to procure some information of his doings in London, but unfortunately most of the Stuart records are not very accessible. Especially desirable is it to set at rest the question of Charles's abjuration of the Roman Catholic faith. The miserable story of his drunken and quarrelsome age is told with due brevity, and the book closes with an account of the later career of his widow. It is a pleasant surprise to find George IV. acting as a gentleman for once in his life, in his relations with Cardinal York. Mr Ewald might be more generous and more accurate with his dates and with his authorities. Charles was hardly escorted from Vincennes to the borders of Savoy on the 17th December. And is it true that the British Government threatened to bombard Civita Vecchia if Charles were allowed to remain at Avignon? (ii. 193). It seems to us that they could not have wished him in a better place. We would also advise him, when writing history, to abandon the practice of putting long, dull, imaginary soliloquies into the mouths of his persons. It is lawful to suggest motives for acts if it be done within reasonable limits; but it is not to be borne that the narrative be interrupted with two or three dull pages of Mr Ewald's reflections introduced with such a preface as, "Surely amongst these there must have been some who . . . felt ready to cry out——." The book is not a valuable contribution to our historical literature; but it is a very readable narrative of an interesting career.

Messrs Chatto & Windus publish in a goodly volume the best old translations of all the works which are, with more or less right, attributed to Xenophon.<sup>20</sup> The book is furnished with a good index, and is well printed. We are a little surprised to find that there is any demand for such a book; but if it be so, it can only be a matter for congratulation. The *Cyropædia* is undoubtedly an excellent work, if regarded from the romantic side; it is written in a lively style, and contains many reflections, which are of peculiar interest in these days, when every one is talking of education. Xenophon is, we fancy, losing the position he once had, of being the first book on which the young student of Greek was turned loose after his *Delectus*.

[In consequence of the lamented and unexpected death of an honoured contributor, many important works which have been sent to us must stand over for review in our next Number.]

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<sup>20</sup> "The Complete Works of Xenophon." Translated by Ashley and others. London: Chatto & Windus.

BELLES LETTRES.

MRS HUNT'S new novel<sup>1</sup> shows a great improvement, both as regards style, plot, and character-drawing, over its predecessors. Still it is far from perfect. Some years ago there were published in *Blackwood's Magazine* some articles on Miss Austen, written by a well-known critic. We wish that ladies could be persuaded to study them. They dealt principally with the evolution of the plot. They showed that whatever was superfluous in its development, however clever and graceful it might be, was a mistake from the artist's point of view. Now the great fault which we have to find with "This Indenture Witnesseth," is that many chapters of it are unfinished and, so to speak, ragged. They want pruning down, if not rewriting. Mrs Hunt cannot hope to rise to the highest rank of novelists until she takes more pains in this matter than she does. Only great novelists like Thackeray and Fielding can afford to neglect what has been called the "law of economy" in novel-writing. Mrs Hunt shows, in a greater degree, the same powers in her present tale as she has done before. We meet with the same touch, but lighter; the same satire, but more powerful; the same graceful description of scenery, and the same character-drawing, but more intensified. Nothing, for instance, can well be more charming in its way than this pre-Raphaelite description of Minsteracres Park—

"The leaves were all opening, the ground strewn with pink-striped caps and mantles, which had wrapped the tender buds from the wintry cold, and now the sycamore flaunted its broad leaf in full liberty, the limes waved myriads of green shields in your eyes, the chestnut raised its tent-like pyramids, and the poplars and ash-trees leisurely unfolded their gummy spikes of olive-red, and all were so bright, so fresh, so full of captured sunbeams, that the mere sight of them made it a happiness to be alive" (vol. i. p. 165).

Now this, in its way, is very beautiful, but it is not of the highest order of writing. It is too photographic to be truly poetical. We miss the fusing-power of the imagination. On the other hand, it is so much above the ordinary writing of the Mudie novelist, that Mrs Hunt deserves high praise. She has evidently high poetic power, which only requires cultivation for its full development. She revels in describing such a place as Minsteracres Hall, a sort of Hardwicke and Haddon combined, with its great bay-windows, and its deep-shadowed angles, and grey stone walls crusted over with golden lichens, and its hall with its gigantic fireplace and elaborately-carved mantelpiece. Nor has Mrs Hunt lost her power of satire. Every one who read "Under Seal of Confession" will remember Philip Brereton's soliloquy, "I believe that if executions still took place in public, and a couple of duchesses happened to have a fancy to go to one, and engaged a commanding housetop, you would see every roof glittering with ladies, as if it were a flower-show." Mrs

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<sup>1</sup> "This Indenture Witnesseth." By Mrs Alfred W. Hunt, author of "Under Seal of Confession," "Thornecroft's Model," &c. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle. 1875.



Hunt, in her present tale, does not give us duchesses going to a hanging, but only ordinary folk. She might, however, without overstepping the bounds of probability, have given us such a scene. The trial of the Wainwrights has shown us what human nature still is amongst both lower and upper classes. The poor people whom Mrs Hunt describes may have some excuse for their morbid curiosity. But what can be said for those creatures described by the newspaper reporters as "fashionably-dressed ladies," who went day after day to the Wainwright trial? Can anybody for one moment doubt but that they would have been delighted to have also gone to the execution? Mrs Hunt's satire will fall lightly upon such creatures, but we are thankful to her for it. Women who go to Hurlingham to see pigeons slaughtered for mere amusement, and women who go decked out in the newest fashions to hear a wretched culprit condemned to be hung, are on the same level as those women who flocked to the circus to see gladiators murder each other in the lowest and most degraded days of the Roman Empire.

Mr M'Carthy<sup>2</sup> has long since established a reputation as a novelist. He brings with him the charm of freshness. He is able, too, to touch upon many matters of which the ordinary novelist is quite ignorant. Thus, he can treat politics with a light touch. Now this is by no means a common gift. The ordinary novelist, when he deals with politics, becomes as dreary as the debates in St Stephen's. Mr M'Carthy, too, can skate upon ice which would not bear others. Here, for instance, is a passage which, though of course highly improper, will hardly shock even Mrs Grundy—

"'Oh! Chopin is divine, a divinity!' Mrs Scagrams exclaimed. 'I hope he is, for some of you would be simply atheists without him,' her brother remarked. 'I do so love atheists,' said Mrs Scagrams, 'at least, I like them, they are so very interesting; but of course one is sorry for their opinions, you know—only they are so nice. I have met very delightful atheists'" (vol. i. p. 246).

Hitherto an atheist has only figured in novels, especially those of lady-novelists, as "the shocking example," to be killed in the last chapter of the last volume, under particularly awful circumstances. The same light touch may be observed in many other passages in Mr M'Carthy's story, especially in the third volume, when the actress with the golden hair is introduced. We strongly advise all readers to get Mr M'Carthy's new novel.

Miss Morley's "*Throstlethwaite*"<sup>3</sup> is, like everything she writes, both interesting and sensible. Mothers who are puzzled to know what to order for their daughters from Mudie's, cannot do better than send for "*Throstlethwaite*."

"*Onwards! But Whither?*"<sup>4</sup> contains some good sketches of

<sup>2</sup> "*Dear Lady Disdain*." By Justin M'Carthy, author of "*Linley Rochford*." London: Grant & Co. 1875.

<sup>3</sup> "*Throstlethwaite*." By Susan Morley, author of "*Aileen Ferrers*." London: Henry S. King & Co.

<sup>4</sup> "*Onwards! But Whither?*" By A. E. N. Bewicke. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.

foreign scenery and society, and every now and then raises hopes of something better than usual, but they come to nothing.

We must say that we like Mr Henry Kingsley's novels.<sup>5</sup> You can dip into them when you please, leave off, and then begin again where you like, and yet not injure the story. Mr Kingsley has thus a great advantage over all other novelists. "Number Seventeen" is no exception. You may begin at the last volume and read backwards, and you will understand quite as much as if you had begun at the beginning.

"St George and St Michael"<sup>6</sup> is by far the finest work of art which Mr Macdonald has produced. Mr Macdonald is a poet; and in this story he has had ample opportunity for showing his real powers. Few writers excel him, when at his best, in descriptive writing. We had marked several passages of great tenderness and delicacy for quotation, but unfortunately can find no space for them. We must content ourselves with expressing our admiration of a novel in which so many trying situations and so many opposite characters are introduced with such perfect success.

Mrs Macquoid's "The Evil Eye, and other Stories,"<sup>7</sup> may be recommended. The best of them is perhaps the story of Aunt Félicité. Mrs Macquoid's analysis of the feelings of disappointed love and jealousy is worked out with much truth and much skill.

The writer of "The Winter's Garden,"<sup>8</sup> shows, perhaps, hardly so much knowledge of a certain class of feelings as Mrs Macquoid, but she is by far the better artist. In Aunt Rachel we have a distant relative of Mrs Poyser's. The old farmer, too, is admirably sketched. But the best piece of character-painting is the little boy. His feelings when he comes to the farm—his pride, his solitude and curiosity—are all capitally worked out. "The Winter's Garden" is one of the few tales which in each successive chapter gathers interest, whilst the literary workmanship is so good that it will bear, what few novels do, reading over a second time.

Mr Call's "Reverberations"<sup>9</sup> will awaken many memories. It is now more than a quarter of a century since it appeared. Unlike Mr Call's "Golden Histories," it deals less with the sensuous aspects of nature. To the present edition Mr Call has prefixed an autobiography, which will explain much in these poems, although this is not its aim. What that aim is will be best gathered from the quotation from Mill which Mr Call has prefixed—

"On religion in particular, the time appears to me to have come when it is

<sup>5</sup> "Number Seventeen." A Novel. By Henry Kingsley, author of "The Hillyars and the Burtons," &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1875.

<sup>6</sup> "St George and St Michael." By George Macdonald, author of "Malcolm," "David Elginbrod," &c. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.

<sup>7</sup> "The Evil Eye, and other Stories." By Katharine S. Macquoid, author of "Patty." London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>8</sup> "A Winter Story." By the author of "The Rose-Garden," "Thorpe Regis." London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.

<sup>9</sup> "Reverberations Revised; with a Chapter from my Autobiography." By W. M. W. Call, M.A., author of "Lyra Hellenica," and "Golden Histories." London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

the duty of all who, being qualified in point of knowledge, have on mature consideration satisfied themselves that the current opinions are not only false but hurtful, to make their dissent serious."

Now, this sentence is really the keynote of Mr John Morley's admirable essay on "Compromise." In short, Mr Morley's volume is only an expansion of that sentence. And now Mr Call gives us his version of that sentence from another point of view. There is no necessity just now to speak of the peculiar charm which autobiographies possess above any other class of writing, especially when the writer takes us into his confidence, and tells us his most secret thoughts. This is what Mr Call has done. He tells us his most secret thoughts, not upon the trivial matters of the day, but upon the vital interests of life—upon, in fact, life itself. This autobiography relates to the struggle which so many sensitive natures have passed through in our day—a struggle which ended, in Mr Call's case, in leaving the Church of England, in which he was a clergyman, and sacrificing all his worldly prospects. Before, however, we say anything further about Mr Call's autobiography, it is necessary to make one or two general observations. Since Mr Call left the Church of England all the difficulties and doubts which he describes have gathered tenfold force. The attack on Revelation is not now from the purely critical side alone, upon which Mr Call chiefly dwells, but from the scientific side. Since the year 1859, when Darwin's great book was published, the attack has completely changed. Before that time the controversy was carried on by scholars, and was confined to questions of Biblical criticism, the meaning of words, the genuineness and authenticity of certain books, the interpretation of prophecies, and the determination of dates. The great body of the laity were only feebly interested in the struggle. They have never possessed, and only very few scholars do, the necessary scholarship to understand the points of controversy and their precise bearings. But since the doctrine of evolution has become established as a law of nature, not merely trained scholars who have spent a lifetime upon the niceties of verbal criticism, but the great body of the more intelligent laity have taken part in the controversy. When Mr Call left the Church he could little have expected the light which has on all sides been so suddenly thrown upon the most complicated and difficult problems of existence. As we have intimated, Mr Call's own difficulties were, in the first instance, difficulties which can only be appreciated by scholars. The only fault which we have to find with the autobiography is that it is not full enough. We would venture to suggest that its value would be greatly increased if Mr Call would publish it separately, dwelling at length upon those points which first awakened his own doubts. He must remember that the great mass of the people, even those who are fairly educated, cannot possibly appreciate the subtleties of criticism without a very full commentary. He should not only do this, but he should further supplement this critical commentary with the additional knowledge which science and a scientific conception of history have gained for us. Such a work, if properly done, would just now be invaluable; and



we believe that Mr Call is one of the few men who could properly do it. With regard to his own autobiography, and the part which he has played, we can only say that he must have long since found solace from the sacrifice which he made, and the thought that he has been saved from that hypocrisy which has been rightly termed the modern *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* of the human spirit.

We must now turn to Mr Call's poems. They are divided into two parts, social and political. Mr Call takes for his motto Emerson's well-known sentence, "We chant our own times and social circumstances." In spite of Emerson's optimism and cloudy mysticism, he has always been the favourite poet of men of science. Of him Tyndall has well said, "In Emerson we have a poet and a profoundly religious man, who is really and entirely undaunted by the discoveries of science, past, present, or prospective. In his case Poetry, with the joy of a bacchanal, takes her graver brother Science by the hand and cheers him with immortal laughter. By Emerson scientific conceptions are continually transmuted into the finer forms and warmer hues of an ideal world." Now, this is undoubtedly true from the scientific man's point of view ; but how far is it so from the poet's point of view ? Do the men who care for Chaucer and Spenser among our older poets, and Keats and Swinburne and Morris among our younger, care in the same degree for Emerson's poetry ? Is it not notorious that the best critics prefer Emerson's prose to his poetry ? We must not, however, be too hasty to condemn either Emerson's poetry or his choice of subject. Goethe, when he first saw the mills in a Swiss valley, exclaimed, "Here is true poetry." Science yet awaits its poet. Some five-and-twenty years ago Mr Call saw the poetical side of science. Now, to see this is the rarest achievement of genius. This vision was denied even to Wordsworth. Quarter after quarter we receive volumes of verse filled with a tissue of abuse against Darwin and Huxley. We therefore doubly welcome Mr Call's volume. He, with Emerson, opens out a new field for the poet. He shows that science may be made as poetical as the fields, the mountains, and the sea. But he must expect the fate of every discoverer. A generation which has been used to love-tales will not readily turn a willing ear in poetry to the sublime story of science. "Give me matter and I will build the world," says Kant ; a thought which has been repeated in different forms by Büchner and Vogt, and which is now set to verse by Mr Call. In his "Genesis" he sings of the beginning of the world and the processes of its making, and tells the tragic story of the human race. He sings, too, of the stars—of Mars with "its poles of snow,"—of Uranus foretold by Kant,—and Saturn

"With his moons and double ring,  
And a lordship that enhances  
All the wonders that I sing."

To the man of science and to the poet Mr Call's volume will bring a new delight. The second portion is taken up chiefly with political subjects. We need not say that Mr Call sympathises with the weak

and the oppressed. His counsels, however, are always on the side of moderation. He is too wise to expect any sudden changes. He knows that the greatest and most beneficial changes are wrought from within and not from without, and are gained by forbearance and firmness rather than by force and violence. He can sympathise alike with the starving Dorsetshire labourer and the Hungarian patriot. In the co-operative system he sees a remedy for some of the greatest ills which now oppress the poor. He puts the Golden Age not in the past but in the future. These are the themes which Mr Call treats in the second part; and if it should be urged that the first part is deficient in human interest, this cannot be alleged against the other. But the two parts really and truly cohere together, and should be taken together. By this volume Mr Call has given the best answer to those who so constantly assert that a belief in the government of the world by law is fatal to poetry and sympathy. On the contrary, that belief stimulates and strengthens both feelings, as Mr Call's poetry shows.

The author of "*Deeds of Delight*"<sup>10</sup> in his preface apostrophises his reviewers as "invisible but absolute reviewers." Now, there is a real truth conveyed in Tennyson's "irresponsible," "indolent" reviewers, but scarcely any in J. L. L.'s sentence. He, however, proceeds to explain what he means. "To you [reviewers] is given the mission of introducing us [poets] to the world. With you lies the responsible prerogative of testing and proclaiming the merits or mistakes of our pretensions." Now, as we so continually meet with this assertion, it may just be worth while to say a few words. In the first place, reviewers are not absolute. Time is constantly reviewing and revising their judgments. They can neither make nor unmake a poet. Are the judgments of such men as Gifford and Jeffrey final and absolute? Byron, in a well-known couplet, expressed his belief in the superiority of Southey, Rogers, and Crabbe over Wordsworth, Shelley, and Coleridge. Time and the public have reversed Byron's verdict, and Byron, it may be supposed, was not exactly a bad critic. Keats gained the world's favour in spite of the critics. Does J. L. L. think that all the praise which has been lately lavished by the press on "*Guido and Lita*" will enable that poem to live twenty years? By that time it will be as dead as Glover's much be-puffed "*Leonidas*." We may be mistaken in our estimate of J. L. L.'s poetry, but if we are, he may depend upon it that, if the right stuff be in him, the public will, sooner or later, set us and all other critics right. All that we can say about J. L. L.'s poetry is, that, like hundreds of other estimable and right-feeling men, he mistakes the wish for the power to be a poet.

The great fault of "indolent" "irresponsible" reviewers is that they praise far too much. It is far easier to praise than to criticise. You may write a whole page of vague praise whilst you are writing a line of definite criticism. To review, for instance, such a book as

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<sup>10</sup> "*Deeds of Delight*." By J. L. L. London: Provost & Co. 1876.

Mr Anderson's "The Two Angels"<sup>11</sup> would take a conscientious critic a long time. The conditions under which it is written are very peculiar. Mr Anderson is comparatively a young man, employed in manual work on the railway—in short, a "railway navvy." He has taught himself French, Italian, and German sufficiently well to be able to read the masterpieces of each nation in the original. He has further had the misfortune—and a greater misfortune we cannot conceive befalling a young poet—to be patronised by such a person as the Rev. George Gilfillan, who has written a most ill-judged preface. Now it is obvious that in Mr Anderson we do not encounter an ordinary man. In judging his poems we have many questions to consider. But, after all, the great question is, Has he anything to tell us? Is he original, or is he merely assimilative? Mr Anderson has made this question very difficult to answer, for the simple reason that he has not sufficiently weeded his poems. Side by side with a rather commonplace piece we find a poem which really raises our hopes. One thing, however, is very certain, that he possesses an unusual command of language. His sonnets "in Rome" are marked by passages of what may be called verbal eloquence of great beauty. A man who has achieved so much under such difficulties will, if he is only true to himself, achieve far more. We believe that there is a future for Mr Anderson. But he must not be led away by the flatteries of friends. He must remember that it was flattery which ruined Alexander Smith. He must remember that Alexander Smith was, like himself, endowed with a flow of language and a rhetoric unsurpassed for pomp of diction, and that he unfortunately mistook this gift for those higher gifts of insight and imagination which alone can give worth to poetry. We advise all our readers to judge for themselves of a most remarkable book, in which we feel no common interest.

If we have felt some difficulty in expressing our opinion upon Mr Anderson's "Two Angels," we ultimately find none in the case of "Attempts."<sup>12</sup> The title sufficiently describes the contents. Mr Herbert Martyn's poetry<sup>13</sup> is marked by good sense and good feeling, but these two qualifications will hardly make a poet. "Waifs and Strays"<sup>14</sup> is more ambitious than most of its fellows. The writer succeeds best in short lyrical pieces. Mr Wilson's poems<sup>15</sup> are considerably above the average, but we much fear that they will not find any public beyond the circle of the author's friends. Here we

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<sup>11</sup> "The Two Angels, and other Poems." By Alexander Anderson, author of "A Song of Labour, and other Poems" (Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire). With an Introductory Sketch by the Rev. G. Gilfillan. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. John Menzies & Co., Edinburgh and Glasgow. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> "Attempts." London: Provost & Co. 1875.

<sup>13</sup> "Poems." By Herbert Martyn. London: Macmillan & Co.; Glasgow: James-Macculloch. 1876.

<sup>14</sup> "Waifs and Strays." By Caerleon. London: Provost & Co. 1876.

<sup>15</sup> "Poems." By William Wilson. Edited by Benson J. Lossing. Poughkeepsie, U.S.: Archibald Wilson. 1875.



may fitly notice an edition of Hood's<sup>16</sup> works, to which is prefixed a sensible preface by Mr W. M. Rossetti. "Sacred Gleanings"<sup>17</sup> is one of those collections which is intended for people who care more for piety than poetry.

In the good old days of Bartholomew's Fair, a picture which one year did duty for the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, served next year, with a slight alteration, for the Defeat of the Armada. In the same way some of the illustrations which adorn Mr Thornbury's Ballads<sup>18</sup> have appeared in different capacities. To illustrate Mr Swinburne, and then to illustrate Mr Thornbury, is as great a change as from fire to water. The illustrations, however, are a great deal better than the poetry, and give the sole value to the book. Mr Thornbury's Ballads are essentially vulgar. And let no one be misled by the use of the term "vulgar." There is a vulgar mind in art and poetry as there is in manners and in social life. The vulgar mind in art loves sensation, glaring contrasts, and strong colours. To illustrate in another direction what is meant by vulgarity in art, let us take a piece called "Temple Bar." Mr Thornbury is good enough to tell us that when wandering by the Tagus he still sees Temple Bar in his dreams, that when he is climbing the Alps he still sees it, when he is sitting in the shadow of the Pyramids he sees it, and when standing by the Falls of Niagara he still sees it—"this thing of joy." This is the character of the vulgar mind, truly but unconsciously expressed by Mr Thornbury. Neither the majesty of the Alps nor of Niagara can raise the vulgar mind above its own commonplace associations.

Mr Palgrave's "Children's Treasury of English Song,"<sup>19</sup> is simply delightful. It is by far the best collection which we have seen. The only fault which we have to find with it is that it is too good for children. When we say that Mr Palgrave has had the assistance of Mr Gladstone and Browning, who have helped to bring together some of the forgotten beauties of English verse, it will be at once seen that Mr Palgrave's book is really a treasury. Thus it is to Mr Gladstone's taste that children owe the introduction of the "The Anchorsmiths," which, as Mr Palgrave remarks, are "grandly simple, almost Homeric." Again, it is to Mr Browning that we owe the insertion of a most powerful piece—"Adoration"—by an almost unknown author. Then, too, Mr Palgrave has gone far afield to cull other beauties. Most collections of poetry of this kind are generally more publisher's ventures, vamped up from other collections, and put to-

<sup>16</sup> "The Poetical Works of Thomas Hood." Edited, with a Critical Memoir, by William Michael Rossetti. Illustrated by Gustave Doré and Alfred Thomson. Second Series. London: E. Moxon, Son, & Co. 1876.

<sup>17</sup> "Gleanings of the Sacred Poets." With Biographical Notices of the authors. London: Gall & Inglis. 1876.

<sup>18</sup> "Historical and Legendary Ballads." By Walter Thornbury. Illustrated by J. Whistler, F. Walker, J. Tenniel, J. D. Watson, W. Snell, F. Sandys, G. J. Pinwall, T. Morton, M. J. Lanless. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>19</sup> "The Children's Treasury of English Song." Second Part. Selected and Arranged with Notes, by Francis Turner Palgrave, M.A., editor of the "Golden Treasury." London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

gether higgledy-piggledy by some hack-writer, who has about as much poetical taste as a Fiji savage. Mr Palgrave's book is of a very different order. He quotes from such out-of-the-way sources as Southwell, Blake, and Lady Carew, whose poem—

“The fairest action of our human life  
Is scorning to revenge an injury”—

is one of the finest in the collection, and which for intensity of feeling and expression of thought can hardly be matched. The notes which accompany the poems are, like all Mr Palgrave's writings, full of poetical insight and poetical sympathy. The only fault we have to find is that they are too good for children. We have but few criticisms to offer. Perhaps Mr Palgrave might have inserted a few more stanzas of the spirit-stirring ballad of “Agincourt,” with a short note showing that the nature of patriotism varies with the age. A good copy of this fine old ballad is seldom to be met with. Mr Collier, some seven or eight years since, privately reprinted it in facsimile, with some other equally rare and beautiful ballads. On the line, “Blue were her eyes as the fairy flax,” Mr Palgrave remarks, “It is not clear whether by *fairy flax* the poet means *graceful* and *fairy-like*, or whether it be a local name for some species of the plant.” As not everybody has seen the blue flower of the flax, this note might mislead; for of course the poet refers not so much to the plant as to the delicate fairy-like blue flower of the flax, to which he compares the girl's eyes. Lastly, let us call attention to Mr Palgrave's criticism on Gray's “Elegy.”

We lay down the three bulky volumes of Wordsworth's prose works<sup>20</sup> with very mixed feelings. Mr Grosart is one of those critics whose work must be measured by its quantity rather than its quality. There are two or three men—such as Mr Pater, or Mr Palgrave, or Mr Sydney Colvin—who might have worthily edited the present work, but not Mr Grosart. We have nothing to say against Mr Grosart, except that he is not endowed with that delicacy of perception and that sensitiveness of feeling which are required in editing the works of a great poet. He is, no doubt, industrious; but industry, however praiseworthy, cannot supply the place of poetical feeling and poetical sympathy. His critical powers may be judged by the fact that he calls a weak, prosaic copy of verses, which Wordsworth in his old age had written on the flyleaf of a copy of his collected works presented to the Queen, a “tender, beautiful, and pathetic poem.” Further, Mr Grosart is often simply vituperative to those who differ from him in opinion. Thus he calls those who happen to take a different view from his own with respect to the value of railways in the Lake District, persons who “have a Judas element in them, nothing higher or purer.” A man who uses such language simply puts himself out of court. Mr

<sup>20</sup> “The Prose Works of William Wordsworth.” For the First Time Collected, with Additions from Unpublished Manuscripts. Edited, with Preface, Notes, and Illustrations, by the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, St George's, Blackburn, Lancashire. London: Edward Moxon, Son, & Co. 1876.

Grosart's bitterness breaks out on various occasions. De Quincey is "a monkey." Other people are chimney-sweeps. To call a man a monkey or a chimney-sweep is not witty. Mr Grosart would not do so in society, and why should he do so in a book, and, above all, a book of Wordsworth's? Mr Grosart, doubtless, means well, but even his praise is clumsy and awkward. Let us, however, be just to him. He has done what we may call the hack-work well and conscientiously. He has collected and scraped together from every quarter everything which he could glean about Wordsworth. The first volume contains "The Apology for the French Revolution," the tract entitled "The Convention of Cintra," and "The Two Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmoreland." It is rather late in the day to say anything either in the way of approbation or dissent on these pieces. We see in them two very different Wordsworths—the Wordsworth of youth and boldness, and the Wordsworth of premature old age and timidity. We have often thought that it was a good thing for Wordsworth that he lived at the period in which he did. Life in our days, with its altered views, would have been intolerable to him. He must have occupied the same position in poetry as Carlyle does in prose. As it is, he remains the last of the great spiritualistic poets; on one side the descendant of Milton, and on the other of Herbert and Vaughan. The second volume contains the "Essay on Epitaphs," a subject congenial to Wordsworth's nature, and his "Guide to the Lakes." If the latter were reprinted in a convenient shape, with some really good woodcuts, we should imagine that it would make a publisher's fortune. It stands on a very different footing to any guide-book which we know. It is a poet's guide-book to the most beautiful district in England. It is instinct throughout with poetry. It deals precisely with those beauties which the ordinary guide-book omits, and which, in short, the ordinary guide-book writer never sees. Wordsworth dwells with infinite delight upon the colours and the shapes of the clouds and the mountains, and the effects of the weather and the seasons on the scenery. He combines poet and painter together, and yet there is not a line of fine writing. All is subdued, though so full of enthusiasm. Further, he brings to the task what the local guide-book writer never brings—a wide knowledge of other places. He is able to compare our English lakes with other lakes, and our English mountains with other mountains. The third volume is chiefly personal. From it we shall venture to make one or two extracts. Here is a judgment which will surprise some, but not those who understand Wordsworth, and which will also help to explain some of the deficiencies in Wordsworth's own poems—

"I have tried to read Goethe. I never could succeed. Mr ——— refers me to his 'Iphigenie,' but I there recognise none of the dignified simplicity, none of the health and vigour which the heroes and heroines of antiquity possess in the writings of Homer. . . . Again, there is a profligacy, an inhuman sensuality in his works which is utterly revolting."

This is indeed a sweeping judgment. Here is one, however, against which we have nothing to say—

"Moore has great natural genius, but he is too lavish of brilliant ornament. His poems smell of the perfumers' and milliners' shops. He is not content with



a ring and a bracelet, but he must have rings on the ears, rings on the nose—rings everywhere.”

This is both true, and also—what is very rare for Wordsworth—witty. Here, however, is a remark which requires some explanation—“I cannot account for Shakespeare’s low estimate of his own writings, except from the sublimity, the superhumanity of his genius.” There is scarcely an essay written upon Shakespeare in which we do not find a similar criticism. It has been for years the stock-in-trade of Shakespearian critics. But the Sonnets are throughout a standing protest against its truth.

“Not marble, nor the gilded monuments  
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme,”

cries Shakespeare in the fifty-fifth sonnet, and over and over again we meet with the same sentiment under different forms. Here, however, is a little piece about satire which might be advantageously remembered in these days—

“I have long since come to a fixed resolution to steer clear of personal satire ; in fact, I never will have anything to do with it, as far as concerns the *private* vices of individuals, on any account. With respect to public delinquents or offenders, I will not say the same, though I should be slow to meddle even with these.”

The growing taste for highly-spiced scandal, under the disguise of virtuous indignation, is one of the most disgraceful features of the day. We must now unwillingly close our extracts. We should like to have said something about Wordsworth’s own life—the noble way in which he bore up against unfair criticism and the jeers of the press, against misfortune and poverty. We thank Mr Grosart for having taken such laborious pains in bringing so much material together, and for the valuable indexes which accompany the three volumes, but deeply regret the style in which his preface is written.

Canon Kingsley’s Lectures,<sup>21</sup> which he delivered in the States in 1874, appear without any preface or introductory note, or even, we may add, table of contents. There is a dedication, which, however, tells us but little. We do not know the origin of these lectures, why they were especially selected for the Americans, and lastly, whether Canon Kingsley left them prepared for the press. The grave has so recently closed over their author, that we feel some difficulty in expressing our real opinion as to the value, or rather utter worthlessness, of these essays, especially as we cannot help thinking that the author would, on consideration, have altered, or at all events very materially qualified, many passages. We have in this *Review* never failed to point out how great an advantage it has been for the Church of England to have such a man as the late Canon Kingsley within its pale. He undoubtedly did much good. He broke down a great deal of that narrow-mindedness and exclusiveness which are found especially among the country clergy-men. He contributed by his essays on sanitary measures to awaken a

<sup>21</sup> “Lectures delivered in America in 1874.” By Charles Kingsley, F.L.S., F.G.S., Rector of Eversley, Canon of Westminster, Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen and the Prince of Wales. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1875.

new interest even in the minds of the squires themselves. Liberality of spirit is so rare a thing, that we can pardon many shortcomings. But in the present volume Canon Kingsley's liberality seems to have entirely vanished. He went over to America to address the most liberal-minded people in the world, and seems to have taken with him the most narrow-minded prejudices of their Puritan forefathers. The only explanation which we can conceive possible for some of the sentiments in the present volume, is that Canon Kingsley was determined to make a literary sensation, and he cared not whom he attacked. He hits right and left in the most reckless style. No dissenting minister could excel him in bigotry. Take the opening sentence of his second lecture—"What the stage is now, I presume all know. I am not myself a playgoer, but I am informed that, in Europe at least, it is not in a state to arouse any deep interest or respect in any cultivated or virtuous person." There is a delicious Pecksniffian touch about the "I am informed," and "the cultivated and virtuous person," which must be delightful to the minds of the "unco guid." We have so often, both in this section and in other parts of this *Review*, stated our reasons for supposing that the stage can never again attain to its former glory, that we trust we shall not be misunderstood when we say that we protest against the unjust accusation which Canon Kingsley levels at a most numerous and respectable body of people. Fortunately there are still some minds left in the Church of England who are above such narrow-mindedness. We gladly turn from Canon Kingsley to the Bishop of Manchester, who, in his recent address on "Liberal Studies in Relation to a Business Life," stated—"I did no more than my duty as a Christian bishop when I said that I was glad that Mr Charles Calvert put upon the stage at Manchester dramas like 'Henry V.' and 'Richard III.'" Canon Kingsley, however, does not stop at the stage, but also denounces the opera. He describes human nature as "on the greater part of this planet going downwards and not upwards, and by no means bettering itself, save in the increase of opera-houses, liquor-bars, and gambling-tables, and that which pertaineth thereto." When a man couples the opera with the gambling-table, it is only charitable to suppose that he does not really know what he is talking about. We must take the same view of Canon Kingsley's wild talk about the doctrine of Evolution. He has not even mastered the A B C of the science which he denounces. We must also take the same view of his denunciations of the science of History, which he nicknames "Ditchwater Philosophy." To be reduced to calling names is indeed poor work for a transcendental philosopher; to be reduced to mere assertion is sadder still. Yet this is the whole of Canon Kingsley's philosophy. I assert this, and I assert the other, and I assert above all things that the doctrine of Evolution is not true (p. 132). The Popes of Rome have in their time made a good many assertions. They have asserted that the world was flat, and they have asserted that it does not move. Canon Kingsley's assertion is about as valuable as their assertions. The book may, by its tall talk and by its bounce—for we can use

no other term—be popular, and deceive not a few. In the long-run, however, it will seriously impair Canon Kingsley's reputation. When time shall have pronounced its impartial judgment upon him, he may take an honourable place as a novelist and a song-writer, but this little book will rise up in judgment against him, and protest against his ranking as a critic, or an historian, or a philosopher, and will show that, though he lived in the day of great spirits, when the greatest discoveries were being made, which will for ever affect the human race, yet he was utterly blind to them. The book is sad and disheartening, as it proves how slow, even in minds above the usual average, is the progress of new ideas.

"Jack Afloat and Jack Ashore"<sup>22</sup> is an excellent book, which we recommend to Mr Plimsoll, and all who are interested in the welfare of our sailors. Mr Rowe does not only deal with the question of rotten and overladen ships, but with other subjects nearly as important. He is fortunately restrained by no false delicacy. In saying this, however, let us add, that there is not a page which might not be read out aloud in the family circle. Mr Washington Moon,<sup>23</sup> some ten years ago, did battle with the late Dean Alford on the subject of the Queen's English. We have very little doubt that his present pamphlet will be of use. He should, however, remember that grammar is made in spite of grammarians. "Tobacco"<sup>24</sup> is a reprint on a subject which will interest many literary men. It wants, however, an index. "Rambles and Adventures"<sup>25</sup> might, if the author would but take more pains, be made into a really good book. He should not, however, teach schoolboys to "dodge" impositions.

It was, perhaps, hardly necessary for Mr Barnett Smith<sup>26</sup> to apologise for the appearance of his essays in a collected form. "Poets and Novelists" owes its existence to the entreaties of Mr Smith's friends, who wished to possess his scattered criticisms in an accessible shape. On the other hand, it was hardly necessary for Mr Smith to dignify his papers by such a second title as "Literary Studies." They are the kind of work of which there is a fair supply in the world. They serve their purpose when they first appear, and they serve it again when they reappear. There is nothing in them to separate them from their fellows. They contain nothing very striking. They are simply plain, honest, useful work. As we read them, we give our assent, but we never turn back to a passage. We are struck by no particular beauty of language, charmed by no fancy, and kindled by no enthusiasm. We read on and on, giving our assent as we go, wishing sometimes that there was some paradox,

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<sup>22</sup> "Jack Afloat and Jack Ashore." By Richard Rowe. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> "Common Errors in Speaking and Writing." By G. Washington Moon. London: Hatchards. 1875.

<sup>24</sup> "Tobacco: Its History and Associations." By F. W. Fairholt. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>25</sup> "Rambles and Adventures of our School Field Club." By G. Christopher Davies. London: H. S. King & Co. 1875.

<sup>26</sup> "Poets and Novelists. A Series of Literary Studies." By George Barnett Smith. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.



if only for a change. We would not be understood to say this in disparagement of "Poets and Novelists." Mr Smith's essays are precisely fitted for the class to whom, we presume, they are addressed. For the mechanics' institute and the village library such a volume is invaluable. There is nothing in it to which any one can take exception. The criticisms are liberal and fair, and written in plain English which every one can understand. We think, however, that Mr Smith should have taken some notice in his estimate of Fielding of Mr Lewes's adverse criticisms both on Fielding himself and on Thackeray's eulogy of Fielding.

Under such a title as "Final Reliques of Father Prout"<sup>27</sup> we expected a work of some brilliancy. It is not exactly dull, but it is far from brilliant. Nothing perhaps is so difficult to give as spoken wit. Probably, if the wit-encounters of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson were written down, we should not find them so very amusing. Certainly the wit-encounters between Father Prout and his friend do not appear very wonderful. Some of the repartees strike us as coarse. Mr Jerrold seems to lay great stress on Father Prout's culture. There was a canon in the Church of England whose view of culture differed very materially from Father Prout's; but, if we wish to find classic wit, we should look for it in the pages of Sydney Smith, and not in "The Final Reliques of Father Prout."

Those who wish to know what culture really means should turn to Mr Skeat's edition of Plutarch.<sup>28</sup> We have no space now to do it justice, but will merely say that it is a boon to all Shakespearian scholars. And now that we are on the subject of Shakespeare, let us call attention to Mr Sheridan Knowles' Lecture on Macbeth,<sup>29</sup> which has never before been published. It is thoroughly readable, and in places striking.

A number of children's books claim attention. First comes, by right of its marvellous adventures, Mr Ker's "The Wild Horseman of the Pampas."<sup>30</sup> As long as boys are boys, we suppose they will delight in such tales. We have experimented with "Sunnyland Stories"<sup>31</sup> upon a little lady of eight summers, and can report successfully. Mrs George Cupples is such an old-established favourite that "Young Bright Eye"<sup>32</sup> may be accepted without inquiry. "Seven Autumn Leaves"<sup>33</sup> are fairy-like, and will amuse both young and old.

<sup>27</sup> "Final Reliques of Father Prout" (the Rev. Francis Mahoney). Collected and edited by Blanchard Jerrold. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>28</sup> "Shakespeare's Plutarch." Being a Selection from the Lives in North's Plutarch, which illustrate Shakespeare's Plays. With a Preface, Notes, Index of Names, and Glossarial Index. By the Rev. W. W. Skeat, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

<sup>29</sup> "Lectures on Dramatic Literature." By James Sheridan Knowles. Macbeth. London: F. Harvey. 1875.

<sup>30</sup> "The Wild Horseman of the Pampas." By David Ker. London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

<sup>31</sup> "Sunnyland Stories." By the author of "Aunt Mary's Brown Pie." London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

<sup>32</sup> "Young Bright Eye." By Mrs George Cupples. London: Gall & Inglis. 1876.

<sup>33</sup> "Seven Autumn Leaves from Fairyland." London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

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APRIL 1, 1876.

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ART. I.—OUR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

*Our Colonial Empire. An Address delivered by the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., to the Members of the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh, on the 5th November 1875.*

WE think that none of those who argue in favour of the separation of England from her colonies have called in question the advantages of colonisation. At one time the inexpediency of allowing labour to leave the country was argued, but the doubts which at that time existed have long ago been set at rest. It has over and over again been proved that the colonisation of uninhabited or only partially inhabited lands is not only an economic advantage to the over-peopled State from which the emigrants go, and to the under-peopled country to which they are carried, but that the question has a much larger aspect than that of simply balancing the labour-markets of the world. It is a benefit to the whole world that commodities should be produced under the most favourable conditions, and this important contribution to the prosperity of mankind can only be secured by means of colonisation. All this has been agreed upon, and is no longer a question in dispute. It has, however, an important connection with the subject which we have here in hand, and that is the future relations between Britain and her colonies. We have had some heroic policy lately, and Mr Disraeli, in defending that policy in the House of Commons upon a very recent occasion, made use of some very brave

words. In concluding his speech upon the Suez Canal on February 21st, he said—"They (the people of England) are sea-sick of the Silver Streak. They want the empire to be maintained, to be strengthened; they will not be alarmed even if it be increased."

Now if this is the temper of England at the present time, it may not be inopportune to inquire what are the grounds of these sentiments—are they rational or not, is our colonial empire worth preserving or increasing, or would England be very much better off if she was content to curtail her sprawling proportions, and entrench herself behind the "silver streak," of which, according to the Prime Minister, her people are sea-sick? These questions have been much argued in recent times, and Mr Forster's contribution to the subject is in many ways the most notable which has been made. The question of the future relations of England and her colonies must not, however, be looked at altogether apart from the question of colonisation to which we have referred. This is not the place to speak at any length of the advantages to be derived from emigration. These, as we said, are many and important; but there is one aspect in which the question of colonisation is pertinently connected with that which we have here undertaken to treat, viz., the continued association of England and her dependencies under one rule, and as friendly parts of a great and peaceful empire.

If Government undertakes this work of colonisation, it is necessary that there should be some understanding as to the policy of the mother-country in relation to her colonies. The duties of Old England to these New Englands which she is planting must be accurately defined and thoroughly understood, otherwise men will not leave the old country. If colonies are to be cast off whenever it is suggested that the existing connection with the mother-country might in the event of war be made a means of wounding the latter through the spoliation of the former; if colonies are to go free whenever England enters into a war which might possibly involve the dependent state in the struggle; if separation is to take place whenever England ceases to derive direct benefit from the connection, or ceases to exercise direct rule over the colony, then it is necessary that this policy should be clearly understood. One of the great temptations at the present time to colonisation is that the laws of England accompany and protect the colonist. Without that protection colonies could not have been formed. If that protection is liable at any instant, and on any selfish pretext, to be withdrawn; if the colonist is to be left at any instant to frame laws, find governments, and raise armies; if the support and sympathy of England are to be withdrawn upon the merest suggestion that the relation

between the two countries is a barren bargain, then one of the main inducements to colonial emigration will cease to operate. This is a somewhat different argument from that which was advanced some years ago by Mr Merevale.\* He argued that colonies are valuable as a field for emigration. This theory has been questioned, because emigration returns give no evidence of the preference of those who emigrate for countries under British rule.† But although the returns of emigration might afford the materials for a comparison between the numbers going in a certain number of years to Canada, Australia, or the United States, and although the results of that comparison might show that there was no preference for the former over the latter, still we cannot doubt that the announcement of the fact that England was ready and willing to set free all her colonies would do much to hinder colonisation, properly so called. The protection of England to colonies which have become states with many millions of inhabitants may be a small thing; but the protection which she affords her pioneer-subjects, who go and found colonies in the heart of hidden lands, is a very great thing. If she cast off her colonies, this kind of colonisation would cease; and it is to be remembered that the United States no longer afford the inducements to immigrants that they formerly did. Indeed, in America the opinion is that the tide has turned.

But however that may be, there is a necessity for examining this question of our colonial empire somewhat thoroughly, and we are much assisted in this essay by Mr Forster's admirable address, and by a remarkably able paper upon this subject which appeared in the pages of the *Westminster Review* in 1852, and which was republished in 1870.

We have seen that individuals were at one time kept in unity by force; but we have also pointed out that the necessity for such stringency of government has passed away, and that men are associated in a no less coherent and stable state by the community of their sentiments, their thoughts, and their interests. But a similar policy is applicable to the relationship between this country and her colonies. A little less than a century ago we attempted to coerce one of our most promising colonies, and failed. The question which led to the separation of England and the United States was whether it was a principle of government that taxation without representation was inadmissible. It has been well pointed out that the principle involved in the War of Independence was scarcely whether taxation was only just where representation had

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\* Paper on "The Utility of Colonisation," read before the British Association, 1862.

† See Essay on Colonial Government, by Professor Cairns. "Political Essays." London, 1873.



been conceded, but whether the £240,000,000 which had been spent by England in the defence of her American colonies from the French invasions from Canada should not, in some measure, be borne by the colonies in whose interests the war had been undertaken, and for whose benefit the struggle had been prosecuted to a successful issue. Be the justice of that war where it may, it cannot but be a warning to us, in its incidents and in its results, of the difficulty of governing colonies by armies, and of the necessity for another principle in the regulation of our colonial dependencies than that of force. Just as we saw that the necessity for coercion had diminished in our state relations to individuals—just as we saw that the molecular forces of society were instrumental in binding the various elements of a state together in a harmonious whole, without the exercise of tyranny, so we shall find that there are large forces at work between English-speaking and English-thinking peoples which may in the same way bind countries together in a friendly compact—which may, notwithstanding the sprawling nature of our dependencies, make a complete and compact unity of the English people.

As the freedom of men becomes greater, we look forward to a greater homogeneity of the citizenship of this country; as the dependencies of Britain become more and more free to exercise their own will, we shall find that they are more one with us in opinion and sentiment, and that they are united to us in a bond more indissoluble than any Acts of Parliament—in the strong and lasting bond of a rational choice.

But to view this question properly, we must endeavour to appreciate the arguments of those who look forward to a time when the colonies will cease to be dependencies of England, and who regard the separation which they anticipate as one of the happiest things which could happen both for the parent and the offspring states. We agree with Mr Forster, that if England and her colonies do their mutual duties, that time need never come; and we cannot but think that it will be well not only for England and for the colonies, but for the whole world, that it never should. Mr Forster rightly says that the question which has to be decided is, which of these two ideas will prevail? Mr Forster is one of those few statesmen who have a philosophical conception of what politics mean. Many of our politicians are somewhat hand-to-mouth with their politics. They have principles for the nonce, and every new action upon their part is a compromise between their own past and the exigencies of the present. Mr Forster, however, shows what a conscience is in politics, and it is a conscience which is an umpire of rational experience and thought, and not of irrational whim or prejudiced feeling. His remark as to the basal motions of action is valuable. What we require from men like Mr Forster

is more than a glib exposition of the case-law of politics; we expect a disquisition upon the principles upon which all politics are founded. His reference to the realisation of ideas is instructive; not as being in any sense new, but as being in every sense very true, and as showing the foundation of all political creeds. It is very true that the future of England is in the heads of men just now, and by examining the ideas of to-day we may well foretell the action of to-morrow. If you could but read the thoughts of men, you could prophesy. But we cannot say that that portion of Mr Forster's address in which he inquires which of these two ideas will prevail is altogether satisfactory. We have already said that we thoroughly agree with him in so far as his conclusions are concerned; but we think that these results might have been more amply illustrated—might have been more convincingly urged by means of more definite arguments than those which Mr Forster adduces. His whole thesis has to do with the future of England and her colonies; and yet he constantly, in support of his argument that that relation will continue, asserts that the future is too dark to admit of our founding arguments upon it. But this argument would, with more force, have been a reason for refusing to deal with the question at all; it is not a reason for shirking the consideration of possibilities, when he has undertaken to treat of a subject which is not at the present time raised as a practical question. Again, when he has to say what the future relation between England and her colonies will be, he only answers that he cannot say. We confess that this method of treating this paramount question does not satisfy us. We should have had no reason to complain of such vagueness if we had been criticising a popular lecture; but when we are face to face with the grave and considered utterances of such a man and statesman as Mr Forster, we think we have a right to complain. Very little requires to be said with reference to the statistics of the colonies. They are referred to by Mr Forster, and are to be found in many accessible works of reference; still, one or two facts must be borne in mind. The colonies concerning which the question of separation or federation is most frequently discussed are those dependencies of the Crown\* which have resulted from emigration. There are three distinct kinds of dependencies—(1) those which are held as coigns of vantage in relation to our commerce, or in relation to our peaceful or embroiled foreign relations; (2) those over which we rule by right of conquest, and in which the inhabitants are under British rule, although not of our own race; and (3) those which have resulted in the first instance

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\* Essay on the "Government of Dependencies." By G. C. Lewis, Esq., 1841, p. 170.

from emigration to an uninhabited, or nearly uninhabited, country—those colonies in which English, Scotch, and Irish men and women are resident. The last description of colony constitutes the colonial empire with which Mr Forster deals. As to the stronghold-colonies of England, no one proposes that they should be abandoned; and we have the authority of Mr Disraeli for saying, that in so far as these are in the Mediterranean, England never will relinquish them.\*. As to the possession of our subject states, it is surely certain that England has no intention of parting with these. It is not doubted that the expense of our subject-empire is great. We know that much of the expensive policy of England is connected with our possession of India. Only the other day we paid £4,000,000 to keep open the road to our Eastern Empire, and now we contemplate adding another title to that of our English Queen. The Eastern Question is not yet at rest, and the half of our foreign policy of to-day has to do with our fears and jealousies in reference to India. Yet while public opinion is thus definite as to the retention of these, there seems to be some thought of a separation from our colonies proper. While we keep the trophies of war, we are ready to throw away the badges and the conquests of peace. Nay, while we keep what is the envy of the world, while we keep what has been a battlefield in the past, and may be a firebrand between nations in the future, we are ready, according to some writers, to separate from those children-states whose union with ourselves is the pledge and guarantee of peace.

In reference to these colonies, then, in relation to which separation is in some quarters in contemplation, one point is to be noted, and that is, that they almost all lie in the temperate regions of the earth. Climates have placed somewhat narrow bounds to our colonisation, yet altogether the territory occupied by these our colonies in the two temperates of the earth amounts to about 4,000,000 square miles; and if we add the area of the United Kingdom and British India to that figure, it will be found that England rules about one-eighth of the whole land-surface of the globe.

The population of our colonies proper amounts to close upon 7,000,000, and the rate of increase is so great, that Mr Forster's calculation that the population in eighty-four years' time may well amount to 82,000,000, is certainly not a strained inference. It is this great nation from which we are asked to separate ourselves, and the arguments which are urged in favour of this course are these:—

1. It is said that no real connection between England and her colonies any longer exists. We have given up the right to tax

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\* See speech on the motion for the address (*Times*, 9th February 1876).



our colonies. We have long ceased to regulate the commerce of our dependencies. They now regulate their own trade, and have in some instances, in defiance of English policy and advice, had recourse to protective tariffs. We can no longer disgrace them by making them the recipients of our outcast criminals. They are only nominally dependencies of England, and the Secretary for the Colonies has no power in reference to their internal legislation, and has even been disregarded in relation to several important intercolonial questions. Why then, it is asked, should we continue in name what does not exist in fact?

2. It is argued that the loss of our colonies would be a gain to our purses. It is said that there can be no reason why the inhabitants of these islands, already overburdened with the cost of pauperism, insanity, and other evils, should pay several millions per annum direct to the colonies, and be put to immense indirect expenses for fleets which protect them, for armies which, but for them, might be reduced in numbers, for diplomatic and consular services which they ought to supply themselves. There is also a geographical and physiological argument sometimes urged against the permanency of our friendly and national relations with the colonies. It is said that like laws and like governments are for like men, and that is true. 'But do our colonists differ in any way from their fellows in this country? Have the different circumstances to which they have been exposed changed them so much as to dissociate them in psychological fact from us? If that question were answered in the affirmative, permanent association in political union might well be despaired of. But the question must be answered in the negative. We pointed out that climates had limited the spread of our colonies. Our emigrants have gone to countries like to those which they have left. The old names seem no misnomers in these new countries. The conditions of life vary very little in Canada, in New Zealand, in Australia, or at the Cape from those in our own country; and the fact remains that an Australian is as like an Englishman, and will pass as current amongst people born in Britain, as their sovereigns do amongst our own. As to the geographical argument, it is each year becoming more obsolete. We laugh at distance! Australia is not so far off now as John-o'-Groats was a century ago. Swift steamers and ocean-cables make Melbourne as near to us as Dublin. It is too late, when we can transmit men by steam and messages by electricity, to urge that distance is a bar to government.

3. That they are apt to be the causes of war, and would be weaknesses in time of war.\* That we undertake their protection,

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\* "Extended empire, like expanded gold,  
Exchanges solid strength for feeble splendour."

JOHNSON.

and that we should be unable to protect them. Canada could not be protected from the United States. The other colonies are not threatened; and if they were, as they might be, by a country which desired to inflict an indirect wound upon England, we should be unable to do anything to prevent the outrage which our so-called protectorate had brought about.

4. Then it is argued that the colonies would gain by being loosened from the apron-string of England; that they would increase in independence, strength, wealth, and prosperity by being made to stand alone; and that a nation cannot do well and wisely until it is bearing its own responsibilities.\*

With reference to these arguments, we are glad to say that Mr Forster has shown that the pocket-argument is groundless. The whole of the direct cost of the colonies was last year under £400,000, and a considerable portion of that sum was incurred for countervailing advantages derived by this country from the colonies, and was in the nature of payment, not of gift. As for the indirect expenditure on the colonies, that, too, has been exaggerated. Our armies are not large because of the colonies, our fleets are large because of our fleets of commerce. We have floating colonies which we cannot repudiate; and we must protect these, for on these our greatness and prosperity depend. The expenses of our consular and diplomatic services would be quite as great, and the expenses of our Privy Council—which is at present the supreme court of appeal from the colonies—would be nearly as great, if the colonies were independent, and we had only to do with our own narrow home and European interests. The argument that the colonies cost much money, then, has little or no weight. Each year the amount they receive from England is diminishing; and even were it much greater than it is, we should be inclined to regard it as money well spent, and not thrown away, when we look at the great indirect benefits which arise from the association.

Still these considerations were sufficient to lead some very able men to regard the possibility of separation with complacency. We no longer claimed to derive any direct benefits from the colonies. We long ago gave up the right to impose taxes upon them, and so relieve our home taxpayer by a contribution from abroad. Emigration was no doubt of importance, but however much commerce might follow the flag, emigrants did not; and colonies which were strong enough to do without British aid or protection were not likely to tempt emigrants. It is a young and

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\* See Mr Goldwin Smith's "The Empire;" Professor Thorold Rogers on "The Colonial Question" in "The Cobden Club Essays," 2d Series, 1872; and Professor Cairns on "Colonisation and the Colonial Government" in "Political Essays." London: 1873.

forming country which affords chances to the energetic colonist. It is where man is brought into contact with nature that the want of labour and capital is so poignantly felt; a country as highly civilised as England would no longer tempt the classes of persons which are calculated to be of the greatest use in the colonies. It would be no better than going from Manchester to Liverpool. Then again, as we have seen, there was little or no direct benefit derived by the colony from the association with England. It was saved the expense of a supreme court of appeal and of diplomatic and consular services; and although that is undoubtedly a great thing in the eyes of economists, it is not much in the eyes of those who think that a country can only become strong by bearing its own burdens. It was these considerations, then, which induced certain philosophical politicians to argue that it would be better to break a union which could not directly benefit either the mother-country or the colony—a union which might in many ways cripple both, and which might embroil each in the troubles of the other.

But these arguments overlooked the inestimable indirect advantages which accrued both to England and her colonies from the relationship which exists between them. With the cowardly argument we have no sympathy. It is true we are on the side of peace; it is true that we hold that this country ought to be ready to make innumerable sacrifices before she goes to war; it is true we see little reason in the arbitrament of arms, and look forward confidently to a time when between civilised nations, as now between cultured men, physical force will be regarded as irrelevant in all disputes—to a time when national wounds will be healed by the application of right, instead of rent open by the cruel fingers of might. Why differences amongst nations should be referred to the lower court of force, while differences amongst men are referred to courts of law and reason, it is impossible to say; but a time will come when the ambition of foolish kings cannot be made a pretext for violence, when nations will blush for their footpad career on the highway of the world, and when governments will be ashamed to be the only unpunished thieves. But we cannot see that there is any ground for separating from the colonies, because they may at some future time bring us, or we may at some future time bring them, into the toils of war. Every relation which exists between this country and any other may in time be the cause of quarrels. Every treaty may lead to a war. But are we on that account to become a self-contained, a hermit nation, as Japan used to be? Are we to refuse all foreign intercourse; are we to shirk all foreign obligations; are we to dock our foreign commerce in case these relations lead us into some troublous war? What would be the



result of such a policy? In the first place famine; in the second, poverty and weakness, which would invite aggression; and a nation which could not understand its duty in the world—a nation which cumbered the ground in its selfish cowardice—would be razed from the face of the earth. But if this policy were a wise one, who can say where it should stop? When we had confined our starved enterprise and peddling commerce within these little isles, might we not well consider the advisability of setting Ireland free? That country would without doubt be a thorn in the side of Britain in the event of war. But might not this process go even further? Might not the question of the mutual advantages of England and Scotland remaining in the Union be plausibly debated? Has not the former drawn the latter into distant wars with which it had no concern? It is undoubtedly true that the tendency of our times is to decentralise government, and generally admitted that intimate local government has many advantages over distant and ignorant imperial rule. We know that the five hundred English members who know little about Scotland have it in their power to legislate for that country in spite of the fifty-eight who are informed as to its wants and its necessities. Wherein, then, lies the excellence of the union? But this argument might be carried still further. Northumberland might wish to be relieved from the consequences of the errors of Middlesex, and we might soon have statesmen arguing that it was a wise thing to go back to the Heptarchy. We cannot, then, see that the possibility of future wars in which we might be embroiled through the acts of our colonies, or in which our colonies might be endangered through the enemies of Britain, is any reason for the separation of these from the founder-country. Indeed, we believe that every argument which is urged for separation, in relation to our colonial dependencies, is equally valid when applied as between Britain and Ireland, or as between England and Scotland. While other nations are “armed camps,” we cannot hope to do without armies. When violence was in our streets, even honest men wore swords. A time may come, although we think that time is distant, when war will be forced upon us. If that time should come, we believe with Mr Forster that the colonies would rally to our rescue. We cannot see that our continued association with the colonies would be at all likely to endanger them. Mr Forster points out that Canada is in no peril. The United States have no thought of annexing the Dominion; and if they had such lawless desires, we believe with Mr Forster that although there would be for a time “great suffering in Canada, for a time, perhaps, a successful invasion,” yet in the end “the four millions of freemen would not be conquered.” But instead of causing wars, we look to the federation of all English people as the means to lasting

peace. This, to our mind, is one of the great advantages of the continued union between Great Britain and her colonies. The federation of nations is the hope of a millennium. Did separation take place on account of the mutual poltroonery of this country and her sapling colonies, the weakness of each would be a temptation to the land-avarice of other nations. The colonies might be in a position to defend themselves, but they might fail to retain their liberty. Would the world gain by such wars? Would not the dastard peace of England be a fine satisfaction to her under such circumstances? But would not the separation of England from her colonies lead to a separation between these? The paltry ambition of individuals would lead to the disintegration of those states which the supremacy of England at present unites. Would not the inter-relations of the colonies under such circumstances lead to wars which would have all the rancour of family feuds? It is to be remembered that governments are not in themselves good things; indeed, they are evils like medicine, and the less we have of them the better. The way to minimise governments, the way to economise the expense which these cause, is to integrate, not to disintegrate, nations. The results of giving to each of our colonies a separate government would be calamitous. We have seen what a divided Europe has achieved in the way of blood. A divided Australia might react that long tragic history. The strifes of each parish—if each were a separate kingdom—are reasons enough for wars, and it is only their subordination to a higher authority which enables them to settle their petty differences without blows. We cannot but think, then, that the separation of England from her colonies would set a bad example to all her colonies. Under English rule we have seen federation achieved in Canada, and we shall hope to see it also attained by our South African colonies. But if these colonies are content to become one for the benefit of the whole, if they appreciate the advantages of united, and the disadvantages of separate existence, surely they will see that the larger federation which their union with England makes possible, the federation of states not geographically near, but ethnographically contiguous, would be an incomparable advantage to the whole human race. If federation between small states which are near each other would be a means of bringing about intercolonial amity, the federation of large states, the solidarity of the English people, would be a means of securing the peace of the world.

But although this of itself would be a sufficient reason for continuing in union with the colonies, and for endeavouring to devise the future relations between the various English-speaking peoples, there are other important indirect benefits derived by both the parties to this contract which must not be overlooked. Mr Forster

has shown conclusively that our commerce follows our flag. As markets in which we buy and sell, our colonies are of the utmost importance, both to the home manufacturer and the home consumer. Whether this fact is to be accounted for by the fact that these colonies are still connected with England, or by the fact that their inhabitants have wants and tastes which English enterprise can supply, and enterprise which is parallel with English requirements, it is certain that the more intimate our relations continue to be with our colonies, the more useful shall we become to them as a source of commodities, and the more valuable will they be to us in the free reciprocity of trade. But does not civilisation follow trade? The communion between this country and her colonies is intimately associated with the relations of our markets. Our ships not only carry the products of our looms and our furnaces, but of our printing-presses. Where bales go, there also books find their way. That this communion is of much importance to those nations which are on the outskirts of civilisation cannot be doubted. It is by this means that these armies of industry keep up their communication with the base of operations in England. "There is not," says Professor Rogers, "I believe, an Englishman who does not desire to see the extension of the race, the customs, the language, the literature in which he glories, or who does not rejoice in the fact that this race is growing rapidly on the fairest parts of the civilised world." \* Is it not, then, of the utmost importance that we should continue to reinforce these armies with our thought, with our sympathy, with our literature, with our culture, with our manners? And these are no light matters, but are of incalculable moral significance to a rough and struggling people. Of these we may use Burke's words. "My hold," he said, "of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as iron." We think that the fact that some of our colonies have gone astray in relation to some questions of commercial policy is a reason rather for the continuance of that close and powerful influence over the colonies which is exerted by those means, than for an abandonment of those communities, which would but serve to confirm them in their error, and inaugurate a long course of evil legislation, which would cripple and injure the colonies and inflict injustice on mankind, and which, with the assistance of our riper experience, should be avoided. These errors, which have resulted from the laxity of our relations with our colonies, might well be corrected in a more intimate confederation of our colonial dependencies.

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\* "The Colonial Question," p. 431.



We cannot agree with those, then, who would have us believe that a relation of interdependence between England and her colonies for the sake of immense indirect benefits may not exist and prosper. It exists and is acquiesced in by men in a country; why not by nations in a commonwealth of countries? These associate themselves together for the mutual benefit to be derived from the association; why should not nations do the same? Why should there not be a club of English-speaking nations? The associations of men are founded upon a community of thought and sentiment. Is there not such a community of ideas and feelings amongst ourselves and our colonial fellow-countrymen as to be the foundation of a close and permanent union between us and them? "Ideas," says Mr Forster, "are the rulers of the world." They are the bonds or solvents of human societies. Is there not, then, a sufficiency of ideas in common between these our travelled countrymen and ourselves to unite us in one community? Is not the liberty which we have given them as dear to them as it is to us? Is not the vigour and energy and zeal in enterprise, which they have carried hence into better markets, something that they are as proud of as their English fathers? Are we not proud of their prosperity, their strength and wealth? Are they not proud of our achievements in science, in literature, in art? Will they not in time, when they have earned their leisurable class, be bound closer to us in the common glories of the victories of the brush, the chisel, and the pen, and will they not be glad to trace their literary genealogy from the great men of this our country, and be connected with us more closely in the ties of common truth than in those of kindred blood—"ties which, though light as air, are as strong as iron"?

All this to us, then, seems very certain; and not only very certain, but very hopeful. We look upon the free connection of the future as certain to be more binding than the bond connection of the past. As we saw that men were less one in sentiment, in hopes, in ideas, when they were forced to be one in name, and as the unity of the nation became greater as men became freer—because *men* are not, in reality, free to differ, but only to agree—so we say that nations will in the future make this excellent use of their freedom, and be more united in their liberty than they were in their bondage.

We must touch very lightly on the question which Mr Forster pretended to leave unanswered. He said, if asked what kind of federation do you propose, he would reply, "I am ready with no proposition." But he certainly did himself an injustice. He afterwards proved that he had some very perspicuous ideas as to the federation of the future. He rightly points out that it is our duty to do our utmost to strengthen and mature our colonies in

their social, their political, and commercial relations. In this his advice does not differ from that of politicians of all shades of opinion.\* He rightly says there must be common allegiance, common nationality, and common political rights. Besides these, there must undoubtedly be mutual relations with all foreign powers, whether at peace or in war. There must be some common principles of action, some common articles of political creed, and some means by which the independent action of each of the colonies may be regulated and conformed to these mutual principles and beliefs, otherwise the union is a sham, and the separation which has been so urgently argued had better take place. That this is not impossible we believe; and we should have desired to hear what Mr Forster—who speaks not only with the authority of a statesman, but with the greater authority of information respecting some at least of our dependencies—had to say with reference to this matter: here, however, he is silent. He alludes to the Canadian Copyright Act of last year, and regrets that the Dominion Government did not, before it asked the confirmation of that Act by our Parliament, ask whether arrangements could not be made for an imperial copyright. Here, then, we have an apt illustration of the inconvenience of the lax relations which exist between the Home and the Colonial Governments. Mr Forster says that he does not despair of some future tariff for the empire, and that a tariff based upon our present fiscal policy—namely, “customs levied upon as few articles as possible, with a corresponding excise.” But he does not show us any grounds for his sanguine anticipation. We know that some of the colonies have become protectionist. What reason is there for hope that they will become better informed as to their real duties and interests? What means will they have in the future to correct the error which they were uninformed enough to make in the past? Here also Mr Forster is not explicit. He admits that there must be one law throughout the empire as to the treatment of uncivilised or half-civilised races. England could not be hand-and-glove with a slave-owning power. But how is this unanimity of action as to this matter to be obtained? We know that the Secretary for the Colonies has already been defied. Are we then to acquiesce in the separation of any state which chooses to set at defiance not only the advice and example of England, but a higher law of nature and humanity, and begins to exercise rights of property in man? Are we to regard such a state as free to do as it likes? Are

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\* See “Colonial Constitutions,” by Arthur Mills, M.P., 1856; Pamphlet on the Colonies, by the Right Hon. Sir Charles Adderley, 1862; Speech of Lord Derby (then Lord Stanley) at Kings-Lynn, *Times*, 20th Oct. 1864.

we to give up the cause of liberty, and abandon those who are unable to wrest their freedom from their rulers to their fate? Are we simply to wash our hands, Pilate-wise, and say that we are guiltless of the blood of these? Should not such a state be treated by the other members of the confederation as a criminal is treated by the great body of honest men? Should not such a member of the union be denied the right to secede until it has rehabilitated itself in the eyes of all just men; and should not England and the other untainted colonies do as the Northern States of the American Union did in the civil war, and rise to crush an injustice which makes the horrors of war themselves seem mercies in the haggard comparison? Upon such questions Mr Forster is not explicit. He would admit, we suppose, that the confederation should have certain laws, but he does not indicate the means by which these could be achieved. Almost every politician has long ago abandoned the idea of allowing the colonies to be represented in the English Parliament.\* In theory such representation is well enough; in practice, the expedient would be of little service to the colonies, might interfere somewhat with home concerns, and would not bring about the end in view. At the present time the British Parliament is peculiarly unwieldy. Much of the time of the House of Commons is wasted in trifling debate; and as the writer of the article which appeared in these pages in 1852 points out, at the present time much of the neglect of colonial affairs is due, not to a want of proper feeling upon the part of England, not to any malice upon the part of the Colonial Office, but to the fact that the time of Parliament is overtaxed, the attention of Parliament overstrained, and the sentiments of Parliament already occupied by the pressing matters which are forced upon its consideration. He points out that one of the

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\* Adam Smith argued that the colonies might justly be called upon to contribute to the defence of the empire, and suggested that they might very properly be admitted to representation in the Imperial Parliament. A writer who views this question from a colonial point of view (Jehu Mathews of Toronto, in his "A Colonist on the Colonial Question," London, 1872), still argues that the present relationship of fatherland and colonies cannot form the basis of a permanent connection, and that, in the absence of modification of the terms of union, a disruption of the empire is not likely to be long delayed. He proposes that the English Parliament, as at present constituted, should deal with all matters which have to do exclusively with the British Islands, and that an Imperial Parliament, dealing with the interests of the whole of the Queen's dominions, should be constituted by the admission of a proper proportion of colonial representatives into the Parliament. He would also have two Governments—a Federal and a Local Executive Government. He tries to meet the objections to his suggestions with ingenuity, but he is more successful in his analysis of Mr Goldwin Smith's argument for separation than in the synthesis of his own scheme of federation.



evils of our present colonial system of administration is the absence of any means by which colonial affairs can be discussed publicly in England ; and he proposes as a cure for the evils complained of, as a means of bringing about that unity of action, that community of thought and sentiment as to all intercolonial questions such as those to which we have referred above, the institution of an advisory assembly or council, consisting of representatives from all the colonies. In that council all matters not purely local to the individual colonies, but matters external to individual dependencies, and connected with the inter-relations of these, with their relations to England, or with regard to the whole colonial empire, would be openly discussed and debated. He sees clearly the objections to representing the colonies in the House of Commons. We at the present time, even in our little country, and with our comparatively compact interests, have experienced the anomalies of having a question relating to English counties decided by a vote of Scotch and Irish members, or a Bill which relates to Scotland thrown out by Englishmen. This anomaly, and the evils which are incident to it, would be very materially increased if a British Parliament, with colonial representatives, had to decide upon all the questions of State both for Britain and her dependencies. The leisure, too, of the British Parliament is, as we have seen, not so spacious as to admit of its performing these important functions in relation to the colonies. He advocates, then, with force and forethought, the institution of an advisory assembly, which should discuss all the questions of colonial significance much as our newspapers at the present time discuss all home and foreign questions, and which would still have to look to the British Parliament for the regulation of those inter and extra colonial relations which are so important to the well-being of the commonwealths. But under such circumstances it would be an informed British Parliament which would have to determine these intricate questions. It would be a Parliament, as it were, deciding upon a report of a permanent and skilled committee upon colonial affairs. We cannot but regard this suggestion as shrewd and sound. All that he says with regard to the weight of the counsels of such an assembly we are prepared to admit. That the wisdom which was in this body, although it was only an advising, and not an executing assembly, would make itself law in time, we believe. We cannot but believe that Parliament would be largely and ably guided by such an assembly. We cannot see that any more excellent suggestion in relation to this matter has been made. Were such an assembly convened, we might soon hope for the adoption of an imperial tariff, of a law of copyright for the whole empire, and we should have a means of preventing any violation upon the part of any member of the confederation

of the principles of their union by the strong but peaceful power of the public opinion of the whole. This is the growing power of the world, for it gives truth fairplay. A man's words, if they are true, are supported by greater force than that of legions, for verily the centuries will not gainsay them.

Mr Forster's own suggestion points in the same direction. He argues that children should be taught to know something of the geography of our colonial empire. The object of such instruction would be to bring about an interest in the colonies, and a sympathy with the colonies, which is not felt at the present time—an interest and sympathy which are absolutely necessary to the continuance of those relations which exist between this country and those others which are like unto it, and also to the more thorough confederation which has been shadowed forth, and of which we do not despair. Without doubt such a branch of education would be valuable, and the suggestion comes appropriately from Mr Forster; but the question whether such a culture can be more efficiently undertaken by the schools, or by such an advisory assembly as that we have alluded to, might well claim some discussion. Politics are not at the present time directly taught in this country in the schools, but are more efficiently, although indirectly, inculcated by the debates in Parliament. Indeed, the real importance of free and reported discussion is to be found in its educational effects. The discussions in the House do not convince the members, but they inform and instruct; so that we might say the debate is always some years before the actual division. If it is nothing else, St Stephen's is an admirable school of politics. The existence of such an advisory assembly would be a guarantee of a similar education, and the creation of a similar interest, in colonial questions, which at present exist in relation to home affairs. This indirect instruction would, it seems to us, more effectually secure the sympathy and interest which is desiderated than the direct instruction which Mr Forster suggests. At the same time, we cannot but think that a real and accurate knowledge of the political geography of Britain and her colonies is an indispensable part of the proper education of a child who is to become an active and useful citizen of this great state.

The want of information as to, and the want of interest in, all colonial questions has been an admitted evil; but some endeavour has undoubtedly been made to remedy the evil. The Press does not at the present time so utterly disregard all colonial questions as formerly; but just as the time of Parliament is over-occupied, the space of the Press—that Lower House—is too limited to admit of a thorough treatment of the many important matters which demand publicity. The deputations which wait upon the Secretary for the Colonies are also calculated to disseminate

general information on the subject, and to place at the disposal of the British Parliament information which may be of great importance. But we cannot, we confess, regard any of these means as likely to make up for the want of a Colonial Council composed of representatives from the colonies, the discussions in which would not only be the means of interesting the people of Britain in her dependencies, but would keep up an active interest in the colonies in relation to England. The conditions of federation are not difficult to determine. The principles of government which must be accepted by all the parties to the bargain are those which England has slowly worked out, and which are aptly summarised in the article already referred to.\*

Each country which entered into the union must accept these principles and subscribe to these political tenets. Subject to these it would be the policy of the confederation to recognise the present position of each colony in relation to the Imperial Government; but that position would be open to modification and improvement by the ordinary course of legislation after full discussion in the Colonial House of Assembly in London.† Supreme power would, notwithstanding the existence of the Assembly, remain with Great Britain to maintain in their integrity the principles alluded to. In all cases intercolonial differences might be discussed in the Assembly, and adjudicated upon, at the discretion of Parliament, either in the Courts of Law or in a Committee of the Colonial Council. In cases where the differences referred to matters of policy in any

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\* They are these :—

1. Fixity of law, and uniformity of its application to all British subjects alike, of whatever colour, race, or religion, and to all foreigners, as to all British subjects, with only the differences required by their different allegiance.

2. Separation of the judicial from other functions, trial by jury, and the independence and inviolability of judges and jurors.

3. The right of personal liberty equally secured to all by *Habeas Corpus*, without distinction of religion, race, or colour.

4. Subordination of the military to the civil power.

5. Freedom of discussion, by printing, writing, and spoken words.

6. Publicity of legislation, justice, taxation, and government accounts, under whatever forms these may be locally effected or administered.

7. Freedom of enterprise, commerce, and locomotion, exempt from protective or discriminative duties.

8. Religious equality as to civil rights, eligibilities, privileges, and liabilities of law, together with exemption in all colonies from compulsory payments for religious purposes.

9. Permanence and equality of the rights of all British subjects in every part of the empire alike, subject to the local laws.

† "The question between England and her colonies," says Mr Hurlburt in his interesting work on "Britain and her Colonies," London, 1865, "ought not to be one of separation but of sounder relations, as alike the interest of both, and the interest of good government throughout the world."



way affecting the empire, they would, in the first instance, be submitted to Council, and subsequently to Parliament. The whole of the confederation would offer equal rights and privileges to all subjects of the British Crown. The judges would throughout be appointed by the Crown. The laws, as far as possible, ought to be assimilated through the whole empire.\* The legal processes should be identified and recognised in every state of the union, and legal practitioners eligible to practise in one should have the same right in all the others. Each colony should maintain troops for the benefit of the empire in proportion to its ability, and that ability would be assessed by Parliament after full discussion in the Assembly. Attacks upon any part of the empire would be resisted and resisted by the whole force of the confederation, and a wrong done to any of the colonial subjects would be dealt with as a wrong done to a British subject is at present. If a national member of the confederation should injure or offend a foreign power, and after due inquiry by the Council and vote of Parliament be adjudged in the wrong, such individual state—if the act complained of was the spontaneous action of the colony, and was unauthorised by the Council and Parliament—would be required to bear the whole of the costs of reparation out of its own resources, without contribution from any other state in the confederation. A contumacious colony would be liable either to coercion, or, in the discretion of the other members of the confederation, to expulsion. Any colony would be at liberty to withdraw from the union, unless it was in default in relation to some of its obligations, or disobedient to some order which had been made in reference to it as a member of the confederation.

These rules, then, which are, for the most part, suggested in the article to which we have already so often referred, seem to us to answer the question which Mr Forster professed himself incapable of dealing with. Upon these terms of mutual rights and common benefits the confederation of English nations might be more permanent than any national institution which the world has seen. Indeed, it would have within it possibilities such as few states have ever enjoyed. It would be capable of ruling the world in peace; it would be capable of indefinite extension, and would, to some extent, realise the prophesy of the angels, "Peace on earth, and goodwill towards men." We are glad to see that Mr Forster speaks some brave words as to his hope that some day the United States of America may become a part of the great con-

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\* The continuance of the supreme appellate jurisdiction for all colonial cases, at present in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and ultimately, under the Act of this session, in the House of Lords, will have this effect to some extent.

federation of English peoples. We look back with regret to the past which separated America from Britain, but we look forward to the future with hope that it will make the two halves of the nation one again; and we cannot but feel with Mr Forster that this hope—the hope of such an alliance between the Americans and the English—“is not the least powerful of those beliefs which make one think politics worth pursuing.” But the way to bring about that alliance is not, we are certain, by throwing off the colonies we have, not by a cowardly and selfish isolation of Britain, but by a continuance in that course of conciliation which we have hitherto pursued, and an improvement of our relations with the colonies in the way which has been pointed out. We are a nation of merchants, and have, therefore, been the propagandists of men. No creed has sent out so many missionaries as that of liberty. But we must not be content with sending out these missionaries; we have other duties to perform. Liberty will not prosper if we turn our back on these colonies. Peace will not abide with us or them if Britain passes piecemeal into the coming time. We must strengthen, encourage, and help these our neighbours, who are bone of our bone. We have many lessons to teach which they have to learn, we are the recipients of many truths which they must receive. We must carry these to the colonies, and make them more one with us in a high intellectual and moral unity, to which this community of laws, of nationality, of allegiance, and rights would be a fitting basis. It is not by separating from Australia that we can become one with America. It is rather by setting an example of unity in spite of distance and dividing seas, of community in spite of differences, and of brotherly love in spite of world-wide separations. Our confederation would be an example of the goodly effects of freedom to the world, and the association might well become attractive to that other great colony which has been the pride of Englishmen when they have thought of our energy, our zeal, our rise, our growth, our progress; and the disgrace of Englishmen when they have thought on the unity which should be and was not. All this we hope for, all this we may attain, if we follow Mr Forster’s statesman-like advice, instead of the rash utterances of those who would have us separate from our colonies. We may yet throughout the whole world “dwell together in unity.”

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## ART. II.—THE LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN.

1. *Primitive Marriages.* By Mr MACLENNAN. 1865.
2. *The Rights of Women : a Comparison of the Relative Legal Status of the Sexes in the Chief Countries of Western Civilisation.* Trübner. 1875.

IT was once an historical fashion to explain the social phenomena of a country by some leading social fact—to refer, for example, political institutions or customs to a given state of religion ; whilst, in reality, both the cause assumed and the facts to be explained were co-ordinate effects of a complex set of causes. But now we have learnt to regard a given state of religion as simply betokening, in common with other marks, a certain state of social advancement, and we should no more think of referring polygamy to polytheism, or monogamy to monotheism, than of referring the structure of the brain to the structure of the stomach. All social or physical facts, existing contemporaneously, are joint products of pre-existing, and, for the most part, unknown conditions ; and however intimate the connection may be, there is never a direct causal one between them. Believing, therefore, that all customs are natural products evolved from the faculties with which the human species was primarily endowed ; believing that institutions are formed by men as reefs by corals, spontaneously, and, as it were, purposelessly, in conformity with the elements of their nature and the necessities of existence, and that consequently the anomalies of actual law are often but survivals of barbarism, and not always encroachments of the strong over the weak : it is interesting to take the two works prefixed as our text, the one informing us of the position held by women in the lowest human societies, and the other their position in the highest, and to endeavour to trace the intermediate links which connect the two stages, and see what relics of the one survive in the other.

But at the outset it must be acknowledged that the application of the doctrine of evolution to such a subject is in itself an hypothesis ; for we have to presuppose certain facts, which, since they not only belong to the past, but to a past which is prehistoric, can never be brought within the domain of demonstration. Yet the assumption that civilisation has sprung from barbarism, from a state of ignorance and darkness more or less similar to that of modern savages, is one which must be estimated by its adapta-



bility to explain facts, and, even if incapable of proof, it admits of an increase of probability. For this reason: that the evidence on which it rests—namely, the analogous customs, ideas, or material instruments found among civilised and savage races—is capable of increasing at an equal rate to the increase of our knowledge of ourselves and savages, and obviously such increase is boundless. Of course, the explanation on the hypothesis of development of co-existing inequalities of culture is only possible by the vague generality of difference of conditions. We have to accept it as a fact, both in physics and in politics, that forms of species and societies still survive precisely identical in lowness of type with those from which we suppose more advanced ones to have developed. As Mr MacLennan says—"In the science of law and society, old means not old in chronology, but in structure; that is most archaic which lies nearest to the beginning of human progress considered as a development, and that is most modern which is furthest removed from that beginning."

The custom which is by far the most interesting to humanity, and at the same time the greatest achievement humanity can boast of, the custom which sets the widest gulf between mankind and other animals, and is that which chiefly differentiates civilisation from barbarism, is undoubtedly the custom of marriage. Yet this custom, which was, and is still, by many regarded as a primitive institution, and, if not perfectly developed, as at least perfectly ordained in the dawn of human history, is now looked upon by all ethnologists as one of the latest products of a comparatively advanced civilisation. For the evidence amounts to almost a certainty that the Jews, or any other nation among whom, at a very remote period, marriage is found more or less regularly organised, must have already passed through so many different stages of growth, and such vast periods of time, as is implied by the difference of culture between, let us say, the Ansarians and ourselves. Tradition everywhere points to a time when marriage was unknown, and, as so often happens, an institution which was probably the slow growth of ages is referred to the genius of individual legislators. The Greeks ascribed it to Cecrops, the Chinese to Fohi, the Egyptians to Menes, the Hindus to Svetaketu; and among all the marriage customs of civilised communities we find traces which so exactly accord with the manners of barbarism, that we can only account for them as survivals descended from a similar state.

Mr MacLennan adduces many facts and arguments in support of his theory that the most primitive relations between the sexes were such as Herodotus declares to have been in vogue among the Massagetæ and Agathyrsi. People in so low a condition generally procure their wives by capture from other tribes, as an easier way of recruiting their numbers than by rearing useless mouths among

themselves. In obedience to the dictates of the stern laws of existence, when food is scarce and foes numerous, resort is had to the practice of female infanticide, which brings about an unequal balance of the sexes. Consequently, wives must not only be captured, but shared. So that, inasmuch as polygamy presupposes better and easier conditions of life, it may fairly be supposed that the world was polyandrous before it was polygamous. And, following out this line of thought, we may suppose that monogamy succeeded polygamy; and thus we arrive at three distinctive and successive epochs in the evolution of marriage, namely, the Polyandrous, the Polygamous, and the Monogamous periods, which seem to contain respectively three distinctive characteristics: the first the custom of Capture, the second that of Purchase, and the third that of Marriage Presents. Not indeed that any hard and fast line can be drawn between the three periods, or that capture or purchase are never found among monogamous people. No theories about the course of history can ever be more than rough suggestions, more or less arbitrary and tentative. Thought can cut cleaner than fact, and the transitions and gradations of nature mock the subtlest classifications of science. Yet the latter are of use, if they only serve to group our ideas and arrest our memory. It suffices for a theory to be approximately true; if it were absolutely so, it would cease to be a theory, and become a law.

But if there is any truth at all in the theory we have suggested, we should expect to find, not only that traces of the first period survive in the second, and of both in the last, but that the traces of the first should be weaker in the last than in the second. And this is precisely what we do find, as will appear more fully in the sequel. For instance, the ideas of the Capture period survive with much greater vitality among such people as the Kalmucks, where the bridegroom is pursued with stones and javelins, than among ourselves, where he is only pelted with slippers, the original reality, which with them is a serious ceremony, and sometimes still a fact, having degenerated with us into a well-nigh unintelligible usage; for the practice of one period becomes a symbol in the second, and a form in the third. In the same way, female infanticide, which remains common in polygamous nations, grows into a crime in the Monogamous period.

Among savages who obtain their wives by capture, and regard them as tribal property, it does not seem unreasonable that the children should take their names from their mothers. "The first kinship," says Mr MacLennan, "is the first possible—that through mothers, about whose parental relation to children there can be no mistake." This fact is the germ of better things for the female sex, and under certain circumstances, of which we are ignorant, develops early into a very unusual phase of culture—one, namely,

where the wife is mistress, and can do what she likes with her husband. In the Ladrone Islands, a husband can do nothing without his wife's consent: she can chastise him and repudiate him at pleasure, retaining for herself their property and children.\* And not only was it the case that some North American tribes used to admit women to their councils, and let them speak first, but women also used to vote in the assemblies of the ancient Britons. A similar state of things may possibly explain an old Athenian myth, otherwise unintelligible. For when Neptune and Minerva disputed as to which of them should give their name to the city, Cecrops called a meeting of men and women to decide, and Minerva having been carried by the female votes by a majority of one, the great sea-god showed his sense of the affront by a great inundation. In consequence of this the female sex was punished by expulsion for the future from the public assemblies, and the withdrawal of their right to transmit their names to their children. These facts are remarkable, and seem to show that the progress of women from bad to better has not been uniform or constant, but that they may have been happier under peculiar circumstances in the Capture period than they have been in more civilised times.

It is some confirmation of this theory of the three stages of marriage customs, that traces of relationship through females are more frequent among polygamous than monogamous nations—that is, where civilisation has made least progress from its original starting-point. It survives still among the Australian Blacks, most American Red men, and the South Sea Islanders, some of whom have already attained the polygamous stage. And in some parts of China, where the husband may annually repudiate his wife and marry another, it is still the mother who owns the children, and has over them the power of life and death.

The transition from polyandry to polygamy must be due originally to some alteration in the numerical balance of the sexes, brought about by some unknown removal of the difficulties of existence. The extermination by conquest of rival tribes, or separation caused by geological changes, may facilitate the spread of the favoured tribe over a larger area, and thus give them freer power to develop, and render female infanticide less necessary than before. Then, in course of time, the more peaceful method of purchasing wives would occur as a substitute for more violent means, and a practice begun within the tribe would extend itself to their relations outside it. The substitution, indeed, of Purchase

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\* Millar, "Origin of Ranks," p. 51. Voltaire's rule with respect to anomalous relations between the sexes, that it required many years' personal acquaintance with savages to credit the facts told of them, hardly goes too far in inculcating scepticism in such matters.



for Capture points to such an improvement in the conditions of life as is implied by the existence of commerce by barter. The law of persons everywhere follows the law of things. Among the lower savages, community of goods and community of wives run side by side; and property in wives, which is involved in polygamy, presupposes an advance to property in things. As representative societies of the transition period between Capture and Purchase we may take the Kirghiz and Circassian tribes, among whom capture exists generally as a form, but on occasion as a fact, the ceremony of capture being always gone through, but actual compulsion resorted to if the lady's parent should not accept the prize offered for her hand.

It has sometimes been attempted to connect polygamy with a hot climate, but it has been found both at Kamtschatka and in the cold countries about Hudson's Bay, and was prevalent even in Europe for some time after the introduction of Christianity; while, on the other hand, monogamy prevails among the tropics of the Indian Archipelago, at Dorey in New Guinea, in the Philippine Islands, and among the Veddahs in the interior of Ceylon. Such negative instances are fatal, and incidentally strengthen the argument that polygamy is a custom naturally developed out of prior social circumstances, with occasional exceptions in certain places. But the position of wives in the Polygamous period is by no means necessarily better than it is in the Polyandrous, because as a rule they are acquired by purchase. As Aristotle long since remarked, among savages women and slaves hold the same rank. Women are bought primarily as slaves, to drudge and toil for their masters, whilst their function as wives is secondary and subordinate. It is more right to say of polygamous people that their slaves are also their wives, than to say that their wives are slaves. They are purchased as slaves, they work as slaves, and they live as slaves. "The history of uncultivated nations," it has been said, "uniformly represents the women as in a state of abject slavery, from which they slowly emerge as civilisation advances." In Canada a strap, a kettle, and a faggot are placed in a new bride's cabin, to indicate that it will be henceforth her duty to carry burdens, dress food, and procure wood for her husband. In Circassia it is the women who till and manure the ground, and in parts of China they follow the plough. A Moorish wife digs and sows and reaps the corn, and an Arabian wife feeds and cleans and saddles her master's horse. Indeed, the sole business of Bedouin wives is to cook and work, and perform all the menial offices connected with tent-life. "The North American tribes glory in idleness; the drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only." Consequently it would be "unspeakable meanness" in a bridegroom to show any affection

for his bride.\* Concerning savage tribes in Africa the evidence is the same—"Les travaux pénibles du ménage sont le partage des femmes. Non seulement elles préparent les alimens et les liqueurs, mais elles sont chargées de la culture des grains et du tabac, de broyer le millet, de filer et de sécher le coton, de fabriquer les étoffes, de fournir la maison d'eau et de bois, de prendre soin des bestiaux : *enfin de tout ce qui appartient à l'autre sexe dans des régions mieux policées.*"†

It is important to notice, not only with reference to our immediate subject, but with reference to the popular generalities about the capacities of women, and the "sphere" or "mission" marked off for them by nature, that in early societies, which approach nearer than our own to a state of nature, it is precisely the women who do all the hard work in addition to their duties as wives and mothers. The men all the time, if they are not fighting, sit at home at their ease. So that, as Plato long ago observed, it is rather existing customs that are contrary to nature than nature which forbids any changes.

From the absolute power of a savage over his slaves flow all those rights over a woman from which the marital rights of our own time are the genealogical descendants. Not only may a man at any time thrust from his home the slave he has bought, but he may even sell her or put her to death. Alike to her husband and her father the primary value of a woman is her pecuniary one. What more fair than that a father who has been at the trouble of rearing daughters should reap some small benefit from their sale as wives or slaves as soon as they can fetch a good price in the market? Shall he not do what he likes with his own? Everywhere, indeed, we find records of purchase, which get fainter and fainter as polygamy gradually merges into monogamy. Early Jewish history contains a record of it in the purchase of Rebecca by Abraham, and the seven years' service of Jacob for the hand of Rachel. The Thracians bought their wives in the time of Herodotus; the Babylonians and Assyrians purchased them at auction. Aristotle asserts that it was once customary in Greece, and the Homeric poems probably belong to a time when it was beginning to disappear. It still prevails among the Tartars, in Pegu, in Sumatra, the Molucca Islands, and elsewhere, whilst in Timor men often sell their children in order to be able to purchase more wives. It was the law even in France before the Revolution that "*le futur époux devait offrir une somme aux parens de la fille,*" and a trace of it is found in the following

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\* See Lord Kames' "Sketches of the History of Man," vol. i. p. 424, for most of these instances.

† "Histoire des Voyages," t. iv. p. 183.

custom of old English law—"The woman at the church-door was given of her father, or some other man of the next of her kin, into the hands of her husband, and he laid down gold and silver for her upon the book, as though he did buy her."\*

But the servile condition of women in the Purchase period is further marked by the absolute want of equality between them and their husbands. In Congo and the southern parts of Africa women seldom eat with the men: the wife stands at her husband's back whilst he eats, keeps off the flies, and serves him with food. She may only eat what he has left, and that in a standing posture, for sitting would be incompatible with the decorum of her sex. It is the same with the wives of the Arabs. That it is, or was till lately, so among the Polynesian Islanders may be gathered from Ellis's graphic picture of their manners, which we shall make no apology for quoting in full:—

"The institutes of Oro and Tane inexorably required not only that the wife should not eat those kinds of food of which the husband partook, but that she should not eat in the same place or prepare her food at the same fire. This restriction applied not only to the wife, but to all the individuals of the female sex from their birth to the day of their death. . . . The men, especially those who attended on the services of idol-worship in the temple, were considered *ra*, or sacred; while the female sex altogether was considered *noa*, or common: the men were allowed to eat the flesh of the pig and of fowls, and a variety of fish, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, and whatever was presented as an offering to the gods, which the females on pain of death were forbidden to touch, as it was supposed they would pollute them. The fires at which the men's food was cooked were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by the females. The baskets in which their provision was kept, and the house in which the men ate, were also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the same cruel penalty. Hence the inferior food, both for wives, daughters, and others, was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females in little huts erected for the purpose."†

And in some negro tribes on the African coast the wives cannot receive anything from their husband's hands, and may only appear before them crouching on their knees. But naturally in such a state of society, the idea of wives, who as slaves are themselves property, possessing or earning anything for themselves, would be absurd. A slave, a wife, and a cow, are in savage estimation exactly on a level, and it would be as reasonable to imagine a cow having rights as a wife or a slave. The male, as in the Gaul of Cæsar's time, or in the early age of Rome, has over

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\* Sir T. Smith's "Commonwealth of England," bk. iii. c. 8.

† Ellis, "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 221.



his wife, as over his children, absolute power of life and death.\* Daughters are absolutely excluded from inheritance, as was the case formerly with the Arabs and Jews, and as is the case still with the Tartar tribes, and most of the savage populations of Africa.

We may sum up, therefore, the second stage in the history of marriage and social status of women, as one in which wives are slaves, or rather slaves are wives, bought for a price like flocks or herds, and with absolutely no rights as against their husbands, and in which the women may not even eat with the men, much less have any right to property or claims to good treatment. Of such a state the word "polygamy" is even apt to convey a misleading idea, for, in the presence of so few of the ideas we associate with marriage, we should rather speak simply of men and women than of husbands and wives.

It is only by slow degrees that the originally chaotic customs of polygamy assume a kind of order, and clothe themselves with such organised forms as we find exemplified in the practice, or theory, of modern Mahometans or Chinese. It is a considerable step in advance when the first of many wives becomes the principal one, and all the subsequent ones are subordinated to her, or when a plurality of wives becomes restricted to kings and princes. It marks the transition between polygamy and monogamy, and, in so far as it is attended by the substitution of gifts for purchase-money, between the Purchase and the Present systems. By the latter we mean the custom for the husband to bring nuptial gifts to the wife herself, or to her father, instead of purchasing her by money or goods. The purchase-money, instead of going absolutely to her parents, comes to be regarded as a provision for her use. This is the case in Java. In Homer, though purchase was usual, we find the germ of a reciprocity of marriage presents, which is the real basis of a matrimonial contract, and later develops into an organised system of dower.

Jewish history affords a good illustration of the change we are supposing, for though we find polygamy surviving down to a late period, the first wife is marked off from all others even so early as in the case of Sarah and Hagar. The Mosaic law prohibited adultery, but not concubinage; it only attempted to check polygamy by forbidding kings to multiply wives, and forbidding men in general to marry two sisters (Deut. xvii. 17; Lev. xviii. 18). The Talmudists in later times limited wives to the number of four, with an exception in favour of kings to the number of eighteen. Nor are the traces of marriage by purchase absent even

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\* "Viri in uxores sicuti in liberos vitæ necisque habent potestatem."  
—*Cæsar, De Bello Gall.* iv. 18.

in the historical period. For the presents given to the wife or her relations, and called "mohar," were in all probability the price paid in earlier times to a father for his daughter; and we have the statement of Boaz, "Ruth have I *purchased* to be my wife." Moses certainly allowed fathers to sell their daughters for slaves or concubines, provided only the purchaser were a countryman (Exod. xxi. 7). We may suppose that purchase continued in the case of inferior wives after the custom had begun of celebrating the first marriage by a present to the wife. For a husband seems to have settled a dowry on his first wife, and to have presented her with a piece of silver as a pledge of their union. Yet his right to dismiss her at pleasure remained practically unaltered by the bill of divorcement by which the great lawgiver attempted to check the abuse of male caprice, and in the Mishna mere noisiness in a wife is mentioned as ample ground for a divorce from her husband.

It is a significant fact in the social life of the Chinese, that the reason given for the greater attendance of women than of men in the Buddhist temples is, that the votaries hope, by assiduous prayer and devotion, to be born as men in their next phase of existence. There is even a sect of women who have taken a vow never to eat meat or fish, in the hope thereby to bring about the desired transformation. In some families, daughters have no individual names, but are distinguished simply by numerals, like the houses of a street, nor can any greater rudeness be shown than to ask a man whether he has many daughters. Pan-honippan, a famous Chinese authoress, wrote—"When a son is born, he sleeps in a bed, he is clothed with robes, and plays with pearls; every one obeys his princely cries. But when a girl is born, she sleeps on the ground, covered only with a cloth, she plays with a tile, she is incapable of good or evil, she must think of nothing but of preparing wine and food, and not annoying her parents." \* It is natural, then, to find that the infanticide of girls is more frequent than that of boys; and though the reason generally pleaded is the parents' poverty, it may be considered as a relic of the savage state, where the inutility of the sex is the excuse for the practice. For the inutility for fighting in the savage stage extends itself through all subsequent ones; and women, having been once associated with incapacity in one direction, are ever after associated with incapacity in all directions. As in Polynesia they cannot perform services in the temple, and in Greece it was only the male sex who could carry on the worship of the divinity and perform funeral offices; so in China and India it is sons who are necessary to sacrifice to the manes of their ancestors, and who alone are able to benefit them in the land beyond

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\* M. Huc, "L'Empire Chinois," t. i. p. 272.

the grave. In China, indeed, the ancestral tablets seem to play as important a part as land does in England, and life chiefly to be directed with regard to their preservation. For the tablets which belong to the father and mother of a family descend to the eldest son on their death, and then to their grandson. And if the eldest son has no offspring, he adopts some child of a younger brother or other relation, in order to keep up the family name, and retain the tablets in his own family line. But daughters are not allowed a tablet of either parent, but worship those of their husband's family.

The position of women as wives is always a corollary of their position as daughters. Nor is China any exception to the rule. As in India, Judæa, Greece, Arabia, and elsewhere, we find polygamy no longer indiscriminate, but subject to discipline, the first wife being always the principal one, and invested with certain privileges over the other women subsequently selected by her husband. The beginnings of such a change from lawless polygamy may perhaps be found among some African tribes, where there is generally one inseparable wife and several concubines, the former being the most honoured and exempt from severe labour, but still unworthy to eat in the presence of her husband. In China, the traces of such a feeling only survive in a few customs; for instance, when the bride and bridegroom sit down to their wedding-dinner, and often see themselves for the first time, though the husband may eat as much as pleases him, his wife may not touch a particle, but must sit in silent composure by his side; and on other occasions, when friends are asked to dinner, the ladies dine apart upstairs and the gentlemen below. The first marriage, as in India, is never brought about by the principals themselves, but is often arranged irrevocably in their infancy, being simply an arrangement of marriage articles and marriage presents on the part of their parents. This fact of itself indicates that the Dower period has been reached, though purchase still continues among the poorer classes, who are often driven to sell their girls as slaves or wives through their very inability to supply them with a dowry and outfit at marriage. It appears, also, that a man can never sell a wife except with her consent, and that he can only sell her as a wife, never as a slave.\* Nor is his

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\* This is the most favourable view to take. M. Huc, indeed, speaks of the husband's right to sell his wife as perfectly uncontrolled; and Mr Nevins, in his "China and the Chinese," speaks of husbands being able to sell their wives as freely as fathers their children. He even cites a case of an opium-eater who first sold his wife to enable him to gratify his desires, and then sold his son to enable him to travel to the town where he hoped to get cured. Probably the worse view only applies to the inferior wives. According to Klemm, any man who separates from his wife, in order to sell her to another man, is liable at law to receive a hundred blows, whilst the buyer and the woman also, if she consents, are similarly punished.—*Cultur-Geschichte*, iv. 201.



right to free himself from her' unlimited. Only seven causes will justify him in repudiating her. These are barrenness, adultery, disregard of her parents-in-law, talkativeness, jealousy, thievishness, or disease; but even such causes will not suffice if she has no parents or brothers to receive her back, or if her family has sunk into poverty, or if she has mourned three years for her parents-in-law. Yet, on the other hand, "there does not seem to be any valid ground why a wife, or her friends in her behalf, should demand a separation from him. The power is all in his hands. Should she desire to get a bill of divorcement from him, because he treats her unkindly, or because he is a thief or an adulterer, the attempt would be in vain. There does not appear to be any lawful reason to justify a wife in leaving her husband. . . . Duty with her is simply and solely to follow her husband, submit to his caprices and the dominion of his parents, until death releases her, or she is sold by him or divorced."\* A similar inequality in matrimonial relations appears in the fact that if the wife wishes to be separated (for the parties can always separate at their mutual pleasure), and the husband withholds his consent, and she goes away, she is liable to be punished with ten blows or to be sold, or to be strangled by him if she marries again. On the other hand, should the husband be the deserter, and remain unheard of for full three years, and should his wife even then leave her home, without giving notice to a government tribunal, eighty blows are her punishment at law. Similarly, if she strikes him, she is liable to receive 100 blows, and he may get a divorce by application to a magistrate; he, however, is not punished at all for striking her, unless the blow produce a cutting wound.

The steps by which polygamy passes into monogamy cannot, of course, be definitely traced. Thousands of causes, moral and physical, may have been at work, and thousands of years required for the process. We can no more assign causes for the evolution of social phases which history records, than for the changes we see occur in the growth of an individual. The most we can do is to suggest precedent phenomena as to some extent conditioning subsequent facts. We have already had occasion to distinguish a lower from a higher form of polygamy—the latter being one in which the first wife enjoys certain privileges over her successors, and is treated with some consideration, whilst they are still treated as slaves. Where, as for instance among the Jews, the first wife received a wedding present, we have evidently advanced beyond simple polygamy to a stage which may be taken as preceding the lower form of monogamy, where, as in Greece, the first wife becomes the only legal one, but intercourse with other women re-

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\* Doolittle, "Social Life of the Chinese," vol. i. p. 106.

mains socially recognised. We may conceive that, as different communities have advanced—in other words, as they have attained to fixity of habitation and security of property—the ever-increasing inequalities of wealth should have rendered it more and more difficult for the poorer classes to buy or support more than one wife, and that this number—originally the limit of necessity—should have grown to be regarded as the limit at law. We must then suppose that the whole of a community became leavened with ideas of marital constancy and protection, which started from the lower classes, and not from the higher. The spread of Puritanism in England, or of Christianity itself in the Roman Empire, illustrates the power of innovations to spread from below; and we may even doubt whether any momentous social change has ever taken the opposite course. The probability of the change having taken place in the way we have suggested seems indicated in the numerous historical records of the survival of polygamy among kings or nobles long after it had ceased to be the general custom.

The Romans, at the earliest epoch at which we have historical notice of them, seem to have arrived at the monogamous form of marriage; but there are abundant traces in their laws and manners that they had passed through those earlier stages which we believe to have been universal. Capture survived as a form in marriage by "*confarreatio*"—for a show of force was always employed by the husband to take his bride from the arms of her mother; whilst in marriage by "*coemptio*," Purchase survived not only as a form but as a fact, the customary ceremonies being exactly the same as those that were necessary for the purchase of a slave; and the free power of a husband to dismiss his wife at will, and the general despotic authority which law and custom gave him over her, attest in the same way the persistency of barbarism. "The husband," Aulus Gellius makes Cato say, "has an absolute authority over his wife; it is for him to condemn and punish her if she has been guilty of any shameful act, such as wine-drinking or adultery" (*Noctes*. x. 23). There are, indeed, few better examples of the extreme mobility of our moral ideas than the fact that at Rome wine-drinking and adultery were equal sins; for the Romans, like the Milesians and Massilians, forbade their women to touch wine, and regarded the violation of the prohibition as a heinous crime. Pliny has recorded two cases, in one of which a woman was deprived of her dowry, in another put to death, for drinking wine.\* Yet, on the whole, the status of Roman women tended constantly to improve, in spite of such occasional retrograde steps as the Voconian law, which attempted to set limits to the property they could inherit. The Pagan laws of the

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\* "*Hist. Nat.*," xiv. 14.

empire ever went on repealing the disabilities of women, and the legislative improvement in their favour continued unabated from Constantine to Justinian, and even spread itself to some of the early laws of the barbarian nations. Unfortunately, however, clerical and ascetic notions brought about a reaction, and undid the work of more enlightened centuries, till they finally reduced the weaker sex to that low legal and social position which they occupied in feudal times, and from which in many countries, our own pre-eminently, they are still unemancipated. Wherever the canon law became the basis of legislation, the laws of succession sacrificed the interests of wives and daughters—though, it must be acknowledged that it was the Church legislators who increased the proprietary rights of widows, and initiated the maternal guardianship of children. With the French Revolution juster ideas again prevailed, and juster laws resulted from them, not only in France, but in most countries on the Continent.

But the example most interesting to us, on account not only of our political ties, but of our ethnological affinity, of a society belonging to the monogamous class, is that of the Hindus at the time when the Institutes of Menu and the works of their other divine sages were written. For these works, or their remains, whatever their antiquity may be, clearly point to a time in the social development of India, when the old system of purchase was already looked upon as wrong, and when the rights of women, notwithstanding the survival of many inequalities, had attained at law a degree of consideration and justice, which compares in many respects not unfavourably with actually existent English law.

In the Institutes of Menu, traces of the three stages in the customs of marriage clearly appear among the kinds of marriage therein specified. Of the eight forms of nuptial ceremony, one called the *Rácshasa*, which is only lawful for the military class, bears distinct marks of marriage by capture, and is in fact nothing else. It is defined “as the seizure of a maiden by force from her house, while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded, and their houses broken open.” Two forms, the one called *Arsha* or *Rishis*, the other *Asura*, are as distinct survivals from the purchase period. The first takes place when the father gives his daughter away, after having first received from a bridegroom one pair of kine or two pairs. The legislator denies that this is a bribe, for he argues that if it were, a bribe being equivalent to a sale, and a sale being unlawful, the marriage by *Arsha* would necessarily be unlawful, which it is not. Marriage by purchase is explicitly and clearly denounced :—“Let no father who knows the law receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage, since the man who through avarice takes a gratuity for that purpose is a seller of



his offspring" (c. iii. 51). Even a man of the servile class is expressly forbidden to receive a gratuity on such an occasion (c. ix. 98), and it is for that reason that marriage by Asura is declared to be illegal. For that marriage, "where the bridegroom having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsman, and to the damsel herself, takes her voluntarily as his bride," is Asura.

On the contrary, it is the *gift* from the husband *to the wife* at marriage which constitutes his title to marital dominion. Such a gift cannot be retracted, but becomes the wife's absolute property. And, indeed, her rights of property are remarkably extensive, and contrast strangely with mediæval laws in Europe. She may dispose freely after her husband's death of all movable gifts received from him, though during his life she must guard them frugally or commit them to the care of his family. But the Stridhana, as the wife's property is called, may even include lands or houses as well. "The property of a woman," it is written, "is that which her father, mother, friend, or brother has given her, what she has received in the presence of the nuptial fire on the bridal procession, or what her husband agrees to be her perquisite, or what is received from his or her kinsmen after the marriage. The absolute exclusive dominion over such a gift is perpetually celebrated, and they have power to sell or give it away as they please, even though it consists of lands and houses." \* Neither her husband, son, father, nor brother can alienate her lawful property, and if they rob her but of her carriages or clothes, a region of torment will be their portion hereafter. The king is charged to punish as thieves kinsmen who appropriate the fortunes of women during their lives. Her husband has no claim to any part of the Stridhana, and should she lend him any in disease or debt, or actual distress, he is bound to repay her of his own free will.† But more valuable than all the texts respecting her property is that which enjoins her husband, and father, and brothers always to honour her, reminding them that where females are honoured there the deities are pleased, but where they are dishonoured no religious acts can avail as compensation. There was humanity also of a high order in the sage who said, "Strike not even with a blossom a woman guilty of a hundred faults."

But not only had women such extensive rights of property, but their rights of inheritance were liberally accorded. The texts are most explicit in allotting to a mother an equal share with her son in the property of her deceased husband. "The father being dead, the mother shall inherit an equal share with her son."

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\* Catyayana, Dig. v. 595. But lands and houses are excluded in Nareda, Dig. v. 476.

† Cat. Dig. v. 475.

“After the death of a husband, the mother shall receive a share equal to that of each of her sons.” It was only the later expounders of Hindu law, as, for example, the writer of the *Dayututwu*, who by a forced interpretation of the old texts excluded mothers altogether in favour of their sons; and the actual law of inheritance in Bengal and most other parts now is, that all legitimate sons, even by different mothers, succeed equally, after them the grandson or great-grandson, then the widow, if she remains unmarried, and last of all, in default of the widow, her daughters. For the same commentators who have deprived mothers of their original rights, have deprived their daughters as well; for the old texts clearly intended that daughters should inherit a fourth part of what fell to the sons. “A fourth part is declared to be the share of unmarried daughters, and three-fourths of the sons.” “The daughters should have the fourth part of the portion to which the sons are entitled.” “To the unmarried daughters let their brothers give portions out of their own portions respectively. Let each give a fourth part of his share.” By the sophistry that such passages had no reference to inheritance, but simply to the payment by brothers of their sister’s marriage expenses, the latter have lost even those limited claims which ancient legislation allowed them in inheritance. But a yet worse alteration in the laws of Menu, and one directly opposed to the spirit of Hindu law, appears to have crept in within living memory. “In the practice of our contemporaries,” says an Indian writer, “a daughter is often a source of emolument to the Brahman of a less respectable class and to the Kaynooths of high caste: these, so far from spending money on the marriage of their daughters or sisters, receive frequently considerable sums, and generally bestow them in marriage on those who can pay most.”\* In other words, there is a tendency to revert to marriage by purchase.

In English law, daughters still, if there are sons, have no part in the succession to real estate, and in default of sons they succeed equally and together. This distinction maintained by the law in the inheriting capacities of the two sexes, is similar in kind to that of the old Hindu law as well as to that of most countries, past or present, which have not by an effort of reason and will tried to remedy the faults of their barbarous antecedents. The distinction is not so much an advantage consciously and purposely taken by the strong over the weak, as a thoughtless perpetuation of the savage division of humanity into women that are weak and men that are strong. Such a division, all-important as it is when life

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\* See Rammohun Roy’s remarks on modern encroachments on the ancient right of females according to the Hindu law of inheritance. 1856.

is a constant chase or war, continues to regulate the rights of persons long after superiority in muscle has ceased to be entitled to any special privilege. From their original inferiority for hunting or fighting all the subsequent disabilities of women descend. For though it may be true that among some savage nations the women join the men in their wars and hunts, as was the case with the Scythian and Sarmatian women in the time of Plato, and with the German women in the time of Tacitus, it may be assumed that they fight neither so much nor so well as the men, and from this deficiency in martial prowess arises later that general social disregard, which shows itself in the idea that men alone can perform religious rites or offer sacrifices to the manes of an ancestor. It was on account of their comparative inability, chiefly for war, but also for fishing or serving in the temples, that the infanticide, once so prevalent in Tahiti, was infanticide chiefly of the female sex. It was on account of their inability to go to war that, until Mahomet introduced a fairer law, Arabian women were totally excluded from their husband's or father's inheritance. Hence it is that the Hindu laws of inheritance, based on the idea that only through persons of the male sex can the dead derive any spiritual benefit from a due discharge of their funeral rites, are not directly unjust, but only a corollary of primitive traditions. Sons succeed first because they can directly offer the funeral services: daughters only take at all in virtue of their capacity to bear sons who may perform the duties which they cannot themselves. A son is spoken of as a person's own soul, and the birth of a son as the regeneration of its father. The same religious importance of sons has already been shown to affect the relative rights of the sexes in China, and the reason why in ancient Greece marriage was compulsory at Sparta and morally so at Athens, was that there might be a son to perform the customary offerings at his father's grave, and succeed him in his ministration to the Deity.\* It is probable that the abdication of a Tahitian king in favour of a new-born son, and the assumption at birth by the first-born sons in the aristocratic classes of the honours and titles of their fathers, belong to the same stock of ideas. And it is probable, moreover, that such fancies lay originally at the root of our own, or indeed of any, unjust laws of inheritance; and since these fancies themselves are traceable to the inferior capacity of women for fighting or sacrificing, all existing disabilities appear to resolve themselves into incapacities, which, however intelligible among savages, are out of all harmony with modern feelings of equity.

As in China, in default of certain justifying causes, the first

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\* "Τῷ Θεῷ ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι."—Plato, *Laws*, vi. 773.



wife can never be repudiated or sold without her own consent, so in Hindu law, a wife can never be superseded by another woman against her will except in certain cases. If she drinks spirituous liquors, or dislikes her master, or wastes his property, or acts immorally, or is mischievous, or incurably diseased, or has been barren for seven years—in all these cases, her husband may dismiss her and marry again. But a husband is bound to bear for a whole year with a wife who treats him with aversion, nor may he, in any case, ever sell her. A wife who, "though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her consent." "Let mutual fidelity continue to death: this, in few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife" (c. ix. 82, 101).

On the whole, therefore, the legal status of women had attained in the ancient laws of India, going back possibly to some fourteen centuries before our era, no mean degree in the scale of development. If, at Athens, women might be left, like other property, by will, and if in Arabia, before the reforms of Mahomet, a widow passed, by right of inheritance, to her husband's brother, in India women were so far from being regarded as mere property, that they even had extensive rights of property themselves. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as the old idea of the natural slavery of women remained in the unshaken belief of their perpetual dependence. A woman, we read, is never to wish to separate herself from her father, or her husband, or her sons: as a child, she must depend on the first; in her youth, on the second; in her widowhood, on her sons, or on her father's or husband's relations. A woman must never seek independence. Day and night must she be held in dependence by her protector. The right of disposing of her vests first in her father, then with her grandfather, brother, or kinsmen, and lastly, with her mother. Her father, under pain of future torments, is bound to betroth her to some one of her own class before she attains maturity, and such betrothal is absolutely irrevocable. Not only is it infanticide in him to let her grow up to maturity unmarried, but she is thereby degraded to the servile class. Yet we catch a glimpse of better things in the "*Digest of Catyayana*," where it is said that a woman may neither be given nor accepted in marriage against her own consent (iv. 144), and in the "*Institutes of Menu*," where it appears that a woman may choose a husband for herself, should her guardians for three years neglect to dispose of her. Since the laws on the subject are in conflict, we must suppose they refer to a time of transition between old and new customs. But the theory of dependence is carried still further. For "neither a girl, nor a young woman, nor an old woman, may do anything,

even in her own dwelling-place, according to her mere pleasure." She must obsequiously honour the man to whom her father or guardian has consigned her, revering him always as a god, however unobservant he may be of approved customs, or however deficient in good qualities and constancy, living ever in a cheerful temper, managing the house well, careful of the furniture, and frugal in expense. She may take no part in any religious rite or sacrifice, nor even in fasting apart from her lord, and only so far as she honours him may she hope to be exalted in heaven. Such honour above all belongs to him when dead; for as a widow she may not so much as pronounce the name of another man, but must emaciate her body by living solely on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; and thus she must continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, and avoiding all kinds of sensual pleasure. A second marriage disgraces a woman even in this life, and in the next prevents her rejoining her husband. For the same relationships exist in the unseen world, and a widow can benefit her husband's soul by the performance of religious acts here (c. vi. 147-166). It was reported of the Tartars by Rubrugius, who travelled among them in the thirteenth century, that they believed their women would serve them in another world just as they did in this, and that therefore a woman could never remarry, since her first husband would claim her when death had reunited them.

It remains then to see how far, in reference to the rights of women, more advanced societies have emancipated themselves from a state of customs which the nature of mankind and the conditions of their existence first brought about. We may say that throughout Europe, where, owing to the influence of Roman civilisation and Christian ideas, monogamy has at length become firmly established, abundant traces of the polyandrous and polygamous period of marriage by capture and marriage by purchase may still be found. For it is noticeable that whilst, in other relations of human life and other departments of human interest, wide and rapid divergence from the primal type marks the progress of culture, in the relative social position of the sexes, the inferiority of women long survives, and is but slowly eradicated.

Let us take for example our own, or the French law of divorce. In English law, wives may be divorced by their husbands for simple adultery, but husbands by their wives at the lowest for adultery coupled with cruelty. In French law, a husband may get a separation from his wife for simple adultery, whilst she can only get one from him if he keep his concubine in their common house. A retrospective glance at history not only explains the inequality, but denotes the advance that has been made from the time when the right to repudiate a woman belonged to her master as master, irrespective of any offence on her part, save that of ceasing to

please. Such a right was dominial rather than marital, and belonged to a man not so much as husband but as slave-owner, and it still flourishes in Monomotapa, the Isthmus of Darien, about Hudson's Bay, among the savages of South America, and doubtless elsewhere. We have seen how in Chinese or Indian civilisation such a right became so far controlled as to be confined to certain specific faults, and though talkativeness or drinking were held to justify the rupture of the tie, even that is an advance on the Jews, among whom absolutely no cause needed to be assigned by the husband, and a mere verbal declaration was all that was necessary; and on the Tartars, who had simply to take the wife they were tired of back to her relations. Adultery was originally a unilateral offence, only conceivable on the part of the wife, and so only entailing punishment upon her. This was in general cruelly severe. In ancient Egypt, an adulteress lost her nose; in Germany, her hair; in Japan she is punished with death; in Tonquin she is thrown to an elephant. Even Mahomet ordered her to be immured alive, though the penalty was subsequently changed to stoning. At Athens her dowry passed absolutely to her husband, who might not only beat her to any extent short of mutilation or death, but might put her up to auction, and in default of finding a purchaser, make her the lowest of his slaves. Among the monogamous nations of Christendom, adultery is now raised to a bilateral offence, but in how few do we find impressed upon the laws that duty of strict reciprocal fidelity which Aristotle, Seneca, and Plutarch long ago had the humanity to advocate? A really equal law of divorce prevails in Scotland and Italy, but not in France or England.

Other instances English history affords which, illustrative of the minds of those who helped to frame our laws and usages, are interesting chiefly for the remarkable similarity which they bear to the state of thought concerning women once or still prevalent in Eastern countries. When we recall the fact that till the reign of William and Mary women were never allowed benefit of clergy, how can we but connect it in thought with the Mahometan notion that women were destitute of souls, or with the Hindu maxim that women have no concern with the texts of the Vedas? When, again, we find that an English Parliament passed a law (34 & 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1) prohibiting women, together with day-labourers, artisans, and others of low estate, to read the New Testament in English, and when we consider the educational advantages to this day monopolised by the stronger sex, are we not reminded of the Hindu exclusion of women from the benefits of reading and writing, and the general neglect of their education in the East? How can we but be struck by the affinity of thought which connects our own with lower states of culture, when we learn that,



down to the time of the Revolution, women of rank in England never appeared in the streets without a mask, or in Scotland without a veil, and that the women of Thibet, though in the enjoyment of unusual liberty, must make themselves as ugly as possible before they are seen in the streets, by smearing their faces with a coating of varnish, under pain of arrest and punishment. Even the English wife-beating, of which so much is now heard, derives curious illustration from China and Russia. M. Huc thus speaks of China:—"Dans certaines localités battre sa femme est une chose tellement à la mode et de bon ton que les maris se garderaient bien d'y manquer. Se montrer négligent sur ce point serait compromettre sa dignité d'homme." \* He even tells the story of a Chinaman who, fond of his wife as he was, beat her to death, being under the impression that his lenient treatment of her subjected him to ridicule. In Russia, according to Lord Kames, it is the custom for the newly-married bride to present her husband with a bundle of rods for her future chastisement, and also to pull off his boots. This ceremony only died out in the fashionable world at the beginning of the last century.

We have dwelt at some length on the historical aspect of the position of women in modern societies, because it is a side of the question too generally neglected, especially by writers who, like the author of "*The Rights of Women*," advocate the extension of the suffrage to women on the ground of the unfairness of the laws affecting them, made, as they have been, without their consent. We must always remember that the legal inequalities of the sexes are not so much advantages consciously taken by men as survivals from savage times and necessities. If, for instance, a woman in Scotland has to this day no existence in law, it is a relic of the time when wives were slaves, and daughters only saleable chattels. And so with laws in any country affecting the capacities of women to inherit, to hold property, to make wills, or to contract. That inferiorities in these respects are removable without female suffrage, the book in question sufficiently demonstrates from the examples of France, Austria, Italy, and other countries, which have gone far to establish complete legal equality between the sexes. And of late years, even in England, some alterations have been made in the laws affecting the property of married women, and their power over the destiny of their children. In order, however, that the cry for still further alterations in our laws may not, when it comes, be drowned, as so often happens, by anticipations of a social revolution, the author has, we think, done good service in collecting within a reasonable space the laws of other countries bearing on these and similar points.

Take, for instance, our law of guardianship, by which the father

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\* "*L'Empire Chinois*," ii. 270.

alone can dispose by will or deed of the custody and tuition of his children, that is, of the management of their property and the control of their persons. The mother, who until the year 1873 had no legal power whatever over her children after they were seven, can never appoint a guardian by deed or will, though, in default of such appointment by her husband, and on condition of remaining unmarried, she becomes guardian herself. The Scotch law is very similar. The father has the custody of the children during his life, and may remove them where he likes; he can recover them from any one who detains them, and after infancy, even from their mother. He alone can nominate tutors by his will; the mother cannot, even though a widow. She only has the custody of the child's person, if her husband has appointed no one else; but in no case does the tutorship—that is, the direction of the child's education and property—devolve upon her, but on the next male agnate who is over twenty-five. In Spain, in default of appointment by the father, the guardianship passes first to the mother, and then to the grandmother; and if the father is dead, the mother may herself appoint a guardian by her will, on condition of making her children her heirs, but only a guardian appointed by the father can dispense with a judicial confirmation. Women, as such, are excluded from guardianship altogether, being classed in this respect with prodigals, bishops, monks, and imbeciles; and in Austria also they are excluded, with a reservation, as in Spain, in favour of mothers and grandmothers, in case of default of appointment by the father. But in France the law is that the right of guardianship goes first and indefeasibly to either survivor of the marriage, and then, in default of his or her appointment, to their parents in turn. It is impossible for the father to defeat by his will his wife's right in this respect; the utmost he can do is to limit her power, by nominating, by his last will or a declaration before a magistrate, an adviser whom she must consult. As legal guardian, a widow has full control over her children's education; she alone can oppose or consent to their marriage; she has the usufruct of their property, and can appoint them a guardian by her will. Similarly, the Code published for the State of New York in 1866 has so far departed from the traditions of the common law, that, though the father remains the legitimate guardian of his children, and entitled to their custody, service, and earnings, yet *he cannot transfer the guardianship to any person other than the mother, without her written consent*, and if he is dead, or unable or unwilling to act, the right devolves unconditionally upon her.

In respect, again, of the property of married women, and their power to affect it by will or contract, it appears that Continental laws are in advance of our own. The English law, as is well known, deprives a married woman of any property in real estate, or of any

power to dispose of it by deed or will as against her husband, unless it has been expressly vested in trustees, or given to her for her separate use. At law (though since the Property Act of 1870 she is entitled to the rents and profits of all freehold or copyhold estate which has accrued to her as heiress or coheiress of an *intestate*), her husband is entitled to the rents and profits of any other realty she may have, nor can she convey it without his concurrence. As to personalty, "till 1870, England was the only country in which a wife had no rights to personal property, in which she could neither bequeath it by will, nor dispose of it by gift, and in which it was at the mercy of her husband and subject to his debts" (p. 74). In equity, it is true, a married woman might have had, as she still has, a separate use of personal as of real property, either by a trust creative of such a use, or by a power of appointment; but we have to remember that the majority of marriages are not settled in Lincoln's Inn; and what we need is some law extending the principle of the Married Women's Property Act, which shall secure to a wife, by the mere fact of marriage, and quite independently of the costly help of the conveyancer, property which shall be hers in the fullest sense of the term. Thus in France, if no express stipulations are made, the marriage is said to take place under the *régime de communauté*—that is, all movable property held at, or acquired in any way, by either party after marriage, is thrown into a common fund—over which, indeed, the husband has the fullest powers of administration, but in which the wife's interest is amply protected. Immovable property—i.e., land, &c.—held by either party before marriage, or subsequently acquired by gift, or succession, or exchange, does not fall into the community, but remains the private property of either owner. So in Austria, in default of any special marriage contract, each spouse retains his and her separate property; nor has either of them any claim to anything gained, or in any way received, by the other during the marriage. Such property a wife can dispose of by will, or sue, or be sued, or contract in respect of it, free from all marital control—the husband being unable either to alienate any of his wife's property in her name, or to lend, or mortgage, or otherwise deal with it, without her special mandate. The same is the law in Italy, where, unless the marriage is declared to take place under the dotal or communal *régime*, all the wife's property remains paraphernalia. And in using this word we must not be misled by its English meaning. In English law, paraphernalia are a wife's apparel and ornaments, and gifts of jewellery from her husband, &c.; but even these a husband may employ for his debts, and they only differ from other personal property in that he may not leave them by his will away from his wife. She is as unable to bestow or bequeath them as anything else. But in Continental countries the word "paraphernalia" retains its original



meaning of "whatever is not assigned as dowry," and this, which may consist of any property whatever, whether corporeal or incorporeal, movable or immovable, is reserved solely for the wife's own management and enjoyment, and is incapable of alienation or control by her husband. The Italian law, for the very reason that it regards paraphernalian of more advantage to a wife than dotal property, seizes every opportunity of construing doubts in her favour, and wherever the terms creative of the dowry admit of the least doubt, such doubt is destructive of the dowry. The Civil Code of Italy was published in 1866, the same year as the Code for New York, and it is remarkable, as evincing the tendency of modern law, that in the latter code it is enacted, that beyond the claims of mutual support, neither husband nor wife shall have any interest whatever in the property of the other; hence that either may enter into any engagement or transaction with the other, or with a stranger, with respect to their separate property, just as they might do if they continued unmarried. In the other States, also, there appears a tendency to substitute the principles of the civil for those of the common law they inherited from us. Thus in Wisconsin all real or personal property held by a woman before, or acquired after her marriage, remains her separate property; and in most States wives have been enabled to hold property, and to contract and sue in their own names, just as if they had continued unmarried.

In France a woman can make a will without the authorisation of her husband—"Une femme peut tester sans l'autorisation de son mari." In Austria, though women are classed with minors, infidels, and idiots, in their inability to be witnesses to wills, and in Spain, with thieves or murderers, in the same incapacity, in both countries they can make wills independently of their husbands. There is not a word in the Austrian Code about the necessity of marital consent for wives in affairs touching their own property; and in Italy, though marital authorisation is still necessary for a woman to act as surety, or to execute a will, or to dispose in any way of immovable property, she is able, quite independently of her husband, either to make or revoke a will, to acquire, by gift or purchase, movable or immovable property, or to dispose similarly of movable property, and to do other minor acts of administration.\* But in England it still remains the law, that, except at equity, or with respect to such property as the

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\* It is probably true that the greater control exercised by women over their property in countries where the Church largely influenced legislation, is due to the fact that the freer a Catholic woman was in respect to her property as against her husband, the better was the pecuniary prospect of the Church. Yet equity in law must be thankfully accepted, however impure the source it flows from; and in the rapid decline of ecclesiastical influence, we may hope that the justice of the law may long survive the Church which impressed it as a habit on the popular mind.

Married Women's Property Act clothed with the attributes of equity, a married woman cannot make a will except with her husband's consent; and should he so far waive his right to her personalty as to grant such consent, he may revoke it any time during her life, and even after her death, before the will has been proved. It is to be regretted that our legal commentators so seldom study transmarine law.

It is still possible in England for a man to leave all his property, and so much also of his wife's as does not fall within the scant provision of the Property Act of 1870, away from her and her children, so as to leave them absolute paupers. It may be said that such a case is improbable, but it should be impossible. Laws are made to meet exceptional cases, and it is trusting too much in the virtue of men to stake the future of their wives and children on the chance of a husband's intestacy. In most countries it is impossible for a husband to leave all his property away from his wife: she is generally entitled to what is called a *legitimate share*, that is, a share of which she cannot be defeated. In Scotland, a husband cannot deprive his widow of her *jus relictæ*, nor his children of their *legitima*; a wife is absolutely entitled to one-half of the movable property included in the marriage community, and her children to the other half, whilst in default of children, the wife has one-third. In Denmark, the survivor of the marriage, after payment of debts, is entitled to one-half of all the property held in community, whether consisting of movables or immovables, the other half going to the children. And wherever the marriage is by dowry, the interest of the widow is *ipso facto* protected, the very principle of the dowry being that it is a provision for the wife at the dissolution of the marriage, secure from the fraud or negligence of her husband.

We have now alluded to the more interesting points of comparison suggested by the "Rights of Women" between English and foreign laws, affecting the status of women.

The reader who takes further interest in the subject must be referred to the book itself. He will there find that the changes in our laws which the author suggests are not only advocated as theoretically equitable, but as strictly practical or realisable ideals, that is, ideals which have precedents not only in the latest Codes of modern Europe, but in the American States, whither the English common law was imported at the same time with the English language. These changes are ten in number, and we shall conclude by quoting them from the book itself:—

1. "That marriage shall have no effect on the real and personal property of the contracting parties.

2. "That both husband and wife shall have, after marriage, the same rights over their property, real or personal, actual or contingent, which they had when unmarried; and, independently each of the other's con-

trol, shall have full power to bequeath, give, or otherwise dispose of it.

3. "That a husband shall have no power over his wife's property except with her consent, nor shall his authority be required by her for the valid exercise of her proprietary rights.

4. "That dower and curtesy shall be both abolished.

5. "That neither husband nor wife shall be allowed to bequeath the whole of his or her property away from the children and the survivor of the marriage ; but a legitimate portion shall be reserved to them.

6. "That neither shall be liable for the debts, crimes, or torts of the other.

7. "That a mother shall have the same right of appointing guardians to her children by deed or will as the father alone has had hitherto.

8. "That infidelity to the marriage oath shall expose either spouse equally to a plea for divorce at the suit of the other.

9. "That in intestate succession to real, no less than to personal, property, daughters shall take equally with sons, and the maternal equally with the paternal line.

10. "That fathers and mothers shall have equal rights of succession to the property of their own children who die intestate."



### ART. III.—SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES.

THE eve of a promised Commission on Education in Scotland seems no unfitting time for considering the defects and requirements of our Northern Universities. The great majority of educated Englishmen know, it is to be feared, practically nothing of these institutions. They possess some ideas as to the cheapness of Scotch Universities ; they believe, perhaps, that Scotch students, like Sydney Smith and his friends, "*tenui musam meditantur avena*"—cultivate literature on a little oatmeal ; but they are ignorant of everything connected with the internal economy and general arrangements of the homes of learning in the North. Occasionally, it is true, they learn that a Huxley, a Stanley, or a Stuart Mill has been elected to the office of Lord Rector in some one of these Universities, and delivers an address in recognition of the honour done him ; but they know little of the functions or position of the Rector so elected. This ignorance on the part of Englishmen is, it must be added, quite matched by the Scotchman's indifference to everything connected with the organisation of English Universities. Yet the Universities of the one nation present an instructive lesson to the other. If in the English seats of learning the tutor has gradually assumed the functions of the professor, the professors in Scotland have as surely stepped into the places of the tutorial regents. How to co-ordinate these two—the professor and the



tutor—is the question calling for solution at the hands of educational reformers both in England and in Scotland; and the subject, therefore, of Scotch Universities is not a merely provincial and local problem, but one of truly national interest and general significance.

The welfare of our Scottish Colleges is, in fact, in some ways a more important matter than the condition of our two great English Universities. It is, after all, only a comparatively small section of the community which is affected by the mechanism of Oxford and Cambridge, and even if we grant that this section comprises the most important and most influential members of the nation, still it is at the same time to be remembered that our Scottish homes of learning affect not any one class but all classes in the North.

These Universities, it may be useful to premise, are four in number. It was in St Andrews that the earliest of them was founded. The seat of a bishopric, the city of the patron saint, and the centre of many a monkish legend, St Andrews in the fifteenth century was the real metropolis of Scotland. Its cathedral foundation had probably always included a training college for the younger inmates. But it was not till 1411 that Bishop Henry Wardlaw stereotyped its educational agencies in the erection of a *studium generale*, or University, and furnished for the Scotch students, who had before then repaired either to the college which John Baliol had founded at Oxford, or that which the Bishop of Moray had established at Paris, the means of education in their native land. Wardlaw's original foundation received numerous additions at the hands of his successors in the see. In 1450 Bishop James Kennedy founded the magnificent establishment of St Salvator's College; in 1512 followed the College of St Leonard; and in 1554 arose, as the combined work of Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Hamilton, the New College, or College of St Mary; so that thereafter St Andrews consisted of three co-ordinate and independent Colleges—a fact perhaps not quite in unison with the oft-repeated statement of the Oxford Calendar—"Colleges are an institution peculiar to this country."

The other Universities in Scotland present little of that development through Colleges which is so characteristic of St Andrews. The Protestant Reformation checked entirely the successive addition of independent seminaries to the existing institutions. The University of Glasgow, founded by Bishop Turnbull in 1450, never possessed any College beyond the original "pedagogy" of the High Street; though this, it is evident, was primarily the property of the Faculty of Arts only, just as at Paris the College of the Sorbonne became practically

the property of the Faculty of Theology. Nor did the University of Aberdeen, the foundation of Bishop Elphinstone in 1494, ever possess more than one College. This was that King's College which Bishop Elphinstone erected in his own University in 1505, expecting no doubt that the work he had begun would be continued by his successors, and that King's would be only one amongst a number of other Colleges within the University. But at the Reformation the distinction between a College and a University became obscured. The confusion produced odd results in connection with the *College* which Earl Marischal founded at Aberdeen in 1593. The Marischal College became gradually transformed into a University, conferring degrees not only in Arts, but in Theology, Law, and Medicine; and for two centuries Aberdeen presented the strange but not unparalleled spectacle of two Universities within the confines of one city. Such a collision was avoided in the youngest of the Scottish Universities, that of Edinburgh, founded in 1582 under royal charter granted by James the Sixth. In this case there was no old foundation to oppose the new; for Edinburgh had had no ecclesiastical position; and the new seminary arose as the result of industrial and municipal rather than of ecclesiastical enthusiasm, with baillies and town councillors in place of bishops and canons as its patrons and curators. The possibility of additional foundations was in this case never contemplated, and from the first the College and the University were identified.

These are the only four existing Universities in Scotland. Besides them, however, we should note the foundation of a University and College which existed for a few years at Fraserburgh; the intention of Bishop Reid to found a College (or University?) at Kirkwall in the Orkneys; and the wish expressed by the Commissioners of 1826 to employ the Crichton Bequest in the foundation of a University at Dumfries.

The Universities of Scotland offer thus at first sight little resemblance to their English sisters. It was in fact Paris, Bologna, and Louvain, rather than Oxford or Cambridge, that measured the privileges, and in some cases shaped the constitution, of the Northern foundations. The division into "nations," the mode of election and extent of jurisdiction of the Rector, the importance of the Faculties and the position of their Deans, remind us of Continental rather than of English Universities. And yet the same questions which have perplexed the English Universities have appeared also in Scotland; and from the greater simplicity of the circumstances have received an earlier solution than has yet been found for them in England. The work of teaching was divided in the Scottish

Universities long before it had been thought of at Oxford or Cambridge. As early as 1579, George Buchanan had suggested that the three Colleges of St Andrews should be assigned to separate spheres of learning; and in 1747 the question was finally solved by combining the two Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard into one "United College" for the study of "Arts" (or *Literæ Humaniores*), and devoting the College of St Mary to the exclusive study of Theology and Oriental Languages. Whereas, again, down to the present day, the college tutor at Oxford and Cambridge is *theoretically* instructor in *all* subjects, however heterogeneous and dissimilar. Andrew Melville, as early as 1575, broke down the custom that one and the same regent should continue to read with a class of pupils through the whole of their University curriculum, and assigned distinct spheres of work to the several tutorial regents. The institution of a "curriculum" of study, the provision for a rational study of theology, the *partial* subordination of the examinations to the teaching, might be mentioned as results which have been effected more or less in Scotland, and are still waiting to be faced in England. At the time, again, when England was still groaning under the miseries of religious tests, the Scottish Universities, by strenuous and repeated efforts, in the midst of a religious outcry, succeeded in exempting their professors from the unwholesome trammels of a sectarian creed. Any solution, therefore, which may be suggested for the difficulties of Scotch Universities, should interest Englishmen as a possible contribution to the simplification of the questions which still demand reform in their own Universities.

The Scottish Universities, it cannot be denied, no longer occupy the rank they held before the Reformation. They were then Cosmopolitan Institutions—of which the masters were free of all European Universities, as much as if they had graduated at Oxford or Paris. The system of Freemasonry which then bound Universities together has unfortunately vanished, and been replaced by the intercommunication offered in literary journals and institutes. The Protestant Reformation destroyed that great religious unity which in the fifteenth century made the whole world kin; and it was not at first too favourable to human learning. In Scotland, in particular, the spirit of the religious revolution did little to foster higher education. The mental attitude of the Reformers is not exaggerated in the saying—"Downe doctrine and upp Chryste." The "purgations" which the new faith applied to the different universities, however necessary at the moment and advantageous in the future, led naturally to an unsettled state which materially obstructed all the higher culture. Great as were undoubtedly



the services of Knox and his coadjutors to the cause of education amongst Scotsmen, it was the general average education of the many, not the erudition of the few, that they chiefly attempted to effect. The result, therefore, of the Reformation in Scotland, as in other countries, was to disseminate instruction and to narrow learning; education grew more common, but became more commonplace. The era of the Protestant Reformation in Scotland is the date of the decay in Scotch scholarship. Pioneered and guided though the Reformation was by the foremost thinkers and most distinguished scholars of the country, it yet tended in its results to a depreciation of learning as such, from which Scotland has not to this day recovered.

The present state of the Scotch Universities still bears witness to the influence of the religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They retain many of the defects and few of the virtues of the original foundations. The tutorial regent *reading with* a class has been exchanged for the formal professor *lecturing to* an audience. The domestic life of the early institutions has been abolished, and the students, scattered in private lodgings, see little or nothing of each other. No test is applied at entrance to ensure the presence of the most elementary qualifications in the matriculated students; and the professor must either teach the very rudiments of knowledge, or sacrifice the backward to the more advanced among his pupils. The large numbers attending the various classes render, at two at least of the Universities, any communication between teacher and taught practically an impossibility. The want of any rival teachers to stimulate the professor to his work has been known to lead sometimes to an indifference and indolence which is most deleterious to the University. While the examinations are subordinated to the teaching, the teacher *really* at the same time fixes the standard of the degree examination, and prepares the candidates to pass it. Degrees in every faculty except Medicine carry with them little or no significance throughout the country, and the student fails to see the use of troubling himself to obtain a distinction which, when acquired, will raise him little or no way above his brethren who are without it. Deprived of social intercourse with his fellows, influenced little personally by the learning or the talents of his teacher, limited, in case he proceeds to a degree, to the professor's lectures, which will be the chief subject of examination, or, in case he dispenses with this useless luxury, left without any opportunity of digesting once in the course of his career the knowledge he may have acquired, the *average* Scotch student may, and sometimes does, leave the University little altered from the state in which he entered it—a man with little learning, less culture, no true education.

This is no exaggerated picture. The professors in the Scotch Universities are known to be almost invariably men of decided eminence within the subject which they teach ; many of their students are known to possess as undergraduates an amount of learning and ability which it would be difficult to parallel at Oxford and Cambridge, while the ignorance of their inferior members could easily be equalled at these English seminaries ; their debating societies are famed for flights of eloquence and reasoning which would put the discussions of the Oxford " Union " to the blush ; but on the average, the Scottish system and the Scottish student rise no way above our description.

How far can this state of things be remedied ? The reforms which the last fifty years have witnessed in the education and organisation of Scotch Universities show that the work of improvement is by no means hopeless. No one who contrasts the state of these institutions as displayed in the Commissioners' Report of 1831 with the industry and vigour which they now present, can doubt the hopes of progress and perfection which we entertain in reference to them. Various movements, which they have themselves within the last few years introduced, point to a genuine desire upon their own part to utilise their opportunities as far as possible. But the evils still inherent in them are deeply seated, and no real improvement can be looked for unless some vital changes are effected in the materials, means, and objects of their teaching. Towards such changes we now make the following suggestions.

I. An entrance examination must be instituted, and no student admitted to the University unless he shall have proved himself possessed of sufficient knowledge to profit by the professorial teaching. The want of a matriculation examination of this nature is so patent and so generally recognised as to require perhaps no exposition at our hands. The introduction of such a test would be a return in all probability to the original conditions of matriculation. The statutes of St Leonard's College direct that the student is to be admitted " after a strict examination in grammar."\* As things now stand, the Professor of Latin has to give instruction in the merest elements of Latin composition, and the Professor of Greek actually begins the classes of the first year's students with the rudiments of Greek grammar. " There is no degree of unpreparedness," said Principal Shairp in 1853, " which is not welcomed into the Greek, Latin, and Philosophical classes ;" and no Scotch professor can, we believe, dispute the general truth of the assertion.

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\* " Postquam principalis una cum sub-priore et tertio priore ipsum in grammatica diligenter examinaverit."

This, it appears, is no new feature in Scotch Universities. When Andrew Melville came to College in 1559, he surprised the different regents by reading Aristotle, not, as they did, in mere Latin versions, but in the Greek original. "Our regent," says James Melville, "begoud and teatched us the A B C of the Greek, and the simple declintiones, but went no farder." So little, indeed, was Greek known to the ordinary students at this time in Scotland, that Andrew Melville, when he came to Glasgow, began his course by teaching his students the outlines of Greek grammar; and his nephew James takes credit to himself as the first regent in Scotland who read the works of Aristotle with his pupils in the Greek original. Melville, it is true, went far beyond the elements of grammar, as we learn from the programme of his teaching, which his nephew gives us; but however extensive the course there mapped out, everything goes to show that the actual ordinary instruction was of a sufficiently elementary description. The students were all evidently young—Buchanan speaks of them always as the "bairns" \*—and the training of the Scotch Universities was to most Scotchmen of that age only the preparation for a foreign education. The regent then, as the professor now, had to do much of the work that would have naturally devolved upon the schoolmaster. Not only so, but the University teachers came to find it pecuniarily advantageous to undertake such duties. As early as 1649 we find Mr P. Robertson, master of the Grammar School at St Andrews, groaning under "the heavy pressure of palpable wrong received by that school of Humanity erected by Scotstarvet in St Leonard's College," and supplicating the University Commission to "take into serious consideration whether it be *ex æquo et bono* that a school of so high profession as humanity (as they term it) should bow so low as to profess and teach, contrairie to promise at the first institution thereof, not only all the parts of grammar, but also the very first rudiments and elements." † Mr Robertson gained the day, and the Professor of Humanity was expressly forbidden to teach the rudiments of grammar. But in 1695 the professors at St Andrews "humbly supplicate that all teaching of Greek in Grammar Schools may be strictly prohibited; because there are a number of silly men who, having hardly a smatter of Greek themselves, do take upon them to teach others, to the great disadvantage of many good spirits." It is needless to say that the request does not seem to have been granted; but the mere fact of its being made shows how elementary must have been the character of the instruction given.

\* This, of course, only means boys, the term by which the students at Oxford and Cambridge were then also known.

† Lyons' "History of St Andrews," vol. ii. p. 237.



It is, therefore, no new fact that, as Stuart Mill has said, "every Scottish University is not an University only, but a High School to supply the deficiency of other schools." But what was natural and necessary in the sixteenth or even in the seventeenth century, no longer fits the circumstances of the nineteenth century. This elementary instruction should not be forced upon the professorial teacher. The professors have quite enough to do without occupying themselves with the inculcation of the rudiments. It is true, indeed, that the elementary work of the Scotch professor is, as Professor Ramsay has maintained, quite matched by the school-work through which the Oxford tutor sometimes submits to drag a backward pupil for Responsions; and it is to be added, that the better-grounded student can at once avail himself of a preliminary examination, and in case of passing this, enter at once into the senior classes. But it is not the highest principle of conduct to be no worse than one's neighbours; while the testing examination should be applied to all the students, and made not merely the passport to the higher classes, but the condition of all matriculation. The school, and not the University, is the place for those who still require instruction in the rudiments of grammar. "Professorial prelections are no substitute for scholastic discipline."\* As none who do not possess at least the rudiments of a literary education can profit by the literary and philosophical teaching of an University, so none should be admitted to it. The Scottish Universities, in short, should have an examination corresponding to Responsions and the Previous: not, as Oxford and Cambridge so absurdly do, *after* the student is admitted into the University, but *before* matriculation. These entrance examinations might either be held at certain "centres" throughout the country; or, imitating the action of the English Universities, their Scottish sisters might institute a Board for the examination of schools as such, and accept their certificates as the qualification for matriculation. The test would then be practically the same as the German *Abiturienten-Examen*, or "Leaving examination."

The main objection urged against the institution of such an entrance examination is, that it would close the University to those middle-aged and elderly men who betake themselves to the University at a time of life when their attendance at school becomes absurd and impossible. "Is it," Professor Kelland has asked, "consistent with the principles of British institutions to deny further advance to the half-educated man who thirsts for knowledge, simply because his poverty and his position have occupied his hard hands in a struggle for existence during the

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\* Hamilton's "Discussions," p. 354.

days of his boyhood?" What is or is not "consistent with the principles of British institutions" we cannot undertake to say: these "principles" mean different things in different mouths. But, we should suggest, the cases which Professor Kelland's objections rest upon are few in number, and those very men, eager to derive as much advantage as they could from their University career, would undoubtedly take steps to secure the elements of higher education before they placed themselves under the Professor's care. Besides, were the standard we suggest adopted, the University towns would soon create private tutors exactly fitted for the backward students. Professor Ramsay tells us that, in connection with his own class (that of Latin), "there are at this moment no less than four tutorial classes, two inside the University *and two outside of it*, instituted for the express purpose of bringing up backward students to the level of the rest of the class." \* To ask further, as some have asked, Why should the Greek professor (with whom, as matters stand, the want of such a test is most strongly felt) not teach the elements of Greek, just as the Hebrew professor gives instruction in the elements of Hebrew? is to uphold unconditionally that whatever is, is right. The Hebrew professor teaches Hebrew grammar because there is no one outside the College to teach it; and there is no one outside the College to teach it because the University does not even *expect*, as it does in the case of Greek, that the student will know the alphabet of the language. Hence, though their condition is perhaps worse still in England, owing to the low state of Hebrew and Oriental languages in Scotland, the student dragged slowly through a chapter of Genesis soon forgets the little knowledge he acquired. No arrangements that may be laid down can be perpetual. We ask at present that the candidates for admission into the Scottish Universities shall show themselves to possess an elementary acquaintance with what is at present recognised as higher learning. A century hence the candidate for matriculation may be required to possess the elements of Assyrian, or to read a cuneiform inscription.

The introduction of such an entrance examination involves, however, another measure. The youth who aspires to a University examination must be provided with easy access to some institution where he can receive the training he requires. To meet this want, Scotland must be provided with a system of secondary schools. In this respect, she is at present deficient in the extreme. The seminaries which profess to teach much beyond the simplest elements of education are comparatively few in number. The Parish Schools, it must be admitted, have done

much in this direction. The parish schoolmaster has taken pride in preparing any one amongst his boys who promised to become in course of time a "student." But such preparation was at the best irregular and incomplete, and recent legislation has tended to repress it altogether. What is required in Scotland is a number of good schools for secondary education—one such, we should suggest, in every town above five or six thousand inhabitants. "The whole country," to adopt the language of Professor Blackie, "must do for itself what Edinburgh has already done in the matter of the High School and the Edinburgh Academy."

But, it may be asked, how is the endowment for such schools to be obtained? The question is one of those more easily asked than answered. Private liberality, it may be conceded, might do much towards the carrying out of such a plan. The public spirit which led Erskine of Dun in the sixteenth century to endow a school for teaching Greek at Montrose\* might also lead some country gentlemen or city millionaires in our days to raise secondary schools over the length and breadth of Scotland. The country which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries founded a system of Universities, might surely in the nineteenth century establish an order of higher schools. Many an endowment shows that there is no want of the actual means for such an end. The Baird Bequest, had it been applied to such an object, might have proved an invaluable boon, instead of a vexatious obstruction, to Scottish culture.

Private liberality, if rightly organised and guided, might be in itself sufficient to effect our end. But in addition, many ecclesiastical and charitable endowments, it has been suggested, might be applied to such a purpose. No one who is acquainted with the state of many country parishes in Scotland will dispute the reasonableness of the first of these suggestions, and we cannot better show the grounds for the proposal than by an extract from a speech in Parliament by Mr Edward Baxter on 6th July 1874:—

"In many parishes throughout Scotland, and in whole districts—nay, in entire counties in the Highlands, there are no adherents of the Established Church at all. They went out *en masse* with the Free Church, and hardly a single man has come back again. A well-known gentleman went with two other distinguished men over some of these parishes, and this is his testimony—'We recently visited in succession no less than forty parishes in the district north of the Caledonian Canal, and in not one of the Established churches did I find more than

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\* M'Crie's "Life of Knox," vol. i. p. 6.



thirty persons of both sexes and of all ages, including tourists, attending public worship on Sunday, and in the majority of cases the audience did not exceed half a dozen! In another parish the incumbent has usually seven hearers, and his neighbour, the minister of a parish church, is even worse off, for he has to preach to his own family, his precentor and beadle. Then again, let me refer to the Island of Lewis. The population of the Presbytery is 23,439, and of these, according to the statistics of the Free Assembly, 22,979 belong to the Free Church, leaving 460 men, women, and children to be divided among the Established and all other Churches.'"

Does it appear a rash proposal that the endowments of these churches, with their six or twelve parishioners, should be applied to the support of secondary education? We are, of course, not ignorant of the arguments which might be used in favour of such country churches. The Church, it will be said, is in itself an instrument of education, the only instrument, perhaps, which bears upon a rustic population, while the parish clergyman is the very source of civilisation for the district. There is a grain of truth in the remark. But even if the argument were to be allowed, its application would be confined to those parishes in which the Church established is the only focus of religious life. It is powerless to defend those cases in which the Establishment is practically deserted for the neighbouring Free Church, and the parish church survives as a mere ecclesiastical appendage to support a well-paid sinecure. Let the endowments of such empty buildings be devoted to the needs of higher education, and the advantages thereby secured will far outbalance any benefits arising from the present state of matters.\*

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\* The application of the "hospital" endowments, which has been advocated by Mr Grant Duff and Mr Craig Sellar, offers in some ways a readier solution of the difficulty. These hospitals are "charitable institutions in which a certain number of boys and girls are fed and clothed and housed, as well as educated, from the ages of seven to fifteen;" and Mr Sellar discloses the somewhat striking fact that the "annual revenue of Donaldson's Hospital (alone) is over £10,000 a year" ("The Higher Education of Scotland," p. 17). It is an undoubted fact that these charities have done little in proportion to their funds; and no one could rejoice more than ourselves to see them used as Mr Sellar has suggested. But we imagine that there would be greater difficulty in appropriating to secondary education the endowments of large corporations, which, however imperfectly they may have carried out their founders' wishes, can still point to the actual work which they are doing, than to suppress some useless rural Churches which can give no *raison d'être* for their continuance. This latter proposal has been discussed in at least one Scotch Presbytery, and will, we believe, commend itself to a large section of the country.

This plan may be described as anti-religious, but it is assuredly in no hostility towards religion that we bring it forward. John Knox, we venture to believe, would, were he living now, approve of such a scheme. It was the old unnecessary ecclesiastical endowments which he and his party applied to purposes of education. This has never been denied, and was insisted on most strongly in a pamphlet which appeared in 1853 in favour of the continuance of religious tests within the Scottish Universities. "To the honour," says the writer (with reference to Knox and his colleagues), "of those great men who framed and promoted this educational plan, let it be again told that they desired that the whole expenses of the schools and Universities should be drawn from the ecclesiastical property." \* The "Book of Discipline," indeed, expressly contemplated the establishment throughout Scotland of higher schools such as we have described. "And farther," says this comprehensive directory, after making its well-known provisions for Parish Schools, "we think it expedient that in everie notable toun there be erected a Colledge, in which the Artis, at least Logick and Rhetorick, togidder with the tongues, be read be sufficient maisteris, for whome honest stipendis must be appointed."

The "Book of Discipline," had its regulations been carried out, might have solved the problem of education in Scotland. The Reformers evidently meditated an educational trinity, each member of which was to be in essential connection with the other. "The Parish Schools" were to pass on the pupil to the "Colledges," and these in turn to the "Universities;" just as in Germany the boy passes from the *Volksschulen* through the *Gymnasien* to the *Universität*.

It is not yet too late to attempt what the Reformers were unable to effect. *But the Universities themselves must begin the movement.* It is they who are to blame for the scarcity of higher schools in Scotland. To assert, as Professor Ramsay does, that the principal evil under which the Universities labour is "the extremely defective character of secondary education in Scotland," is to reverse entirely the relation of cause and effect. The "extremely defective character of secondary education in Scotland" is simply the result of the all-embracing arms which the Scottish Universities stretch out. If the Universities will but institute an entrance examination, an order of High Schools will before long arise to meet their requirements. It lies with them whether liberal education in Scotland is to rise above merely elementary instruction, or to continue at its present level.

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\* "The Church and the Universities of Scotland" (Blackwood, 1853), p. 8.

II. The institution of an entrance examination would, we think, immediately raise the teaching of the Scotch Universities. The professors would be stimulated to pursue the higher learning when they were provided with a class of pupils able to appreciate their labours. But some further measures might accelerate this end.

In addition to the ordinary professors, as they exist at present, there should be (a) a body of *lecturers*, elected for a certain number of years, out of graduates in general, and required to deliver annually a *short* course of lectures connected with the usual studies of the Universities; (b) a system of *assistant-professors*, varying in number according to the character of the chair in which they act, to undertake along with the ordinary professor the tutorial work required for the full teaching of a subject.

A few considerations should demonstrate the utility, if not indeed the actual necessity, of these reforms. The two together would, on the one hand, supply the ordinary professor with the stimulus which the ardent teacher will invariably welcome, and the indolent as invariably require, and, on the other hand, secure him freedom from that worry of elementary instruction which must to a great extent obstruct the value of his other teaching. That such a stimulus is needed no one acquainted with Scotch Universities will, we suppose, deny. A professor has not unfrequently been known to deliver identically the same lectures for a quarter of a century without any attempt to improve their original form, or enliven them by reference to the current criticism of the day. Such a state of intellectual stagnation would become impossible with the introduction of an order of lecturers. Were there, simultaneously with the professor, a young graduate delivering a course of eight or ten lectures on some subject of literature, science, or philosophy, the professor would, to say the least, find it expedient to keep his lectures up to the mark of the newest light of his generation. Such an arrangement need in no way interfere with the independence of the professor, or necessitate his lecturing on what will "pay." The students might attend both sets of lectures; and no influence but moral force would be brought to bear upon the professor. These lectureships could be maintained at little cost. The graduated clergyman or teacher would be ready, for the sake of the distinction it conferred, to undertake the duty for a comparatively small remuneration. Such lectureships would further be a return to the original position of the graduate, as Mr Mullinger has described it:—

"The possession of a University degree was originally nothing else than the possession of a diploma to exercise the function of



teaching; a *right* which, at a later period, was recognised as a *duty*. The Bachelors expounded the Sentences and the Scriptures; the Doctors and Masters taught systematically in the schools, or preached to the laity; but all those who gained the degree of Licentiate, Master, or Doctor were held bound to devote a certain period to again imparting the learning they had acquired.\*

The appointment of assistant-professors is a more difficult problem; but the need is equally urgent. Except at St Andrews, and partly at Aberdeen, the professor is quite unable to undertake the tuition of his classes. At Edinburgh and Glasgow he is like the five loaves to the multitude; what is he among so many? Construing in the case of a Greek or Latin lecture becomes almost impossible with a class of some 200 students; during the 90 or 100 days the College session lasts, no individual is likely to be called up oftener than twice, perhaps not even that. In the philosophical classes, essays and examination-papers may be read over by the professor; but the criticism on them can seldom get beyond the merest generalities. It is for work of this kind that assistant-professors are required. The number of these assistants would vary, as we have already said, with the nature of the subjects taught, and with the attendance at the lecture. In the case of the philosophical professors, where the work would reduce itself principally to looking over essays *along with* the student, one such assistant would be perhaps sufficient. In the case of the classical and mathematical professors, we should suggest one such sub-professor for every fifty students, the professor himself undertaking, in addition to his ordinary public lectures, the supervision of a fifty. The duties of such an assistant would, of course, depend upon the character of the branch of learning in which he acted; but generally he would supplement the work of the professor's lecture by taking the men individually, or in small classes of not more than ten or twelve, for the purpose of translation, "composition," essays, and the like.

These two additions to the professoriate in Scotland would, we venture to believe, retain all the advantages at present connected with the Scotch *régime*, and, at the same time, add the better features of the English and the German Universities. They would lead to an intellectual activity and an educational completeness which, as matters now stand, can hardly be expected to display themselves. "It is the abundance of supplementary professors which shows intellectual life and movement in an University; through means of their lectures a subject gets

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\* Mullinger's "History of the University of Cambridge," p. 78.

treated on all its sides; the regular professors are kept up to the mark by a competition which stimulates them; and men fitted to be, when their turn comes, regular professors, are enabled to display themselves. The extra-professors and the *privat-docenten* are thus the life of the German Universities.\* They would invigorate no less our Scottish Universities.

III. The foundation of new chairs does not appear to be so pressing a question as the utilisation of the old. A University, while at once a place for providing instruction and for furthering learning, should strive to bring the latter into the greater prominence; and the demand for new chairs tends in many instances to bring the less important aspect of the University to the front.

The real occasion for a professorial chair lies in those fields of study which without its guidance would be lost amongst the practical bread-seeking tendencies of humanity. Thus there should be certainly a Celtic chair in Scotland, but one such for the country is perhaps sufficient; and if Professor Blackie succeed in getting this for Edinburgh, the matter will be settled. The lecturers we have suggested might cover some of the other topics which have been proposed.

Temporary lecturers, rather than permanent professors, represent, in fact, the direction in which educational reform should proceed, not only in the Scotch, but also in the English Universities. No power on earth will prevent the teaching of the permanent professor from passing at some time or other into an unprogressive stereotyped groove of knowledge. At the present moment in particular, when knowledge is confessedly in ferment, and the intellectual tendencies which mark the age may have, before a century have elapsed, materially altered, if not entirely reversed themselves, it is a rash and dangerous proceeding to endow professorships connected with the pet ideas of the generation. The belief in progress calls upon us to do nothing which may hamper the intellectual development of posterity. The brilliant genius or extensive learning which justified the creation of some special chair, and enlivened it when first established, may, and must at some time almost inevitably, be succeeded by a respectable mediocrity, in the hands of which the chair remains a useless, it may be even an obstructive, sinecure. The possibility of such results may be avoided by the lectureships we have referred to. Neither the Scottish nor the English Universities want many more professorships; and we do trust that none of the Colleges at Oxford or at Cambridge will devote their funds, to any great degree, to such a purpose. What is needed is provision

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\* Arnold, "Schools and Universities on the Continent," p. 131.

for an order of lecturers, who shall be selected from time to time, *from any quarter*, and for a limited number of years, to meet the requirements of *advancing* learning. Appointments of this character will give a constant and ever-living stimulus to the ordinary studies of the Universities—a stimulus which can never be gained in the same degree through professorial teaching.

IV. The mode of election in the case of certain professorial chairs calls emphatically for amendment. However natural it may be that the original founder or founders of a chair should exercise the right of presentation to it, no arguments of any value can be brought to justify the continued exercise of these same rights in their descendants or successors. The very liberality which led them to originate the chair indicates their fitness to select its occupant; but no theory of heredity has yet proved that corporations transmit their tendencies to their successors, or that the scholarship which led a seventeenth century “laird” to endow a professorial chair is perpetuated in the peer who marries his lineal female descendant. Limited, therefore, as are the rights which the Town Council of Edinburgh now possesses in the appointment to professorial chairs, it would appear desirable that they should be still further diminished. It is absurd that local connections, personal likings, sectarian sympathies, should still to a considerable extent determine the election to an Edinburgh professorship. Public opinion will of course always prevent the representatives of the Town Council from electing to a vacant chair an absolute nonentity; but what if public opinion in the form of sectarian narrowness only confirms the municipal electors in their own peculiar antipathies! Objectionable, however, as is the weight still left to the Edinburgh Town Council in the appointments to the University, it is slight when compared with the private patronage which allots the whole right of presentation to one individual. The Council’s representatives are at least before the world, and their votes can nearly be out-balanced by those of the other electors. But all safety-valves are absent in the case of private patronage. The merest whim may lead the patron to appoint some otherwise unheard-of candidate, and the University may be saddled with an incompetent professor, entirely neutralising the progressive movement which his abler colleagues had begun. One professor may thus undo the work resulting from a century, and almost irretrievably throw back a University. No pleas can be urged in favour of such rights of patronage, and we hope before long to see them abolished. We should suggest a similar abolition of all patronage invested in the Crown: it is ridiculous that the occupant of a Greek or Latin chair should fill it, not because he stands out an acknowledged master in those languages, but



simply because he has at some time or other bestowed his services upon the Government.

The best body for professorial elections is undoubtedly the University Court, a body consisting generally of the Rector, Rector's Assessor, Chancellor's Assessor, Principal, an Assessor elected by the General Council, and another elected by the Senatus. None of the appointments which have been made by this Court within late years in Scotland have led to any adverse criticism or discontent, and we hope before long to see all professorial chairs intrusted to this Board. It strikes the proper mean between internal co-optation and external nomination; the members represent at once the attitude of the teachers already in the University, and add on the judgment of the outer literary world. There should be, however, some strict provisions made to secure the attendance of all the members of the Court when an election is to be held; otherwise the actual body of electors may reduce itself to local members, and the election be determined by mere local sympathies.

V. The elevation of the significance connected with the degree in Arts is another pressing want in Scotland. The badge of M.A. carries with it none of the distinction and importance it conveys in England. The Oxford or Cambridge student regards himself, and is regarded by others, as deprived of his passport to the world if he leave College without obtaining a degree; in the absence of the degree his College residence counts for nothing. But affairs are different in Scotland. More importance is certainly attached to the degree of Arts at the present time than was (except at Aberdeen) connected with it fifty years ago; but there is still much to be done before the honour carries with it the distinction it deserves. This is a defect which must be corrected from outside,—by general public opinion rather than by educational enactments. Were the Churches to enjoin that no presbytery should, except under extraordinary circumstances, ordain a clergyman unless he possessed the University degree; were the Faculty of Advocates to make a similar regulation with regard to admission to the Bar, and were the managers of schools to require graduation in their schoolmaster, the importance of the graduate's position would be altogether raised, and the Universities would receive a most beneficial stimulus from outside.

VI. The standard of the Scotch degree does not impress us as a crying subject for reform. With all its defects, the Scotch M.A. degree, as it is conferred at present, bears witness to as respectable attainments as those indicated by the pass B.A. degree at Oxford. While, however, the greater proportion of students (really deserving to be so described) at the English

Universities take, not the pass-degree but the degree with honours, the Scotch student, if he thinks of a degree at all, seldom goes beyond that of the pass-examination. What is wanted both at Oxford and at Cambridge is some form by which to mark off pass from class degrees. This might be done by a reintroduction of the now disused degree of Bachelor, the Bachelor's degree being conferred at the close of the third year of residence. Many who cannot find the time to stay for four years at the University might gladly avail themselves of a distinction which could be secured by three years' study. So long as the actual value of this earlier degree were, by the distinction between pass and class, sufficiently recognised, it would be desirable to offer all inducements towards taking it: and we should therefore suggest that the examination for the Bachelor degree should be confined to Classics (for which perhaps a substitute in the shape of Modern Languages might be allowed) and Philosophy, or, as an alternative for the latter, Mathematics (under which some one branch of science might be included), the degree of M.A. being bestowed on those only who, after four years of actual residence, should succeed in taking honours in some one or other of those different departments. Such an arrangement would be, like others we have mentioned, only a return to the old *régime*. The third year's class would be again the Bachelor, and the fourth year's class the Magistrand, as regularly as the first year's class is still known in some places as that of the 'Bajans.' The degree of B.A. would return to its old position as an incipient *gradus* or stage in learning, and the degree of Master would be restored to something of its old importance. The objection that under this arrangement there would be no classes for the fourth-year student to attend is really worthless. It would be, in fact, the most important session in the student's course. He would be left free to devote himself in this last year of residence to that one sphere of learning within which he felt his powers would find their proper object, and he would have the liberty to attend those extra-classes for which his previous course of studies had not left him room. Besides, there would be no necessity for him to proceed immediately to the final examination: he might be allowed to present himself for this within any reasonable time after he had secured the Bachelor degree and kept four years of residence. Residence would of course be calculated, as it happily has been hitherto in Scotland, by attendance at some certain set of lectures, not, after the absurd fashion of the English Universities, by sleeping for so many nights, or eating so much bread and butter.

These suggestions with regard to Scotch degrees carry with

them, we believe, no small advantages. The Scotch degree, as it now stands, errs by an attempt to be too encyclopædic. The ordinary intellect should not be expected to comprehend at once Trigonometry and Ethics; and it might be questioned whether a study of modern literature could not be to many minds as truly *literæ humaniores* as some painfully construed and imperfectly appreciated fragments of Greek and Latin authors. Our scheme would further draw an easily-distinguished line between mere pass and actual class degrees; while at the same time the man of average ability would have inducements to acquire a University degree which he does not at present possess. It would increase the importance of, and offer additional inducements towards, the degree in honours if the parliamentary franchise and the membership of the "General Council" were still confined to the higher graduates.

VII. By insisting in this way on the possession of degrees, a greater unity than now exists would be secured amongst the members of the University; but this sense of unity must be originally fostered in the undergraduates if it is destined to result in any solidarity amongst the graduates. This can only be effected by some social mechanism which will bring the students into daily contact with each other. As things now stand, students in Scotland, at all the Universities except St Andrews, and in part Aberdeen, live in almost utter isolation from each other. At St Andrews, it is true, the case is different. There, by reason of the comparatively small number attending the different classes, the limits of the town itself, and the number of debating and other societies conducted by the students, the undergraduates mix with each other no less freely than the members of a small English College. But at Edinburgh or Glasgow the case is very different. There, as Professor Lorimer pointed out in his valuable papers on this subject in the pages of the *North British Review* in 1850, "students from the country, particularly those of the humbler class, who, for the most part, have no other means of making the acquaintance of their fellow-students and of the professors than the arrangements of the University afford them, usually feel themselves as much strangers and aliens at the end of their four years' course, as they were at its commencement. Social intercourse, and familiar interchange of ideas and sympathies, even for the time being, to say nothing of those lasting friendships which under more favourable circumstances spring up so readily betwixt fellow-students, are here as little fostered by the juxtaposition of the class-room as that of an ordinary city church. Each individual hearer seats himself in his accustomed place to listen to the lecture, as he would to take part in



the service; and if he has any communication with his fellow-hearers during its continuance, he, of course, commits a sin little less heinous than talking in church. In the ordinary <sup>What</sup> he quits, not only the lecture-rooms, but the College walls <sup>for</sup> themselves, when his day of toil is ended, without interchanging a dozen words with any one; and if, on the occasion of examinations, reading of prize-essays, or the like, some little conversation does take place among the students, it is rarely to the extent of making them acquaintances out of doors." \*

Debating societies do much to break down the walls of division between the students, and to lead them to mix together freely with one another. But the influence of these societies breaks down exactly where it is most required. It is powerless to reach the poor country student, who has had none of those advantages of social intercourse which will supply him with sufficient boldness to address his equals.

How, then, is the social unity which we desiderate to be attained? Not, assuredly, by any wholesale introduction of the English system. The great merit which Scotch Universities have had in the past is the fact that the very poorest in the kingdom have been able to avail themselves of their instruction. They have been truly national schools of learning in a sense the English Universities have never tried to realise. They have reached a stratum of society to which Oxford and Cambridge are effectually closed. The poorest cottar's son has made his way to their democratic benches. It would be a misfortune, of which the consequences could be with difficulty estimated, were any changes made which might possibly shut out the poor and working men who have till now frequented them.

Nothing, therefore, in the shape of intramural residence should be suggested. The Collegiate life, which was originally intended *specially* for the poorer students, and which certainly, if conducted in its early manner, might still do so, seems in our days to lead inevitably to expense and luxury. But it does not seem Utopian to suggest that once in every week each student should join a certain number of his fellows in a simple dinner. The difficulty here, of course, lies in the want of culinary arrangements at the Universities. This, however, is a stumbling-block that may be simplified. To dine each day the 1000 students resident at Edinburgh or at Glasgow would be indeed a formidable task; but if this number were divided into sections of 100 or 150 students who should dine together once a week, the difficulty would be lessened, if not altogether solved. Even then we know that many obstacles remain; but we feel sure that it is only by

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\* Lorimer's "Universities of Scotland, Past, Present, and Future," p. 72.

the help of some such system that our ends can be secured. Were there in our great Scotch cities *table-d'hôtes* similar to those at which German students meet, the evil would not press so sore. Why, then, should not our Scottish Universities erect large restaurants, at which cheap meals might be obtained, and where professors might not refuse to be occasionally seen? Professors also might not shrink to set the example in another way towards this social unity: we mean the wearing of an academical dress. Hitherto, except at St Andrews, and in part at Glasgow, there has been nothing to mark off the students from the citizens, or to indicate the presence of an academic institution. Here then, again, we would enforce the old arrangements of the Scottish Universities. All members of the University who may be resident within its bounds should wear the robes of their degree, and so give outer semblance to that academic unity which the University implies.

The importance of these last suggestions will not be underrated by those who have learned that half our life depends on so-called mechanical provisions for its guidance. It is only by the adoption of a common life and common dress that that "sympathy" of learning which is so wanting in the North can be reintroduced. By help of them the words *alumnus* and *alma mater* will be no mere fictions, but real living forces; and the associations of Old Machar or the Broomielaw will be as strong as those which once made the "*Nos fuimus simul in Galandia*" of Paris students the watchwords of friendship over Europe.

We have exhausted the framework of the suggestions which we have to offer toward the reform of Scotch Universities. Throughout, it will be obvious, we have merely sketched out our suggestions; and in making them we have confined ourselves to an examination of those features in the existing machinery which seemed to call for amendment in themselves, rather than proceeded to detail the new elements which might be added to our Northern Colleges. It will be for the promised Commission to offer such suggestions as it may find requisite. But we venture to believe that the Universities of Scotland will never regain the position which they had three centuries ago unless they introduce the greater number of the alterations which we have described. These Universities have a glorious past to contemplate. The scholarship of Buchanan, the learning of Melville, the verses of Arthur Johnston, the classic compositions of the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, bear witness to a time when it was at St Andrews and Aberdeen rather than at Oxford or at Cambridge that learning in Great Britain was

located. What has been may assuredly occur again. But this result can only be attained if Scotchmen see that their Universities are truly Universities, and not mere Grammar Schools; if they contrive to fill their professorial chairs with really able men, and by means of lecturers and sub-professors at once assist and stimulate them in their professorial work; if they insist on University degrees as passports to all posts of dignity and value; and finally, if they create a social unity and academic tone amongst the members of their Universities. There is little new in these suggestions. The names of Chalmers, of Jeffrey, and of Hamilton, not to mention others who still live, might be appended to the greater number of them. They are in many cases a return to the ancient constitutions of the Universities themselves; for with Mr Pattison we hold that "as the University revives we shall find ourselves reviving old arrangements, not because they are old, but because they were the results of much experience." But whether new or old, it is only by the introduction of them that Scotch Universities will be able to withstand the shafts of criticism, and to all assailants return answer in the proud motto of their most Northern representative—"They say! what say they? let them say."



#### ART. IV.—OUIDA'S NOVELS.

*Folle-Farine. Idalia: a Romance. Chandos: a Novel. Under Two Flags. Tricotrin. Cecil Castlemaine's Gage. Held in Bondage. Pascarel: Only a Story. Puck; his Vicissitudes, Adventures, &c. A Dog of Flanders. Strathmore. Two Little Wooden Shoes: a Sketch. Signa.*

WHAT is a novel, and what are the laws to which it must conform? It was said long ago, and has since been frequently repeated, that the novel is a prose epic; and, most assuredly it is. One might almost go so far as to say that the novel, by the capabilities it offers, affords the greatest scope for the expression of genius. For, a perfect novel should be an epitome of life; in it all human nature should declare itself as a unity; no typical property of the human mind should be omitted either by action, suggestion, or description. But who has yet compassed it? One writer may have possessed within himself the mastery of the passions, another of the affections, a third of the sentiments, and with it the highest imaginative powers. But who has yet been able to



combine all these with reason, to set all their earnestness at defiance by exhibiting them equally in their humorous as in their serious light, by bearing them safely through the ordeal of irony, and by lashing them with satire when they fail in their great pretensions; and having placed them in the order of harmony and contrast, conducted them to a conclusion that satisfied the requirements of art? Such a Shakespeare amongst novelists has yet to appear; meanwhile we must rest satisfied with efforts in particular directions.

Novels may, broadly speaking, be classed as realistic and romantic. Both take nature as their starting-point, the only difference being, that the novelist proper studies to represent his little world as the great world is; whereas the romance-writer takes some striking characteristic in human nature, and builds an ideal world therefrom by the very force of his imagination, and that fact alone constitutes him the greater writer. A novel, therefore, in which imagination predominates, and realism is not wanting, would, by this combination, merit the highest rank. The first broad principle to lay down, without the due observance of which no novel has a right to exist, is that one taught us by a study of the *chef-d'œuvres* of ancient art, and so admirably expressed by Shakespeare, "Hold the mirror up to Nature." This must be the constant endeavour of the true artist; and another equally important one is this, that throughout his work he should prove himself to be influenced by an artistic sense of, and due reverence for, the laws of beauty. With these to guide him, and imbued with the sense of an exalted aim, he must perforce produce work that will be lasting because true, ennobling because refined.

The component parts of a novel are character, scenery, and plot, each of which has its due position and importance.

And first as to character. Regarding the novel as an epic, we may say that no character should be admitted that is not worthy of special study or development from its capacity to throw light on human nature. This rule would not apply to the minor characters, which, like figures in a landscape, may be regarded as part of the scenery.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a new character, but one already well known may be placed in new situations, and so lead to novel developments without end. There should always be one or more great and true characters, on which the reader may rely, not only as the touchstone of the moral purpose, but as a means of affording a commentary on the actions of base persons. The physical characteristics, *i.e.*, the forms and features of the characters, should be indicated only by light touches. More than this fails to convey the desired effect. The reader should be allowed to infer the physical qualities from the mental, and from the conduct

of the work. Every one, in fact, should form his own conception of the character, as is done by an actor of the drama. The development of wisdom, like that of character, should be almost confined without exception to the dialogue and action. It consists in the development of those virtues which throng around prudence and foresight, but it may show itself in every situation. If well managed, such qualities as humility, kindness, a deference to the opinion of others, may be manifested in the light of wisdom, not only in their effects, but in the noble experience they ensure.

There can be no greatness of character without a suppression, or perfect concealment of selfishness. Nevertheless, what is true to human nature may be in a measure great; and selfishness is unfortunately true to human nature, and in itself a great element of strength. Lastly, a character should be typical of a class, and the art of the writer is shown in exhausting it thoroughly, so that no one else can describe it without imitation.

Scenery, *in itself*, consists in the physical conformation of Nature, and her varying aspects under the influence of climate, season, and other changes; but the mere description of such soon wearies the mind, without creating an adequate image, unless the scenery be made to speak. The feeling that it is capable of bearing must be drawn out either in sympathy or in contrast with the characters and actions, and in illustration of these. A love scene in the midst of a storm would be inappropriate and ludicrous, unless under circumstances of deep tragedy, in which case the human affections must be raised to a pitch of intensity that surpasses the violence of the storm and exceeds it in majesty. Among scenes of grandeur which recall to mind the changeableness of Nature, or among the falling leaves of autumn, while the air is yet balmy but nature is in its decay, a love scene would be the more effective by the contrast, and by the feelings such scenery would arouse. To the sensitive poetic mind a scene which ordinary men would abhor for its monotony and tameness has an exquisite feeling and an eloquence which appeal to him with meaning as deep and solemn as do the peaks of the Alps. He can see beauties and wonders moving over the surface of the sandy plains, of the level heath, or of the far-reaching swamp, which are hidden to other minds. Let us instance a fenny district, covered with swamps and sedges, and extending as far as the eye can reach. In the midst of this scene let us place one who can see true nature in every circumstance and situation. Here he would behold the sun rise and set as on a sea. In the mists that ascended as the luminary rose and set, in the flight of wild birds, shrieking as they descended on the waters, he would be carried back to the times when creation was struggling onwards to higher states of being which it was far from having yet reached. Possessing all the

sympathies of humanity, he would shudder all the more as he seemed to look upon an unfinished world where man was absent. As the rays of light sparkled on the deadly waters, and lit up the rank vegetation, he might almost conceive himself to be a guest bearing witness to those secret operations of Nature, which, in fertile and cultivated scenes, might be dreamt of only as a portion of the unknown and forgotten history of the past. Suppose this scene to be rendered more horrible by a rising wind and blackening clouds, which in a moment darken the waters and ruffle their lately smooth surface to the farthest banks. Let the storm bend the tree-tops in its course, whilst they cling with their roots to the swampy ground. Let the rain beat on them, and, as it falls on the waters, rebound in opposing showers. Here the imagination might see Nature despising her own works, and trying to overthrow them, perhaps to make way for a brighter epoch. At the same time it might see patient endurance in the landscape, whilst the trees and herbage resistingly clung to the place of their birth and life. Here and there a tree, torn up by its roots, falls with a strange cry, its prostrate branches quivering in the wind, and seeming to pant in the agony of death, like a huge animal with its antlers levelled to the earth. And in the midst of these studies, if his mind were of a wide cast, he would laugh at his own sorry condition and insignificance in the midst of the storm. By such treatment scenery becomes a living picture, instead of a dry catalogue of details.

Although the plot of a novel is the least important of its three great divisions, it is not without its difficulties. While character and scenery may be said to unfold a mystery, it is the purpose of the plot to create one. It is the most artificial portion of the work, and, therefore, the furthest removed from nature. The characters and scenery must, with due restriction, be made to follow nature; whilst it is the purpose of the plot to so involve them as to conceal from the view every possible means of extricating them from the labyrinth in which they are entangled. The creative hand commences its work despotically, and in the due order of fate. It has to bring its elements forward singly and without disorder; to conduct them through the doubts and dangers which must always attend inevitably on the soul that presses itself forward towards the fulfilment of some great end, and which it might reach with facility but for the antagonistic action of other souls equally seeking to achieve their purpose in the game of life. Opposing minds thus earnestly set to work must not only meet, but clash; and the skill of the plot will be manifested in the art with which the one or the other is made to triumph; with which, if justice fails at one time, it succeeds at another; and above all, with which it is made to fail, only to



triumph the more at the conclusion ; yet, in conducting these contests of man with man, it is necessary to make the results appear such as must naturally occur in life ; and these results, being only too often lamentable in themselves, afford ample scope for interest, by suspending the hope and exciting the fear of the reader, without destroying the one or giving too great vitality to the other.

A plot, it should be borne in mind, is the conduct of a war, not of interests, but of principles. Interests have no development in nature ; they have no true foundation, no certain career. But principles have a birth, a growth, and an aim. In their struggle through life they lead each other on, and of themselves penetrate the most intricate mazes of our being, combating and defeating vulgar interests in their noble career ; often having to endure the shock of power, but never defeated. This sketch of the great divisions of the novel is necessary to show that, at the same time that character is the all-ruling element, and, while it stands apart, it must yet give its tone to scenery, and be the main instrument of the plot itself.

"*Signa*" is, we believe, Ouida's latest production, and in some respects is certainly her best. There are three characters in it which are admirably described—one imaginative, the other two intensely realistic. There is not much plot in the story, but withal the book is a very interesting one. Two brothers, Lippo and Bruno, have some years before the story opens lost their sister. She had, in fact, been induced to leave her home by an artist who had been staying in the neighbourhood. She had not gone without some provocation ; for Bruno, her brother, stern, honest, passionate, had harshly reproved her careless gaiety, and once even had, with Italian warmth, struck at her with cold steel. And yet he loved her deeply, although in early years his fierce, jealous nature had led him to hate her because she, the youngest and the last, had taken the place of the other children in their mother's affections. Some years after their sister's departure the brothers find her dead body during floodtime, with an infant at her breast, the child still alive. The crafty, heartless, time-serving Lippo urges his brother to leave the dead mother to be buried by the increasing torrent of waters rushing down from the hills, urging that as none would know her now, they might be accused of murdering her. Bruno reluctantly consents, but insists that Lippo, who is married, shall take care of the child, offering on his part to contribute one-half of his farm-produce towards its keep. The child grows up, showing from early years an extraordinary genius for music. All the time he is harshly treated by Lippo and his wife, who have taken advantage of Bruno's wish that none should know that he supported the child, and so got

credit to themselves for their charitable behaviour. The child is named Signa, after his native place. He never tells Bruno how badly he is treated, how even sometimes he has not even enough to eat. Bruno is too much occupied by the remorse engendered by his indifference to his sister's dead body, and by the self-accusation which affixes her original sin to his own passionate impulsiveness in striking her, to inquire for himself, until at last his eyes are opened to the deceit of his brother by an incident that springs from a visit to a neighbouring monastery. We quote the description of this visit, which is exceedingly picturesque and natural. The italics are our own.

"Approached from the Roman road, the monastery is nothing : a pile of buildings, irregular, and only grand by its extent, on a bare crest of rock ; but approached from the Greve river when the morning sun, shining behind it, shrouds its vast pile in golden mist, and darkens the wooded valley at its feet, the monastery is beautiful, and all the faith and the force of the age that begot it are in it : it is a *Te Deum* in stone.

" 'It looks as if the angels fought there,' said Signa, with hushed awe, as he stood on the sward and made the sign of the cross ; and indeed it has a look as of a fortress ; Acciajoli, when he raised and consecrated it, having prayed the Republic to let him make it war-proof and braced for battle.

" 'Men fight the devil there,' said Bruno, believing what he said.

"The chimes of the monastery were ringing out for the first mass : deep bells and of sweet tone, that came down the river like a benediction on the day.

"Signa kneeled down on the grass.

" 'Did you pray for the holy men ?' Bruno asked him when they rose, and they went on under the tall green quivering trees.

" 'No,' said Signa under his breath ; 'I prayed for the devil.'

" 'For him !' echoed Bruno aghast ; 'what are you about, child ? Are you possessed ? Do you know what the good priests would say ?'

" 'I prayed for him,' said Signa with that persistency which ran with his docile temper ; 'it is he who wants it. To be wicked *there*, where God is, and the sun, and the bells !'

" 'But he is the foe of God. It is horrible to pray for him.'

" 'No,' said Signa sturdily ; '*God says we are to forgive our enemies and help them. I only asked Him to begin with His.*'

" 'Pray for those the devil enters, *carino*,' Bruno said sadly. 'When you have done with them, it will be time to pray for him, and they count by tens of thousands.'

" 'It is best to pray for him himself,' said Signa, with his docile determination to keep his own ideas, which Nita so constantly endeavoured to thrash out of him. 'Perhaps men made him bad because they would not leave him any hope of being better.'

“ ‘Do not talk of these things ; the priests would not like it, Signa,’ said Bruno, to whom such a manner of ‘speaking of Satan seemed impious—only the child was so young ; Heaven, he trusted, would not be angry.

“ *Signa was silent : he obeyed an order always, only he kept his own ideas : it was as a dog obeys a call, but keeps its instincts.*”

And then they enter the monastery, until at last, when they come to where the old bishop lies asleep in the wonderful marble of Francesco di San Gallo, the child Signa asks that he may be allowed to sing him something. A painter staying in the place, moved by the odd request, asks permission of the attendant monk, who grants it, with the proviso, “If it be a holy song ;” and so the little fellow gives free vent to the emotion that moves his soul. The painter, struck by his musical genius, as well as by the beauty of his countenance, is much interested in him, and ends by making a drawing of him, and presenting him with two gold pieces. With these, on his return, he buys an old violin, which he had long desired. The indignation of Lippo, and indeed of the whole village, at such unheard-of prodigality, bring matters to a crisis, and Signa runs away rather than meet the storm. Bruno overtakes him just in time, and then by inquiry finds out the truth of Lippo’s conduct. Thenceforth Signa lives on the hill with Bruno, and is very happy. We wish we could quote the dramatic account of what leads Bruno to give up the one cherished idea of his life, in deference to the wish of Signa ; but it is too long. We would most cordially recommend our readers to judge for themselves how really great in the delineation of character, and passionate incident, Ouida is at her best, by reading this most interesting and pathetic story, in which one does not know whether to pity, whilst one admires, Signa or Bruno most. Signa, weak by nature, though full of the divine fire of genius, passionate, swayed only by his emotions, reaches the goal ; but, alas ! pays the penalty. Bruno, the stern, honest, self-denying peasant, his heart filled with but one idea, which, after years of unremitting toil, he attains, only to have it dashed to the ground by the one hand he loves, and for which he has toiled and denied himself ; and yet, in spite of this, he triumphantly asserts the nobility of his nature. The character of his brother Lippo stands out in forcible contrast, and is portrayed with equal strength. We give an extract descriptive of the Lastra Signa, to show that in the treatment of scenery Ouida is not wanting :—

“Its years of war indeed are done ; it can repel no foe—it can turn aside no invader ; the wall-sorrel grows on its parapets, the owl builds in its loopholes, the dust of decay lies thick upon its broken stairs ; in its fortified places old women spin flax, and the spiders their webs ;



but its decay is not desolation ; its silence is not solitude ; its sadness is not despair. The Ave Maria echoes through it morning and night ; when the warm sunrise smites its battlements, its people go forth to the labour of the soil ; when the rays of the sunset fill the west, there rises from its mountains a thousand spears of gold, as though the hosts of a conquering army raised them aloft with a shout of triumph ; it garners its living people still as sheep within a fold—'its bells for prayer still rolling through its rents.' Harvest and vintage and seed-time are precious to it ; fruits of the earth are brought within it ; the vine is green against its doors, and the corn is threshed in its ancient armouries. Beautiful even where unsightly ; hoary with age, yet linked with living youth ; noble as a bare sea-cliff is noble, that has kept the waves at bay throughout uncounted storms, the Lastra stands amidst the green billows of the foliage of the fields as a lighthouse amongst breakers ; its towers speaking of strength, its fissures of sorrow, its granaries of labour, its belfries of hope."

We must, however, give expression to our regret that the book did not end at chap. xviii. vol. iii. Why should so just and striking a climax be so weakened by the unnecessary details given in the concluding chapter ? It is a most serious defect of art.

"Strathmore" is, on the whole, one of the best of these novels, the plot being a remarkably good one, and the characters mostly—that of Strathmore in especial—being carefully-developed studies. Unfortunately, some of the best work of this authoress is spoilt by two leading faults—untruth to nature, and exaggeration of tone and incident—which no critic can lightly pass over. Untruth to nature is shown in the defective treatment of the character of Lady Vavasour, whom we are led to regard as an exceptionally cruel, sensual woman, until we come to the last chapter, when, for the sake of a happy ending to the story, she is transformed into a converted Christian, foregoes the revenge that she has sought for twenty years, and forgives her enemies in the most affecting manner. That Ouida can portray character no one who reads "Signa" can doubt ; and it is certainly a matter of congratulation that an authoress of such undoubted power has in her latest effort avoided the carelessness, the exaggeration of tone and incident, and the vices, that are but too patent in most of her other books. The school of muscular Christianity has had a baneful influence on Ouida. Kingsley, who originated it, though healthy in tone, was withal a little feverish. The author of "Guy Livingstone" carried it as far as a man of genius dare go ; but it remained for Ouida, at her worst, to make it ridiculous and repulsive.

The story is as follows. Strathmore is the proud owner of White Ladies, an old mansion that had once been a monastery, to which were attached lands of great extent, famed for their well-stocked preserves and the wild beauty that characterised them.

"Slay and spare not" was the motto of the "swift, silent Strathmores;" and if aught else were wanting to prove his descent, our hero would convince the most sceptical that he was of the blood by his conduct alone. "He had the eyes of a Catiline, and the face of a Strafford;" so no wonder he was covertly disliked and feared. Cold yet courtly in his bearing, lavish in his hospitality, Strathmore, when introduced to us, is a man of mark. He was a born statesman—cool and heartless, apparently; swayed only by his reason. Passion he laughed at; woman was well enough as a toy; but to say more than that, betokened the man of weak impulse, and was in itself contemptible. He had already distinguished himself in diplomacy, and being still young, his ambition prompted him to aim at what he well knew could be compassed by one of his mental powers and influential position. One friend he had whom he regarded as a brother, by name Bertie Erroll. We must in justice give his picture, painted with a loving hand, though too highly coloured, before we tell what he did to gain the friendship of Strathmore:—

"In frame and sinew he was superb; in style he was rather like a dashing Free Lance, a gallant debonair captain of Bourbon's Reiters, with his magnificent muscle and reckless brilliance, though he was as gentle as a woman, and as lazy as a Circassian girl. He called himself the handsomest man in the service, and had the palm given him undisputingly; for the frank, clear, azure eyes, that grew so soft in love, so trustful in friendship, the long fair hair sweeping off a forehead white as the most delicate blonde's, the handsome features, with their sunny candour and their gay sensuous smile, made his face almost as attractive to men as to women. As to the latter, indeed, they strewed his path with the conqueror's myrtle-leaves. His loves were as innumerable as the stars, and by no means so eternal; and if now and then the *beau sexe* had the best of the warfare, it was only because they are never compassionate to those who surrender to them at once, and whom they can bind and lead captive at their will, which the least-experienced could do at one stroke with Bertie Erroll, as he freely and lamentingly confessed. The Beau Sabreur (as he had been named, à la Murat, from his cornethood, partly from some backhanded strokes of his in Caffreland, partly from the personal beauty that he inherited from a race whose beauty was all their patrimony), terrific, as his science could tell when he put the gloves on, and daring, as the chronicles of the Cape decreed him to be, in the saddle and in the skirmish, was soft as silk in the hands of a beauty."

Such was Bertie. What he did to gain the friendship of Strathmore was this:—

"Once when they were together in Scinde, having both gone thither on a hunting-trip to the big-game districts for a change one autumn, to bring home tiger-skins and try pig-sticking, a tigress sprang out on

them as they strolled alone through the jungle—sprang out to alight with grip and fang upon Strathmore, who neither heard nor saw her, as it chanced. But before she could be upon her victim, Erroll threw himself before him, and catching the beast by the throat as she rose in the air to her leap, held her off at arm's length, and fell with her, holding her down by main force, while she tore and gored him in the struggle—a struggle that lasted till Strathmore had time to reload his gun and send a ball through her brain. 'You would have done the same for me, my dear old fellow,' said Erroll, quietly and lazily, as his eyes closed, and he fainted away from the loss of blood."

Strathmore falls under the influence of Lady Vavasour, whom he meets, romantically enough, soon after he had saved her in Prague. The development of his passion, the way in which he almost hates the woman who, by her soft influence, proves to him, for the first time in his life, that he is not master of himself, and then ends by so passionate a devotion that he sacrifices ambition, reputation, even friendship, are described with great subtlety and skill. A very powerful and pathetic situation is thus brought about when he is in Paris, the accepted lover of Lady Vavasour—he blinded by his passion, she exulting in her triumph, yet somewhat fearful of the volcanic passion that she has aroused. Taking a hint from the conduct of Potiphar's wife; she induces Strathmore to murder his only friend, which he does in a duel, with the most fiendish delight—only to find too late that Bertie Erroll was as innocent as Joseph of yore. His eyes are opened then, and terrible is his remorse, but not more terrible than his revenge. His first impulse is to kill this tigress, Lady Vavasour; but he stops half-way in the act of strangling her, in order that, like a miser who gloats over each individual coin, he may have the satisfaction of working out a refined and systematic vengeance. How he does this—how, from the position of the belle of Parisian society, Lady Vavasour is reduced to a pariah and outcast, hungering for revenge—how, some seventeen years after her fall, during which she has in vain sought for some means wherewith to retaliate, she is rescued from a wreck by Strathmore, who, on recognising her, deliberately drops her, pleading and exhausted, into the boiling surf, from which somehow or other she afterwards escapes—how, in spite of this, when she has it in her power to wreak a greater vengeance upon Strathmore than he had ever wreaked on her, she suddenly changes from a tigress to a lamb, not to say an angel, and forgives,—let those who would read a sensational story powerfully written consult the pages of "Strathmore." The book is undoubtedly a remarkable one, marred, however, at times by the absence of simplicity and nature; yet it contains some of the best work of this authoress. We have said that in the character of Lady Vavasour there is untruth to nature. One certainly feels that



she is forced to do violence to her nature, and act the penitent, in order that two lovers be made happy. With regard to exaggeration of tone and incident, the following extract will prove that we make this charge not without reason. If Ouida had cared to consult any one, she would have been told that a man might just as well attempt to stop a cannon-ball with a cricket-bat as oppose a pair of horses at full gallop. Yet Strathmore, who, when first introduced to the reader, is described as a man of ordinary size and strength, actually stops a runaway pair by the force of his arms, he standing still! The incident would appear to be a favourite one with this writer, for it reappears under still more astounding circumstances in the story called "The General's Match-making," one of a series constituting the volume entitled "Cecil Castlemaine's Gage."

"As he strolled down Wenzel's Platz, in the centre of which sprang a tree of gas with a myriad burning luminous leaves, that threw their glare on the kneeling devotees, a carriage that had come into the square against all rule—for the best reason, that the horses had broken away, frightened at the music, the lights, the crowds, and had taken their own way thither, beyond their driver's power to pull them in—dashed down the Platz at a headlong gallop. . . .

"Death was in their van and in their wake for all the multitude kneeling there in prayer; but, as they neared the spot where the Englishman was, who had not moved a yard, but calmly awaited their approach, he stood firmly planted, as though made of granite, in their path, and catching them, with a sudden spring, by their ribbons close to the curb, checked them in full flight with a force that sent them back upon their haunches. It needed what he had, an iron strength and perfect coolness: even with these to aid him, it was a dangerous risk to run, for if they shook themselves free, the infuriated beasts would trample him to death. They reared and plunged wildly, flinging the foam, tinged with blood, over their chests and flanks, and into his eyes, till it blinded him with the spray; they lifted him three times off the ground by his wrists, with a jerk sufficient to wrench his arms out of their sockets, with a strain enough to make every fibre and muscle break and snap. Still he held on; they had met their master, and had to give in at last; they were powerless to shake off his grip; and tired out at last with the contest, they stood quiet, panting, trembling, passive, and fairly broken in, their heads drooping, their limbs quivering, blood, where the curbs had sawn their mouths, mixed with the snowy foam that covered them from their loins to their posterns. He let go his hold; his face was very pale, and perfectly calm; as though he had lounged out of a ball-room; but his eyes glittered and gleamed dark with a swift dangerous passion—a passion that was evil. He stretched his hand up, without speaking, to the coachman for his whip; the man stooped down and gave it him, and, clearing the crowd wider with a sign, he lashed the horses pitilessly,

fiercely—lashed them till the poor brutes, spiritless, powerless, and trembling, stood shaking like culprits before their judge. That merciless punishing done, his passion had spent itself; the horses were broken down to the quietness of lambs; and letting go his hold on them again, he approached the carriage window and lifted his hat as indifferently and carelessly as though he were bowing to some acquaintance in the Ride or the Pré Catalan."

On which incident all we have to remark is—firstly, the feat was impossible; secondly, the thrashing was brutal.

"Two Little Wooden Shoes," modestly entitled "a sketch," is the most charming and natural of the whole series. It is impossible to find fault with it. Bébé, a Brabant peasant girl, is in the habit of going daily to Old Brussels to sell flowers. She is just sixteen, a happy innocent, dreaming child, who loves nothing better than to talk to the flowers, to dream over the pictures in the churches, or to gaze at the quaint carvings of the old buildings, till fancy carried her back to their time. A painter sees her one day as she is running home, and makes her acquaintance. It was the very face he had sought for so long for his Gretchen. He sits in the market-place and paints the old buildings, all the while talking to Bébé and studying her features. He then becomes interested in her; there is something so refreshing in her pure innocent nature to him, the *blasé*, cynical man of the world, that eventually he determines to make her his mistress. But to his astonishment he finds that for the first time in his life he has qualms of conscience. The soul that looked at him through Bébé's eyes baffled him, and made him ashamed.

"He had something nearer akin to affection for her than he had ever had in life for anything, but he was never in love with her—no more in love with her than with the moss-rosebuds that she fastened in his breast. Yet he played with her, because she was such a little, soft, tempting female thing; and because to see her face flush and her heart heave, to feel her fresh feelings stir into life, and to watch her changes from shyness to confidence, and from frankness again to fear, was a natural pastime in the lazy golden weather. That he spared her as far as he did, when, after all, she would have married Jeannot anyhow, and that he sketched her face in the open air, and never entered her hut, and never beguiled her to his own old palace in the city, was a new virtue in himself for which he hardly knew whether to feel respect or ridicule; anyway it seemed virtue to him.

"So long as he did not seduce the body, it seemed to him that it could never matter how he slew the soul—the little, honest, happy, pure, frank soul, that, amidst its poverty and hardships, was like a robin's song to the winter's sun."

In the end he determines to leave her: she would forget him and marry Jeannot. He knew well that he would tire of her after

a while. So he gives her books for which she is so eager, and promises to return after the winter. The blow is a sharp one for poor Bébéé, but she submits. But when the summer comes, it does not bring him back, and she begins to despair. Still she never once doubted her lover; she was too loyal in her love for that. Her books alone give her comfort now, because every day she feels that she is a little nearer him. Another winter goes by. One day she hears that Flamen, the artist, her lover, is dangerously ill in Paris. Ill in Paris, and perhaps poor! He was only a painter, as Lisa said in the market-place. Bébéé resolves to go to him. But she has no money. Then she calculates that if she walks twenty miles a day she will reach Paris in fifteen days. And so she does, with the steadfastness of a great love to support her, and the thought of how useful she would be to him, and how she would tend him and make him well, always present in her mind.

"She had a dreamy, intense sleepless light in her blue eyes, that frightened some of those she passed. They thought she had been fever-stricken, and was not in her senses.

"So she went across the dreary lowlands, wearing out her little sabots, but not wearing out her patience and her courage.

"She was very dusty and jaded. Her woollen skirt was stained with weather and torn with briars. But she had managed always to wash her cap white in brook-water, and she had managed always to keep her pretty bright curls soft and silken, for he had liked them so much, and he would soon draw them through his hand again. So she told herself a thousand times to give her strength when the mist would come over her sight, and the earth would seem to tremble as she went . . . .

"Though she saw nothing else that was around her, she saw some little knots of moss-roses that a girl was selling on the quay, as she used to sell them in front of the Maison du Roi. She had only two sous left, but she stopped and bought two little rosebuds to take to him. He had used to care for them so much in the summer in Brabant. . . . .

"Bébéé climbed them—ten, twenty, thirty, forty. 'He must be very poor,' she thought, 'to live so high;' and yet the place was wide and handsome, and had a look of riches. Her heart beat so fast she felt suffocated; her limbs shook, her eyes had a red blood-like mist floating before them; but she thanked God each step she climbed—a moment, and she would look upon the only face she loved.

"His name was written on a door before her. The handle of a bell hung down; she pulled it timidly. The door unclosed, she saw no one, and went through. There were low lights burning. There were heavy scents that were strange to her. There was a fantastic gloom from old armour, and old weapons, and old pictures in the dull rich chambers. The sound of her wooden shoes was lost in the softness and thickness of the carpets.



"It was not the home of a poor man. A great terror froze her heart—if she were not wanted here? She went quickly through three rooms, seeing no one, and at the end of the third there were folding-doors.

"‘It is I, Bébé,’ she said, softly, as she pushed them gently apart, and she held out the two moss-rosebuds.

"Then the words died on her lips, and a great horror froze her still and silent there.

"She saw the dusky room as in a dream. She saw him stretched on the bed, leaning on his elbow, laughing and playing cards upon the lace coverlet. She saw women with loose shining bare and bare limbs, and rubies and diamonds glimmering red and white. She saw men lying about on the couch, throwing dice and drinking, and laughing one with another.

"Beyond all, she saw against the pillows of his head a beautiful brown, wicked-looking thing, like some velvet snake, who leaned over him as he threw down the painted cards upon the lace, and who had cast about his throat her curved bare arm, with the great coils of dead gold all a-glitter on it.

"And above all there were odours of wine and flowers, clouds of smoke, shouts of laughter, music of shrill gay voices.

"She stood like a frozen creature, and saw the rosebuds in her hand. Then, with a great piercing cry, she let the little roses fall, and turned and fled. At the sound he looked up and saw her, and shook his beautiful brown harlot off him with an oath."

The end is sad enough. Bébé never recovered the shock. When, after a long illness, she rises from her little bed one night, it is with the sense of unutterable pain.

"‘He does not want me!’ she murmured; ‘he does not want me, and I am so tired. Dear God!’ Then she crept down, as a weary child creeps to its mother, and threw herself forward, and let the green dark waters take her, where they had found her amidst the lilies, a little laughing yearling thing.

"There she soon lay quite quiet, with her face turned to the stars, and the starling poised above to watch her as she slept.

"She had been only Bébé—the ways of God and man had been too hard for her.

"When the messengers of Flamen came that day, they took him back a dead moss-rose and a pair of little wooden shoes worn through with walking.

"‘One creature loved me once,’ he says to women who wonder why the wooden shoes are there."

There is a freshness and fidelity to nature shown in the character of Bébé which will enlist the suffrages of all in favour of this book. The interest of the reader is stimulated by the fear lest Flamen should succeed in his designs against the girl, whilst

all the time he feels that such a beautiful nature must make a man pause unless he were Mephistopheles himself. Then, after his departure, when one sees how this love has altered her very being, one hopes that, after all, Flamen may get sick of the world, and come back to innocent, loving Bébé. Then we hear of his illness; and after her long journey on foot, we share somewhat in the alternation of hope and fear, and feel the shock caused by the sight of that chamber which destroys her ideal and her happiness for ever. The whole story is managed with great art, and written with great care, and avoidance of those faults which are often the more patent because found side by side with her best work.

The *motif* of "Folle-Farine" is the same as that of "Two Little Wooden Shoes"—self-sacrifice by a woman whose love is not even returned. In this case, however, the heroine, Folle-Farine, is a half-gipsy girl. Her story was this. Her mother was the daughter of a Calvados miller, a most beautiful woman, with the reputation of a saint. One day she mysteriously disappeared. Her father, a stern man of few words, bigoted beyond measure, explained it thus—"She was a saint: God took her;" that was all he said, and he believed it. Unfortunately for this theory, she had eloped with a handsome gipsy who was spending his ill-gotten wealth in pleasure thereabouts, and whose "black-browed, star-eyed, deep-hued beauty, like the beauty of the passion-flower," had proved too powerful to be withstood. But no one ever knew this. Seven years afterwards a little girl is left one night at the miller's door. On searching her, a letter is found explaining all. The news almost crazes the old man. She whom he had thought a saint! It was clear that the devil had been at work; and the bigoted old man keeps to his old belief, adding one more article—"She was a saint! a saint! and the devil begot in her *that*;" and then he strikes the little girl on the mouth with his clenched fist.

It is necessary to know so much before going on to the main story. The brutality which signalises his treatment of the child is such as no man—unless born without that saving-clause to humanity, a heart—could display even towards a stranger. And what moves him to such conduct towards his kith and kin? Religious fanaticism—the most baleful and besotting of any of those passions which have disgraced men. Her strange gipsy songs and ways aid the popular belief that she is the devil's child; indeed, she herself is at last fully persuaded of the truth of it. Is it not dinned into her ears every time she has to bare her back to the rope? The details given of the cruelties literally showered upon her by her grandfather, and by all the people of the neighbourhood, are almost sickening. Nothing can tame her, however; she proudly resists; and grows up a beautiful savage, communing with nature, at enmity with all mankind. One friend

she has, an old man of ninety, an atheist, stone-breaker, and ex-regicide, who instils into her mind the most advanced opinions with the dignity and force of age and experience—by her, however, only half-understood. We give a quotation which we have chosen as illustrative of the character of Folle-Farine, as well as for its intrinsic beauty :—

“Buried in the grass, she now abandoned herself to the bodily delights of rest, of shade, of coolness, of sweet odours; the scent of the fruits and flowers was heavy on the air; the fall of water made a familiar tempestuous music on her ear; and her fancy, poetic still, though deadened by a life of ignorance and toil, was stirred by the tender tones of the numberless birds that sang about her.

“‘The earth and the air are good,’ she thought, as she lay there watching the dark leaves sway in the foam and the wind, and the bright-bosomed birds float from blossom to blossom.

“All birds were her friends. Phratos had taught her, in her infancy, many notes of their various songs, and many ways and means of luring them to come and rest upon her shoulder and peck the berries in her hand. She had lived so much in the open fields and among the woods, that she had made her chief companions of them. She could emulate so deftly all their voices, from the call of the wood-dove to the chant of the blackbird, and from the trill of the nightingale to the twitter of the titmouse, that she could summon them all to her at her will, and have dozens of them fluttering around her head, and swaying their pretty bodies on her wrist.

“It was one of her ways that seemed to the peasantry so weird and magical; and they would come home from their fields on a spring day-break, and tell their wives, in horror, how they had seen the devil’s daughter, in the red flush of the sunrise, ankle-deep in violets, and covered with birds from head to foot, hearing their whispers, and giving them her messages to carry in return.

“There were no rare birds, no birds of moor and mountain, in that cultivated and populous district; but to her all the little home-bred things of pasture and orchard were full of poetry and character. The robins, with that pretty air of boldness with which they veil their real shyness and timidity; the strong and saucy sparrows, powerful by the strength of all mediocrities and majorities; all the dainty family of finches in their gay apparellings; the plain brown bird that filled the night with music; the gorgeous oriole ruffling in gold, the gilded princeling of them all; the little blue warblers, the violets of the air; the kingfishers, who had hovered so long over the forget-me-nots upon the rivers that they had caught the colours of the flowers on their wings; the bright blackcaps, green as the leaves, with their yellow waistcoats and velvet hoods, the innocent freebooters of the woodland liberties; all these were her friends and lovers, various as any human crowds of court or city.”

One day, as she is rowing the boat down the river laden with



corn, she passes by an old deserted tower, which has often attracted her by its quaint beauty and seclusion—to say nothing of its being regarded as uncanny by the folk around, which to her gave it an additional charm. She enters—and there, prostrate on the floor, is a man in the last extremity of starvation, the walls covered with the creations of his genius. With superstitious reverence she gazes around, for to her untutored mind the cartoons had a real existence, and this man seemed to her to have been slain because he had striven with the gods. To save him she goes back to the mill and steals corn and wood, and so he is restored to life and work again, without ever knowing by whose hand, day by day he finds, to his bitter mortification, food placed there for his use. He knows his power, and is bitter against men because it is not recognised. At length he finds some occupation by which he can earn his daily bread, and thus devote the hours of the night in developing the designs that crowd his brain. Returning one evening from his work, he finds Folle-Farine asleep in the tower. She had come there to gaze upon and dream over the wondrous efforts of his genius. They were to her a new life, the expression of the latent thoughts and aspirations that had floated through her mind sometimes, when, away from her persecutors, she had roamed the woods and given free play to fancy. With the instinct of an artist, he is more struck by the graceful pose of her figure than by its natural charms, and sets to work to sketch her. Thus an acquaintance springs up between them—he using her as a model, she drinking in the stores of knowledge and experience which he unfolds to her in conversation. She soon comes to worship him with all the passionate warmth of her nature; and through her efforts he is again enabled to return to the great world, and to pursue the phantom that has so long escaped him—the recognition of his powers. He is represented as an inherently selfish man, wrapt in his art; and although we can conceive such a character acting in the way he does, still it strikes us as untrue to nature to suppose that a man of the very highest imaginative power, as he is represented to be, could be so heartless and indelicate. His offer of gold to the girl who had saved his life, who had opened the way to reputation for him, comes as a shock upon the reader. The fact is, that his character is repelling and uninteresting. After he has left, life is literally a blank to poor Folle-Farine. Soon after this, her grandfather, the miller, dies, and she is turned out of doors, a wanderer and penniless. One thought only fills her brain—to see Arslan again—and she trudges wearily to Paris.

It should have been stated that the means by which Arslan had been enabled to return to the old life had been furnished by a Prince Sartorian, a rich old *roué*, who was only too glad to get

the artist out of the way in order that he might carry out certain designs against Folle-Farine. But she rejects his overtures with scorn, and, as we have seen, departs for Paris when her grandfather dies. There for many months, braving contumely and risking starvation, she wearily seeks for her lover. The Prince from time to time acts Mephistopheles, but in vain. This man is represented to be not without feeling, although a sensualist; and yet his conduct is so preposterously inhuman as to render the conclusion unnatural and loathsome, and the book, which shows perhaps more power than any of these novels, a failure. The girl has found her lover starving and delirious. The Prince stands by unmoved; tells her how in a few hours he will be hopelessly insane, or dead. An old wretch who owns the garret comes in and mutters, "He owes me twenty days' rent; to-morrow I will have the canvas." On that canvas was the masterpiece of the painter. And yet, notwithstanding that the Prince sees the artist dying in youth of starvation, notwithstanding that he has witnessed in Folle-Farine a heroism and a devotion worthy of a Joan of Arc, he will do nothing unless she consents to be his mistress. She makes the last bitter sacrifice, and her lover is saved. We have said that in this volume there is more simple evidence of power than in any she has written. The dialogue is remarkable always, the character of Folle-Farine sketched by a master-hand. Yet, with singular want of perception, has Ouida preferred to spoil her best work by morbid unnatural treatment, that shows both lack of invention and of the sense of beauty.

"Puck" is the autobiography of a dog, whose vantage-ground and revelations are altogether unique:—

"I have studied life; we little cupids usually belong to the fair sex; and for a vantage-point from which to survey all the tricks and trades, the devilries and the frivolities, the sins and the shams, the shifts and the scandals of this world of yours, commend me to a cozy nook under a woman's laces!"

In the early part of his life Puck was domiciled with a quarryman and his sister, and their faithful dog Trust. There he learns to appreciate the difference between Ben's honest nature and that of his sister—a hard, repulsive, commonplace girl, greedy of gold, utterly selfish at heart, a wanton with the accident of beauty. We cannot help wondering at the outset, that Puck, who really seems to sympathise with the natural refinement of Ben's nature, should, at so early an age, dwell with, at times, questionable taste and evident unction on the goings on of that voluptuary, Ben's sister; but our wonder ceases as we progress in his narrative, and find him in the society of free-thinking dogs, *blasé* aristocrats, and queens of the demi-monde. His views with regard to that

disputed territory, if not favourable, are, at all events, sneakingly regardant.

To show how the world corrupted what was good, and how conceit perverted what was natural and modest in Puck's nature, we have only to compare the freshness which, as a rule, characterises the early pages of his autobiography with the coarseness but too typical of the latter. Let us, for instance, quote "the fight at our theatre," which, for repulsiveness, improbability, and ludicrous absurdity, cannot well be matched. Before doing so, however, we would wish to do justice to the really touching interview between Ben and Ambrose of the Forge ; or, again, to Ben's reflections on nature, which, if not always new, sound fresh in dialect ; or, lastly, to the delineation of Ben's intense grief when, at one blow, he finds his sister to be the false and worthless jade she is. Avice—for such is her name—has gone to the neighbouring town to see the playactors from London, and have her fill of dancing and enjoyment. She has taken "the autobiographer" in a basket (unknown to her brother, who is much attached to him), intending to sell him, for she is more lustful of gold than of anything, and has, besides, a dislike to the dog. Ben having finished his harvesting-work sooner than he expected, comes with joyous step and trusting heart to the town, his hard-earned gains in his pocket, thinking only of how he shall spend them on his sister, who, he learns, has departed. The delineation of his grief is most dramatically rendered, and most touching, and we wish we had space to quote it. At the time spoken of in the following quotation, Avice is the mistress of Lord Beltran, and has developed into a splendid Cleopatra, who dances break-downs at my lord's theatre, and otherwise amuses him. Lord Beltran was—

"A tall, fair man, with handsome, contemptuous, weary face, grey eyes; dark straight eyebrows, who looked aristocrat all over, and had made his face as expressionless as a colourless piece of *repoussé* work."

Besides this, we may add that my lord's mental gifts almost amounted to genius, but that he had so neglected them, or perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say had so exhausted them, by insensate devotion to animalism (to use a word that renders Puck peculiarly indignant), that to read a short poem wearies him terribly, though he can still perceive that it is worthy of Shelley. His days he devotes to pleasure, his nights to hot rooms and gambling, at the same time that he consumes any amount of cigars and "refreshments." But then the cigars are of the best, and the wines and brandies too ; and somehow cognac, when taken by a gentleman, not only seems to do him no harm, but does not appeal to the senses like the sight of a poor wretch taking his dram, whom we shudder at as an outcast and a drunkard. However,



*revenons.* Avice, who is now known as Laura Pearl, queen of anonymas, has taken offence at an observation of Lord Beltran's, and being at the same time tired of him, fails to appear before the public, who adore her, or, to speak more correctly, the voluptuous dances with which she favours them. Not content with non-appearance, she packs the house with blackguards, headed by a huge ruffian and *quondam* lover of hers, to the intent that they should create a disturbance whilst she elopes with an Italian prince.

"The roughs, of whom there were, this night, unusual numbers in pit and gallery for this fashionable theatre, had begun wild work, and appeared only the more resolved to prosecute it to its worst issues, because 'the swells' had endeavoured to prevent them. No scarlet-clothed matador ever more furiously enraged an Estremaduran bull than did the sight of these eight or ten men in evening-dress infuriate the sweeps, and costermongers, and butcher-boys, and counter-jumpers, who had commenced the sack of the 'Coronet.' 'The gentlemen' hitting out straight with their old Oxford science, looked so cool, so tranquil, so contemptuous; and the roughs, hot, and dirty, and clamorous, and clumsy, were so thoroughly conscious of that immeasurable difference betwixt themselves and their adversaries, and hence grew only madder, fiercer, coarser, and more brutal. Beltran and his friends were but as one against a score, a little knot of silent, scornful men forcing their way, shoulder to shoulder, against a furious, yelling, tumultuous crowd, levelling their blows with fearful force when they did strike, and thinking, it seemed, less of saving the theatre from its wreckers, than of chastising the audacity of the mob towards themselves. There were only ten of them, and there were some three hundred of the rioters. . . .

"Meantime every available weapon that could be torn or twisted out of wood and metal work, the mob seized and used. . . .

"Never a word spoke Beltran, but he acted as his Order always acts, when out from the serenity and impassiveness of habit and temper the fire of a sudden furious scorn breaks into flame. The roughs went down like felled oxen before him; no stroke went home so surely and so cruelly as his, and here and there a rioter, glancing up and catching the look in his eyes, crouched, though unstruck, like a lashed hound before him. The mob knew by instinct that this man contemned them utterly, and would never fear them—knew, also, that though his property was being destroyed before his eyes, there was a certain fierce, cool, sweet delight in the mere sense of combat, that had both pleasure and passion in it for the quiet aristocrat."

Who would *not* be an aristocrat? Who does not desire to be able to act "*as his Order always acts, when out from the serenity and impassiveness of habit and of temper the fire of a sudden furious scorn breaks into flame?*" And to think, too, that, provided

only one be an aristocrat, and therefore of the *Order*, one might be slightly made, one might drink and smoke, and keep late hours for ever so long, and yet the roughs would invariably, on all occasions, go down before one like felled oxen—yes, even if they were ten to one! This altogether not unreasonable desire, however, becomes considerably cooled, not to say quenched, by reading the following:—

“From the moment that the struggle had commenced, Beltran had striven to reach the ringleader of the affray—a huge, brawny fellow. . . . At length, however, Beltran, with a leap like a stag’s, sprang at and reached him, and caught him by the throat.

“Although the big brute was a giant, the gentleman in height out-matched him; but while Beltran was of slender build, and had lost strength from the manner of the life he led, his foe was of massive form and sinew; a mighty brawler, all made of bone and muscle. The conflict looked utterly unequal—the delicately-fashioned man of pleasure looked to have no possible chance against the bully of the populace, strong as any bullock. As they closed, their faces were in as wide contrast as their forms—the one colourless, calm, intent, with the pale, curved lips pressed close; the other flushed and swollen and big-veined, with the great teeth locked like a mastiff’s. . . .

“Beltran, with his hands still at the rioter’s throat, shook him to and fro as though he were a child, and beat his great head against the iron pillar beside which he stood.

“‘You will kill him, my lord,’ gasped Nellie.

“Beltran did not seem even to hear her voice.

“‘You will kill him—my God!’

“‘Why not?’ said Beltran, without looking up, and he struck the man’s skull yet again against the iron column; driving it home upon the metal as though he drove a nail in with a mallet.

“The girl gazed with her great blue eyes dilating.

“‘Is he worth it, sir?’ she dared to whisper.

“Her instinct led her to say the only thing that could have touched him to attention in this hour.”

We must protest that, whatever aristocrats may do—and they are privileged—the Order of Gentlemen would not have done as Lord Beltran does. In a fair fight, the winner, if a gentleman, does not even kick his adversary, much less try to murder him in such deliberate and callous fashion. The reason, too, given for my Lord’s magnanimity, “*He is not worthy of you*,” makes the matter worse. If there was any generosity or gentlemanly feeling left in this aristocrat, the words that would have moved him would have been—“*The action is unworthy of you*.” Blood may make the racehorse, but it certainly does not make the aristocrat, who, if not endowed with the instincts of a gentleman, is worse off than a churl. What does Chaucer say?—

“Understand that I intend  
To call no man in any age  
Gentle for his lineage.

He is gentle if he doth  
What longeth to a gentleman.”

We had intended to quote further from this account; but the details become too coarse and distasteful. It would be well for Ouida's fame if she suppressed the future publication of a book containing incidents worthy only of the penny-novel, and utterly unworthy of a writer who lays claims to a place in the literature of her period.

“Pascarel” is a paean in praise of Italy. It abounds with eloquent description of landscape and of the ancient historic cities, notably of Florence. Pascarel, like Tricotrin—in both novels the name of the hero gives the title to the book—is “a scholar and a gentleman,” only in his case the fascination of a wandering life with an acting troupe tempted him to give up fame and honour amongst his equals; whilst in the case of Tricotrin, family dissensions and injurious treatment to himself had driven him from his sphere.

Pascarel has a natural genius for acting, and leads a roving life, setting up his little booth amongst the peasants and in the villages. He is essentially a man of the people, of a large humanity, and their applause and delight are all he cares for. He never acts in large towns or before rich people. Like Tricotrin, his name is known throughout the length and breadth of the land, and is endeared to all. His character is thoroughly well drawn, free from exaggeration, and full of a noble dignity of bearing and thought. The dialogue is natural and good, and the plot extremely interesting and well told. “Held in Bondage,” the earliest work of this authoress, though inartistic and crude in many respects, contains flashes of power as good as anything of hers, and is written with a vigorous hand. The character of Sabretasche is admirably delineated. We cannot help thinking that the apologetic preface, deprecating criticism and craving indulgence, should have been prefixed to “Cecil Castlemaine's Gage”—a book of short stories much in need of support. We had put them down as the very earliest productions of the writer. They show cleverness certainly, but are full of her worst faults, and abound with ludicrous mistakes, that come of imperfect knowledge and lack of personal experience of the thing described. One exception, however—an oasis in the desert—we can make in favour of the story entitled “The Beauty of Sicq d'Azyr,” which is written with grim realistic humour, and is exceedingly amusing. It is pleasant to turn from these vapid narratives of languid swells to one of Ouida's latest



productions, "A Dog of Flanders," also a collection of short stories. They are remarkable for earnestness, pathetic treatment, and a tender love for humanity and sympathy with its sufferings. There is a dignity and chaste simplicity of style throughout that claim the highest recognition. In the novel entitled "Tricotrin" Ouida portrayed a man whose moral attributes are well-nigh perfect. He is utterly unselfish in his conduct, forgiving to his enemies, charitable to all men. Yet being a man, and a very handsome, healthy one, he must perforce act up to his *physique* as well as to his *morale*; so, while he is represented as a man of grand simplicity and singular beauty of character, we perceive that he has an intense enjoyment of life, if only for the sake of freedom and fresh air, and that he does not always despise the Horatian philosophy, though never living for himself. There is a glamour of exaggeration thrown about his character. Nature for once would seem to have put aside her cold indifference towards men, and to have lavished on him the gifts that she scatters over a generation. He is a supreme musician and artist; an orator and athlete of the first order, and has beauty of the Homeric order worthy of a god. He has great knowledge of books, and still greater of the world and human nature; in fact, a genuine hero of romance. Still the book is so interesting, and evinces so much power, that one is loth to regard it with too critical an eye.

Tricotrin, in one of his wanderings—for he is a careless, laughter-loving Bohemian, bound by no creed, chained to no home—finds a castaway child in the fields. An old woman, struck by its beauty and forlorn condition, undertakes to support it, though herself very poor. Tricotrin promises that he will reimburse her, and protect the child. Viva—for such is the name they give her—grows up vain, proud of her beauty, disdainful of the peasantry, yet very loving towards good old *grand'mère* and Tricotrin. When she reaches womanhood, Tricotrin finds that he loves her as he had never loved before; and yet he knows that his Bohemian existence would be wearisome and distasteful to her; she panted for power—for the society of the rich and great—where her beauty would be recognised. The opportunity comes for Viva to be launched upon the world, and Tricotrin, with noble self-abnegation, allows her to choose for herself, instead of using his great influence to retain her with him. The development of Viva's character is subtle, and very true to nature. As a child, the good holds its own against the bad, but with years come ambition and increasing vanity, stifling gratitude and affection. The dialogue is racy, outspoken, and original, and there is an unusual variety of character displayed, always skilfully handled. The interest of the story is fully sustained, and the book should rank high amongst her best works.

"Idalia" is a masterly work, by which phrase we would include the fact that Ouida never shows a woman's hand. Her hand is as vigorous as a swordsman's. Her knowledge is apparently immense ; but she is over-lavish in the use of it—half-a-dozen historical parallels being often given in mere illustration of a look or an attitude. Then, too, in this book she is over-profuse in the descriptions of scenery, which frequently interrupt the narrative. The story exemplifies her strength, that tries in vain to tire and exhaust itself, and her imagination, which, however, is too apt to run into exaggeration, instead of reposing in the ideal. The story is too long to be described, and is somewhat involved, but we can heartily recommend it.

"Under Two Flags" may be divided into two parts, the good and the bad ; and of these the good is by far the greater. It relates to service in Africa under the French, and is admirable in its way—full of vivid sketches of camp-life and fierce engagements. The *rivondière* is very well described. The book, however, as a whole, is spoilt by the careless treatment of the character of the hero, of which we shall speak later on, as also of "Chandos," the only other novel of the series to which we have not referred. The character of the hero in the latter, though not so utterly changed in the latter part of the book, is yet unnaturally altered ; but the character of his arch-enemy, Trevenna, stands by itself both for powerful treatment and unlikeness to any other in the *répertoire* of Ouida's creations, and so saves the book from condemnation.

Although we have frequently pointed out how inartistic she is, yet the fact cannot be gainsaid that these volumes show Ouida to be possessed of strong artistic perceptions. The presence of faults, whether in books or individuals, by no means implies the absence of excellence. It only shows a want of training, not an inherent incapacity to reach the goal. A wise maxim nobly expressed has been left us by Bacon—"Non imperatur Naturæ nisi parendo." The same may be said of Art. Toil and long-suffering, keen self-examination and repression, intense study of the best models, and the experience that comes of them all, must be gone through before the goddess will reveal those mysteries to her votaries which will enable them to comprehend what Art is and is capable of, and what are its requirements. They cannot then sin against its rules—such would be impossible, for they are ingrained in their very nature. Now Ouida has artistic instincts undoubtedly, but she chafes at the severity of the inexorable decree. She is impatient of the curb, and desires to command Nature as well as Art without obeying them. Had her vocation been to handle the brush and not the pen, she would have been primarily a colourist. There are a good many points in which her works remind us of Rubens' paintings, and a comparison may perhaps

prove instructive. By his intense realism, masculine energy, and originality of colouring, Rubens enforces admiration without awakening sympathy, except in his landscapes, which are as vividly true to nature as they can well be. The reason why our sympathy is not excited is this—that his imagination, though creative, is not ideal; there is, too, an absence from his works of that delicious sense of tone which distinguishes the Venetian school; and the sense of beauty, though not exactly lacking in him, is rather the result of the enormous energy of the man than a true instinct. But though resembling Rubens in the general characteristics of her style, Ouida has far more ideal imagination, and is by no means deficient in a true sense of beauty. These qualities in her works impress themselves upon the reader, whose only regret is, that they are scattered here and there throughout the series, instead of being dominating influences, as they should be. We have shown already that creative imagination is at her command; but we would draw especial attention to the designs and pictures which from time to time she describes as the productions of her art-heroes—notably to those of Arslan in “*Folle-Farine*,” which are remarkable for vivid conception, and a fine sense of composition. Indeed, these last-mentioned qualities generally pervade her landscapes as well, giving reality and varied interest to what otherwise would be too long description. We may add, also, that throughout these volumes she shows a knowledge of the history of art which is remarkable, and an intimate acquaintance with, and warm appreciation of, particular schools and individual masters, whilst the accuracy and penetration of her views bear additional testimony to her genuine artistic bent.

Crippled by no creed, but rather questioning all, with a bold and pitiless array of facts and philosophic conclusions, which is the more convincing because dispassionate, Ouida's outlook upon Nature is necessarily wide, whilst her reverence for her finds expression in a sensuous and artistic Pantheism. Equally impartial are her views regarding existing institutions and prejudices, proving her to be a thinker and searcher after truth, as well as an advocate of its principles under the pleasing guise of fiction.

It has been finely said that life is a comedy to those who think and a tragedy to those who feel. Most men, if not all, admit its truth—how few can realise and reproduce it! And so the novelist, however great in a particular line, must be pronounced *borné* if he does not possess a philosophic and unfettered mind; for that alone will enable him to give us a complete representation of the drama of life so well epitomised in this apothegm, and so prove himself to be a master as well as an interpreter of human nature. Such a mind Ouida brings to bear upon the study of mankind, and her entire freedom from prejudice, social or reli-



gious, is in itself the sign of a vigorous intellect, as well as a great and especial merit in her work.

If, then, we examine these novels by the canons laid down at the commencement of this article, Ouida at all events shows her capability of fulfilling their conditions. Possessing, however, as she evidently does, enormous facility in composition, she shows corresponding carelessness; and thus her work, when submitted to the test of artistic examination, frequently falls to the ground. Her capability in the treatment of character is very great. Witness such elaborate studies as Bruno, Lippo, Strathmore, and Folle-Farine. An example of the way in which characters completely alter under her hand may be instanced by the character of the hero in "Under Two Flags," who is represented as one of the fastest, laziest, most inane and unprincipled (in money matters) of men, and yet the best steeplechase rider of his day; afterwards, when on active service, he turns out a Bayard and a man of genius. We do not for a minute question but that a man may have qualities in him which a change of circumstances may bring out; what we say is, that sudden transformations, as in this case, or in the case of Chandos, are untrue to nature. Chandos is represented as a man of enormous wealth—a sort of Sardanapalus—who from eighteen to thirty has denied himself nothing, and had everything done for him. He lives only for the pleasure of the senses; at least, what little intellectual play he allows himself is mere dilettanteism. Suddenly he loses all; and after nearly becoming a drunkard in his despair, he comes out as one of the first thinkers of the day, an artist of considerable power, a man remarkable for self-control. Such sudden transformations show bad art. "Chandos," however, is one of the series that can be thoroughly recommended, if only for the masterly treatment of the character of Trevenna. While we hate him for his vulgarity and his cool impudence, we are forced to admire his intellect, his patience, and his great generalship. The dialogue, too, is sparkling, and sustained throughout. Why, however, should Ouida in this story have told the plot to the reader in the first chapter? It seems inconceivable that she could not perceive how much stronger the book would be without it—to say nothing of its being in direct contravention of all rule.

In the treatment of scenery she is at times exceedingly happy; but, as a rule, her books are overloaded with minute description, as they are with historical allusion. In plot, we have shown how capable and how careless she is; in justice to her, however, it should be said that the plot of "Idalia," though halting occasionally, is good and natural, and that the book, if not remarkable for striking treatment of character, is a good specimen of her untiring energy and brilliancy of diction, being also happily free

from over-laudation of the physical beauty of its heroes and heroines. If Ouida would only bear in mind that simplicity is strength, and that the end of all art is repose, she might do very great work yet. But so long as she puts aside the necessary rules of art to suit her convenience, and so long as she affects omniscience, and loads her work with superabundant illustration culled from encyclopædias, so long will she gather ridicule to herself when praise might be hers.

Surely such crude errors as "*Civis Romanum sum*," "*Pro ego*," or such daring derivations as "poplar-trees, that the Romans named so because of the restlessness of their leaves, like the unresting mob!" would suggest caution to the most reckless writer. The effect upon the reader is to make him doubt every reference to matters historical and otherwise with which he is not specially acquainted. We have cited these few examples—we could refer to many more.

Taking a comprehensive view of these novels, we are struck by the evidence of great power, carelessly wielded in most instances, and a not infrequent predilection for *bizarre* incidents and melodramatic situations, when natural treatment is imperiously demanded. One might not inaptly compare the volumes before us to a tropical forest crippled by over-luxuriance, needing only the chastening influence of bill-hook and pruning-knife. It is the more provoking to notice the absence of chasteness and simplicity generally, when these are the characteristics of her finest work.



#### ART. V.—ROUSSELET'S TRAVELS IN INDIA.

*India and its Native Princes : Travels in Central India and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Bengal.* By LOUIS ROUSSELET. Carefully revised and edited by Lieut.-Col. BUCKLE. Containing 317 illustrations and 6 maps. London : Chapman & Hall. 1876.

OF the work named at the head of this article, not the smallest attraction to the English reader will be found in the interesting description given by M. Rousselet of his sojourn at Native Courts, and in countries under Native rule, recently visited, under very different circumstances, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. Apart from this, however, M. Rousselet's work is of much value as the best existing popular description of the large portion of India through which he travelled. The eager and general attention with

which the Prince's movements have been followed renders very opportune the publication of valuable information which the newspaper reports, however admirable, do not supply. Colonel Buckle's translation has been in some quarters criticised with severity for which we cannot find sufficient grounds. It is certainly not perfect, but its imperfections are trifling, as they are not calculated to convey, in any appreciable degree, impressions other than those which the original is intended to convey. The present is, however, a very costly edition, and it may be hoped that one cheaper, and more portable, will shortly be forthcoming. M. Rousselet's description of his reception by, and his communications with, many of the Native Chiefs who have occupied prominent places in the pageants and ceremonies connected with the Royal visit is well worth perusal. The Prince saw comparatively little of those Chiefs, as M. Rousselet saw them, in their own homes. There was necessarily much monotony in the Royal progress, consisting, as it for the most part did, of State entries, addresses, *levées*, formal visits, reviews, and balls, which must be, *mutatis mutandis*, one very much like the other. This has been complained of in India, but without sufficient reason, or consideration of the unavoidable difficulties in the way of other arrangements. M. Rousselet was very differently situated; his choice was unfettered, and he exercised it, as we think, wisely. He was "comparatively indifferent to the India of railways, hotels, and telegraphs," but bent on seeing "the Courts and countries ruled by Native Princes, great and small, of all ranks and all creeds." In these countries he spent several years, and lost no opportunity of studying "the architectural monuments, religious beliefs and symbols dating back to earliest history, works of art, and systems of civilisation and progress." He has placed before the public the result of these studies in a style admirably calculated to fix attention. We recognise throughout the advantage of the French traveller's having brought "a fresh mind and independent ideas to bear on his subject, free from any preconceived bias or prejudice." The exceeding fidelity of his picture can be thoroughly apparent only to those who have been in India; they will assuredly endorse the Editor's opinion, that all who are "already familiar with the subjects of this work will find pleasure in recalling to memory the scenes and objects so well described, while the reader who has no personal acquaintance with a country as yet scarcely touched by railways, or even metalled roads, may, by the aid of a multitude of excellent illustrations, accompany the lively French traveller, in imagination, on his Indian journey. The engravings speak for themselves, and will probably give a better idea of what there is to see in the Native States of India than has ever been given before."



M. Rousselet left France on the 20th June 1864, embarking at Marseilles on board the English steamer *Vectis* for Alexandria. Suez was reached by railway, and there he found the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Malta*, from which he landed at Bombay on the 8th July, the latter part of the voyage from Suez having been, owing to the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, anything but enjoyable. On board the *Malta*, however, everything had been done to make the time pass agreeably, and M. Rousselet's spirits were high when he reached Bombay; but the landing was effected under depressing conditions of heavy tropical rain and its accompanying misty half-darkness, which considerably quenched his enthusiasm. He found it difficult then to admire anything; indeed, he tells us that he never, in the whole course of his life, "experienced such a feeling of sadness and disappointment as on that day." His disappointment was not to end here. He had always imagined the accounts of rain in the tropics to be much exaggerated, and he insisted on at once proceeding on his journey into the interior, but was at last unwillingly convinced of the impossibility of doing so. He therefore located himself at Mazagon, in a comfortable and picturesque cottage, half-bidden by trees, and there proceeded "to utilise the rainy season by spending it in the study of the languages of India." Mazagon, during the rainy season, was not, however, in all respects to M. Rousselet's taste; his own very narrow escape, and the death of a servant, from the bite of a *cobra-di-capella* left on him no very favourable impression of a locality which he thus amusingly describes:—

"At nightfall there arises on every side a noisy concert from a thousand little crickets, grasshoppers, and other insects, that to unaccustomed ears gives the effect of a piercing and continuous cry. Add to this the frequent assemblages of jackals near your house, striking up their melancholy strains, to which all the pariah dogs in the neighbourhood think themselves bound to respond, and you will have some idea of the sublime tranquillity of the night in this favoured town. I recommend it, however, to the enthusiastic naturalist, for besides the mosquitoes, which are here of remarkable size, he will have the pleasure of the company or vicinity of the bandicoot rat, which is of a monstrous size; the musk-rat, an inoffensive animal, but not agreeable to nervous people on account of its smell and sharp cries; the enormous bull-frog, whose voice justifies the name it bears; and also the Indian vampire, called here the flying fox."

There is an excellent description of M. Rousselet's first visit to the Native town of Bombay. On entering its huge bazaars, he was immediately deafened by the prevailing din, and found himself half-suffocated in an atmosphere full of the odour of *ghee* and grease, exhaled from the numerous confectioners' shops—an odour

which, he tells us, turns the stomach of all who for the first time experience it. Despite the smells, however, he could not help admiring "those famous bazaars, and the world of peoples and races, of perfectly distinct types and costumes," crowded together in them. The Tower of Babel could scarcely, he thinks, have assembled a more complete collection of the human race.

Another interesting and curious sight was afforded by the Jain hospital for sick or deformed animals, who are there carefully tended until their cure or death. Of the sick quadrupeds, "some have bandages over their eyes; others, lame or in a helpless condition, are comfortably stretched on clean straw; their attendants rub them down, and bring the blind and paralysed their food." In the next court M. Rousselet found dogs and cats in a condition so pitiable, and so repugnant to his feelings to behold, that he ventured to suggest to his attendant the greater charity of putting an end to their sufferings, and was thereupon asked whether in Europe invalids were so treated. In the enclosure reserved for bipeds aged crows were spending their lives peaceably in company with bald vultures and buzzards that had lost their plumage, while opposite strutted a heron, "proud of his wooden leg," and surrounded by blind ducks and lame fowls. Representatives of all the domestic animals, and all those that dwell in the vicinity of mankind, were found in "this paradise of the brute creation."

The Native temples and shrines made no great impression on M. Rousselet, who was, however, surprised at the toleration accorded to the abominable sect of Vallabayatcharas, referring to whom he says—"Every year discloses some revolting crime committed by these priests, whose sole religion is the most shameless debauchery." The matter, which was, if we mistake not, a few months ago referred to by Sir Bartle Frere in an article contributed by him to one of the London magazines, may well engage the attention of the Government; the atrocities are notorious, and the license that staggered M. Rousselet is simply an abuse of the reasonable toleration which should be extended to religion everywhere. There are some things worse than even the horrible pagan practices which civilisation extinguishes without hesitation, and this is one of them. That M. Rousselet is no advocate of religious intolerance is very certain. Of religious belief in India he says:—

"The different religions of India are in general, to European eyes, merely a mixture of gross superstition and ridiculous fables. We are disposed to see in such things nothing more than error of the human reason; and whereas others are unwilling to admit that there exists the slightest poesy or the slightest good sense, it is a fact that they all contain sublime truths and grand ideas comprehended by all educated persons. The mass of the people, ignorant as they always

are, can see nothing in them but the external symbols calculated to strike their imagination. . . . It is true that the interiors of the mysterious temples of India display to us nothing but monstrous idols with many faces and numerous arms, brandishing lances, sabres, and skulls; but all these gods personify the same ideas as the admirable statues created by Phidias and other renowned Grecian sculptors."

Of the Parsees M. Rousselet speaks in terms of well-deserved eulogy. He describes them as "a tribe of rich and active men, full of devotion to the English rule," laborious and patient, possessing all the good qualities of the Jews, exercising very considerable influence, due in a great measure to the union prevailing among themselves, and priding themselves, with good reason, upon the absence of a Parsee pauper or prostitute throughout Bombay. M. Rousselet, in describing a Parsee wedding to which he was invited, gives a singular account of the expressive but very simple ceremony:—

"When they reached the centre of the room, the two young people prostrated themselves, and the Chief Dastoor having taken his place close to them, the group was covered with an immense Cashmere shawl, which formed a tent, and hid them completely. A moment afterwards, when the veil was withdrawn, the youthful pair were man and wife."

M. Rousselet's remarks regarding the intercourse habitual between Europeans and the higher classes of Natives are suggestive. He reasonably argues that intercourse, although things have become infinitely better than they were, can never be spontaneous and hearty unless the Natives receive the same consideration that they are expected to afford. Of his own intercourse, he says—"I have myself held uninterrupted and intimate relations with many Native gentlemen, and I never had cause for dissatisfaction in any particular."

The representation, at the house of a Native gentleman, of a grand Hindu drama much astonished M. Rousselet, whose attention, although he could not understand the words spoken, was captivated by that which he could appreciate—the gracefulness of the costumes, the harmony of the language, and the expressiveness of the gestures. Of one scene he says—"As regards action, this scene was truly beautiful; grief, love, and joy were all expressed with a subtlety and fidelity to nature of which I could not have believed an Indian actress capable." The most astonishing portion of the affair was to come when M. Rousselet complimented his host on the exceeding talent of his charming actresses, and was told, after a hearty laugh, that the customs of the country did not permit the appearance of females on the stage, and that all



female parts were, therefore, performed by boys selected for their beauty and the sweetness of their voices.

We give M. Rousselet's own account of a grand *Nautch* at which he was present. His description shows how greatly these things are misunderstood in many quarters, and how unreasonable are the demands of those who have insisted that all invitations to witness a *Nautch* ought to have been declined by the Prince of Wales. The Prince's advisers knew better what he would find there, and His Royal Highness not improbably contrasted the decorous tameness of the Indian exhibition with the license accorded to the dance in the theatres of Europe.

"The dancers rose up, and unfolding their scarves and shaking their plaited skirts, they caused the bells to vibrate which were fastened round their ankles in the form of bracelets, and which served to mark the time. After a preliminary chorus, accompanied by viols and tom-toms, they formed a semicircle, and one of them advanced close to us. With rounded arms, and her veil floating, she turned herself slowly round with a gentle quivering of the body, so as to make her bells resound. The music, soft and languishing, seemed to lull her senses, and with eyes half closed, she seemed to be clasping in her amorous embrace some invisible being. All thus played their parts in succession; one feigning herself a serpent-charmer or a lute-player; another, ardent and impassioned, bounding, and whirling round with rapidity; while another, adorned with an elegant cap, embroidered with pearls, addressed us with strange gestures, and followed the music with a coquettish movement of the body. They concluded their performance with an animated round dance accompanied by songs and clapping of hands. In all this I saw nothing of that gross immorality which, from all I had previously been told, I expected to find in the pantomime exhibited by these women. Their demeanour was correct, though with some little spice of provocation, and their costume was more modest than that of women in general."

We must pass hastily over the remaining reminiscences of Bombay; the melancholy visit to the European Cemetery, where was at last discovered the grave—"marked by a simple stone, on which may with some difficulty be read his name"—of the French traveller Jaquemont, whose account of India contains much that may even now be usefully considered by those who take interest in its welfare; the financial collapse of 1864-65, which took place while M. Rousselet was in Bombay, and to which he refers in terms of well-merited reprobation; and the exploration, commenced in September, when the rains began to abate, of the caves of Elephanta, the Buddhist caves of Kennery and Magatani, the beautiful Brahmun caves of Jygeysir and Monpezir, and the remains of the ancient Portuguese town of Mahim, "which was an

important port when Bombay was only a village." These explorations were cut short by jungle-fever, which brought him "very near death's door," and from which he did not recover till the beginning of December, when he made a hasty excursion into the Kandesh district, visiting, *en route*, the hill-sanitarium of Mathe-  
ran, and there witnessing, for the first time, some feats of the Indian jugglers, which, extraordinary as they were, appear to have been fairly eclipsed by performances before the Prince of Wales at Madras, where, without apparatus, without apparent means of hiding anything, and almost without clothing, one man produced eggs from nothing, and live pigeons from eggs; and another took out of his mouth live scorpions, and handled them with impunity, spat out stones as large as plums one after the other, and then "evolved from depths unknown a carpenter's shop, full of nails, large and small, and coils of string, till there was a pile of his products before the Prince." \*

M. Rousselet, after spending some weeks at Poona, historically interesting as long the seat of a Native government at one time exceedingly powerful in Western India, and as the spot on which was, in 1817, fought the battle that finally broke the Peishwa's power, and brought the whole Mahratta country under British rule, went on to visit the celebrated cave-temples at Ellora and Adjunta. These extraordinary works are very well described. The great temple of Kailas at Adjunta is a grand edifice, consisting of domes, columns, spires, and obelisks, carved out of a single rock, covered with bas-reliefs, representing thousands of different figures, and forming a magnificent whole, so full of symmetry, power, and grandeur, that one may well marvel at the genius that devised and successfully carried out a work of which not the least extraordinary feature is that "one defect, one vein, one gap in the mass of basalt, and this achievement of giants would have been but an abortive attempt." To Adjunta, however, M. Rousselet awards the palm. There he found, not roughly-hewn caverns, covered with strange and mystic sculpture, but elegant palaces, gracefully adorned with admirable paintings, which form a "complete museum"—frescoes which, not less in their colouring than in their conception, are simply marvellous. Nearly two thousand years have rolled by, and yet some of these colours, of extraordinary vividness and beauty, remain as though they were the work of yesterday. For the rest, M. Rousselet shall speak for himself:—

"The columns are ornamented with garlands of flowers, masks, and geometrical designs of exquisite taste; the ceilings are covered with rosework, where persons and animals are intermingled with the delicate outlines of the arabesques; and the walls are divided into

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\* *Times* Correspondent, Dec. 16, 1875.

panels portraying various scenes illustrative of the types, costumes, and manners of those bygone ages—Buddhist monks preaching to the people, who listen to them admiringly, princes and nobles adoring the sacred emblems, processions where the king is seen on horse-back surrounded by his court, elephants bearing the relics, and the whole retinue proceeding to the temple; desperate combats and sieges, in which the shock of contending armies, the fury of the besieged as they hurl enormous stones from the battlements, and engines of war of every description, are reproduced with striking animation and fidelity. By the side of these scenes of tumult, groups full of grace and expression represent the private life of the period. All the scenes of the palace, the harem, the convent, and the schools, are revealed to us."

Of Hyderabad, the capital of the country ruled by the Nizam, M. Rousselet says very little indeed; he remained there a few days only, and appears to have found nothing of interest. Politically, Hyderabad is important; it is a hotbed of Mahomedan fanaticism, liable to break at any time—it broke only very recently—into violence and bloodshed. It is remarkable that the Prince of Wales did not visit Hyderabad, owing, it is generally believed, to untoward circumstances, which have excited much comment, and to which we shall presently refer at greater length (p. 418). The next halt was at Bijapoor, though there is but a brief description of "the marvellous monuments of this city of ruins." The heat of the plains was now becoming very great; it drove M. Rousselet to the hill-sanitarium of Mhableshwar, where he devoted his time to the study of the language, Oordoo, spoken in the countries he was about to visit. Towards the middle of May he was again in movement, on his way to the north of India, *via* "the country of the Bheels, and Rajpootana." He had now a companion, a young Flemish painter, M. Schaumberg, whose acquaintance he had made at Bombay. They first visited Surat, but arrived there at a most unfortunate time, when "a frightful attack of cholera was carrying off hundreds daily." Then came Broach, "the ancient Barygaza mentioned by Arrian and Ptolemy," where is to be seen a most wonderful banyan-tree, "the famous Kabira bar," alleged to have been planted long before the Christian era, and to be the oldest and largest in India, as it may well be, seeing that it covers an area of 660 yards in circumference, and is, M. Rousselet says, "in itself, a little virgin forest."

Baroda was the next place visited. Here M. Rousselet remained from June to December 1865. He had brought from Bombay numerous letters of introduction from persons of influence, and these obtained for him an excellent reception, and enabled him to gratify his strong desire to see a purely Native Court. He and M. Schaumberg were munificently lodged at the Guicwar's expense,



and were afforded every opportunity of becoming acquainted with Native life. His account of the Guicwar and of the Guicwar's court is especially interesting in connection with the proceedings that have recently brought Baroda so prominently before the British public. We have already, on other occasions,\* shown that the lately-deposed Prince ought never to have been placed on the throne, for which he was notoriously quite unfit, and that, the mistake of placing him there having been committed, the best possible measure was his removal, though not as it was effected. It must be borne in mind that M. Rousselet describes not the recently-deposed Prince, Mulhar Row, but his predecessor and elder brother, Khundee Row, whose "strongly-marked features at once gave a perfect idea" to M. Rousselet of the character of the man, who "to excessive kindness in the ordinary intercourse of daily life united the most unheard-of cruelty." M. Rousselet certainly writes in no spirit of hostility to one from whom he received extraordinary kindness and hospitality which he fully acknowledges; yet, in describing the Guicwar's "daily life," he shows that to cruelty were added ruinous eccentricities for which his people had to pay, and that, altogether, Khundee Row Guicwar was little, if at all, better than his successor.

Just after M. Rousselet's arrival the Guicwar determined that a celebrated diamond, "The Star of the South," recently purchased, should "have the honour of a triumphal entry into his capital, and should be solemnly conveyed to the temple, there to be blessed by the priests." This was done with pomp and ceremony so extraordinary that one might, says M. Rousselet, "have fancied one's self in the Middle Ages."

At one time the Guicwar took to collecting *Bulbuls*, and had more than 500 brought to the palace, where, during a whole month, their care and education employed him and his nobles. After this the birds were made to fight "a pitched battle," in which "the beautiful little creatures attacked each other furiously, and were killed in great numbers."

Again, a fancy was taken to being surrounded with holy men, who were summoned from all quarters. The Guicwar was then "pleased to entertain these fellows after a royal fashion, clothing them in precious stuffs, and paying them marks of the greatest respect;" one, thus "surrounded with all the appliances of luxury imaginable," had been found "on a noisome manure-heap in the suburbs."

M. Rousselet was present at a mock marriage between two pigeons, adorned with collars, carried by pages, and placed on the sumptuously-decorated roof of the palace, surrounded by the

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\* The *Westminster Reviews* for July and October 1875.

Guicwar, his courtiers, and the priests, who probably, says M. Rousselet, appropriated the considerable "sum given as a marriage portion to the two birds." Dances, and a grand banquet, followed by illuminations, concluded the festival. And so it went on—one day, diamonds for which all the jewellers' shops were ransacked; and another, pigeons, of which a collection gradually numbering 60,000 was made, the Guicwar spending his mornings in watching them take their flights together.

The expedients for raising money were as outrageous as the manner in which it was squandered. On one occasion, when the Guicwar, reckless as he was, felt that new taxes might be more than difficult to collect, he hit upon the expedient of appropriating a portion of the money extorted from the people by his own corrupt minions, to whom he issued the following proclamation :—

"His Highness has seen with regret that corruption has found its way into various departments of the administration, but he hopes that this state of things will forthwith come to an end. He counsels all those officials who have allowed themselves to be corrupted to bring into the royal treasury the sums received in this way for the last ten years. His Highness, considering this restitution as making honourable amends, will forget the past. If, however, any *Karkhoon* shall neglect to refund the full amount of the bonuses thus received, His Highness will feel himself under the painful necessity of taking rigorous measures."

Loud, of course, was the outcry; even the newspapers protested; but the *Karkhoons* had to yield, and in a short time about £280,000 were in the hands of the Guicwar, who himself "laughingly recounted the affair" to M. Rousselet.

The other side of the picture is just as bad, and more repulsive. We do not refer to the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo fights, nor to the wrestling of every sort, in which the Guicwar took much interest. These were seen and are well described by M. Rousselet. Some of them the Prince of Wales witnessed during his visit to the reformed court of Baroda; and the propriety of his doing so has been questioned, we think, most unreasonably, for though on the subject of these exhibitions tastes may well differ, it is a mistake to suppose that they involve anything like the amount of suffering inseparable from some of our own most cherished sports. But the same thing cannot be said of the *Nucki-ka-Kousti*, or fight with claws, thus described by M. Rousselet :—

"The combatants, almost naked, but adorned with crowns and garlands, tear each other with claws of horn. . . . I was once present at a combat of this kind, but my heart was so moved by the horrible spectacle that I refused to go again. The wrestlers, intoxi-

cated with *bhang*—liquid opium mixed with an infusion of hemp—sing as they rush upon one another. Their faces and heads are soon covered with blood, and their frenzy knows no bounds. The King, with wild eyes and the veins of his neck swollen, surveys the scene with such passionate excitement that he cannot remain quiet, but imitates by gestures the movements of the wrestlers. The arena is covered with blood, the defeated combatant is carried off, sometimes in a dying condition, and the conqueror, the skin of his forehead hanging down in strips, prostrates himself before the King, who places round his neck a necklace of fine pearls, and covers him with garments of great value. One episode, moreover, disgusted me to such a degree that, without any heed of the effect my sudden departure might have upon the Guicwar, I at once withdrew. One of the wrestlers, whom the *bhang* had only half intoxicated, after receiving the first few blows, made a show of wishing to escape. His antagonist threw him, and they rolled together on the ground before us. The victor, seeing the unhappy wretch demand quarter, turned to the King to know whether he should let the other rise; but, inflamed with the spectacle, the Monarch cried out, *Maro! maro!* (Strike! strike!) and the scalp of the unfortunate fellow was torn without mercy. When he was taken away he had lost all consciousness. The same day the King distributed among the victorious wrestlers necklaces and money to the amount of more than £1000."

M. Rousselet refers to another horrible occurrence, which, however, took place before his arrival—the execution by an elephant of a criminal condemned to suffer death. We do not attempt to go into the revolting details of a process which M. Rousselet correctly describes as "one of the most frightful that can possibly be imagined." That the Government of India were kept in ignorance of this case may be inferred from the fact of their having, when at a later date a similar execution elsewhere was brought to their notice, inflicted severe punishment upon the Native Ruler in whose territory it had been carried out.

Strange indeed, but beneficial in the highest degree, is the sudden change at last effected at Baroda, where the boy lately placed on the throne is now surrounded by European tutors and educational appliances, while the administration of his territory is properly provided for. Faulty, however, must be the system under which a change so urgently and notoriously required could be so long delayed. Ten years ago the Bombay newspapers, M. Rousselet says, saw in the Guicwar's proceedings "a manifestation of his madness, and urged the British Government to undertake the supervision of the affairs of Goojerat." The official argument hitherto has been, and we fear still is, that no general rules can be laid down, and that each Native State must be separately dealt with according to the circumstances that arise, and the character of the Ruler. We are satisfied that this argument will not bear



examination ; we know how the theory has worked at Baroda ; we can find no reasonable grounds for believing that it cannot so work elsewhere ; and we entertain a strong conviction that there ought to be little difficulty in framing and enforcing general rules quite sufficient to secure the one all-important object—to check Native maladministration long before it becomes intolerable.

The remains of Dubhooe, a place of great antiquity, about seventeen miles from Baroda, are described as containing some magnificent monuments, the finest, probably, throughout Goojerat. The ramparts, running entirely round the town for a distance of two miles, are built of enormous blocks of stone, beautifully fitted together, rising some fifty feet above the ground, and are decorated with broad bands of sculpture, representing animated scenes, and with ornaments so complicated, “that neither pen nor pencil can give any idea of them.” One of the gates, called the *Hîra Durwaza*, or gate of diamonds, an immense edifice, more than one hundred yards in length, and sixty in height, and entirely covered with admirable bas-reliefs, is of extraordinary beauty. It may be said that the illustrations which form so valuable a portion of M. Rousselet's work are due to this visit, for at Dubhooe he bitterly felt his inability to reproduce by photography “these generally unknown masterpieces,” and he acquired the art almost immediately afterwards, on his return to Baroda.

Ahmenabad, “the ancient capital of the Sultans,” was reached early in December, and thence were visited the splendid ruins at Sirkhej, the Tombs of the Queens, the palace and harem of the Emperor Ahmed, the mausoleum of Shah Allum, and “the other interesting remains of Mahomedan greatness.” At this time M. Rousselet narrowly escaped being involved in very serious difficulty, owing to his having inadvertently shot several peacocks, birds there considered sacred. On the 19th December the party, now consisting of twenty-three armed men, commenced their march through the Bheel country, and were, on the whole, very well treated by the wild and predatory Bheels. Christmas Day was, however, one of great anxiety ; a passing Bheel, held to be wanting in respect, in not returning the salutes addressed to him, was beaten by one of the party, and deprived of his bow and arrows. In a few minutes the place swarmed with armed Bheels, indignant at this treatment of one of their tribe, and a conflict seemed inevitable. A lucky accident, however, enabled M. Rousselet to effect an amicable settlement ; the bow and arrows were returned, their seizure was apologised for, and hostilities were averted. The next day the British outstation of Khairwarra was reached, and there the travellers were hospitably entertained by the officer commanding, Major Mackenzie. The forward march was through gorges, ravines, and defiles so wild and rugged that the beasts of

burden could barely make their way. At last, however, a charming valley was reached, and here stood a group of Jain temples of singular beauty, built throughout of white marble, which had acquired through age a yellowish tint, and looked like carved ivory—magnificent but solitary relics of the efforts to convert and civilise the savage inhabitants of these regions made by the Jain missionaries. The travellers' approach to Oudeypoor, the capital of Meywar, was hailed with joy by all. The men of the escort shouted and danced, while M. Rousselet "stood in ecstasy, gazing at the sublime panorama spread out" at his feet. No description can, he says, convey the marvellous effect of that scene, and of the appearance of the town, which is well named Oudeypoor, or the City of the Rising Sun.

"It resembled one of the fairy cities in the 'Arabian Nights.' In the foreground, a long line of forts, pagodas, and palaces stood out from a background of gardens, above which appeared the town, a fantastic assemblage of bell-turrets, towers, and kiosks, built up the side of a pyramidal hill, on the summit of which was an immense palace of white marble, which contrasted finely with the dark blue of the mountains behind it. This palace, with its splendid proportions, appeared to soar, like the New Jerusalem, above the terrestrial city."

Scanty attention was at first paid to M. Rousselet's party, owing to the temporary absence of the British political officer, and to some suspicions entertained by the Native authorities. All this was, however, speedily rectified. An elephant and an escort were sent to conduct them to suitable quarters, supplies in abundance were forwarded, and every possible assistance was rendered by the Rao of Baidlah, a handsome old Rajpoot nobleman, who during the troubles of 1857 afforded to European fugitives protection, duly acknowledged by the British Government, and eventually received from the Queen of England a magnificent sword of honour, shown by him to M. Rousselet "with no little pride." By the Rao's order the travellers were located on the island of Jugnavas, on the western side of which those who escaped from Neemuch and Indore in 1857 found an asylum, the boats on the lake Peshola, which surrounds the island, having been taken away and placed out of the reach of the fanatics who then filled the town of Oudeypoor. This island is described as a spot of extraordinary loveliness. It contains a series of palaces, covering an area of 160 acres, built entirely of marble, of great architectural beauty, and ornamented with an almost fabulous richness.

"Each mass of buildings has a garden attached to it, surrounded by galleries, where flowers and orange and lemon trees grow near a

stream, the different channels of which form a curious pattern. Immense mango-trees and tamarinds shade these beautiful palaces, while the cocoa-nut and the date-palm raise above the very domes their feathery heads, which are gently swayed to and fro by the breeze from the lake. The smallest details harmonise with the beauty of the whole scene."

In this fairy retreat the travellers remained for some time, the kindness of the old Rao of Baidlah being unremitting, and shown "by inventing new amusements every day." One fine morning, however, the firing of cannon announced the return of the political agent, Major Nixon, and within an hour they were sitting at breakfast with him, and were then told by him that they had been, on first arrival, taken for Russian spies. They were now comfortably lodged near the British Residency, and introduced to the doctor and engineer, who, with Major Nixon, constituted the whole European society. A few days later they were received at a grand *Durbar* by the Maharana, who apologised for his inability earlier to notice them, and invited them to prolong their stay. This they did, and during several weeks were right royally treated. Hunting parties were constantly organised, and the camp-life was delightful. Of this camp-life M. Rousselet gives the following excellent description:—

"Our sleeping-tents were placed in a circle round two pavilion tents surrounded by verandahs and luxuriously furnished. Of these, one was the dining-room, the other the sitting-room, or reunion tent. At six o'clock in the morning I was roused by the servant bringing me a glass of sherry. Jumping out of my *charpoy* with silver feet, I pulled off my clothes, and donning a simple *janghir*, or close-fitting drawers, issued from my tent. I then took my place on a little heap of straw, and, on looking round, saw each of my companions in front of his tent, in the same position and costume as myself. The *Bheestees* arrived with their *mussucks*, and doused us liberally with cold water. In a few minutes more we all assembled, in a more suitable dress, round the table in the mess-tent, busily employed in discussing a *chota hazree*, or early breakfast. After a pleasant chat, while smoking some Manilla cheroots, we mounted our horses, and went to explore the surrounding country, shooting a few wildfowl on the neighbouring lake. At eleven o'clock the process of dressing was again gone through, and a second breakfast served. . . . A long file of servants, bearing dishes laden with a variety of meats, haunches of wild boar, breast of kid, and strongly-flavoured ragouts and curries; some of them, however, would do credit to the tables of our European grandees. About a dozen plates were filled with pickles of all kinds, roasted berries, and sweetmeats. We merely went through the form of tasting this huge breakfast, which served to regale our attendants, as we preferred



the excellent *cuisine* of the *Burra Sahib* (Major Nixon), and the moselle from the royal cellars. The middle of the day was set apart for the *hankwa* (hunt). At four o'clock, after refreshing myself with a second bath, I received visits from the Hindu nobles, who chatted pleasantly on all kinds of subjects. The dinner, as is usual in India, lasted till late, and we were entertained up to midnight by the nautch-girls, jugglers, and fireworks."

The scene of so much hospitality and kindness was quitted with some reluctance, after a farewell audience of the Maharana. M. Rousselet left the palace arm-in-arm with the Rao of Baidlah, and felt, when on mounting his elephant he wrung the hand of the venerable Rao for the last time, as though he "were parting for ever from old and true friends." The next morning, after a late breakfast at Major Nixon's, the march was resumed. After visiting the ruins of the celebrated stronghold of Chittore, M. Rousselet entered the province of Ajmere, "almost the only portion of Rajpootan proper that the English possess," and on the 24th March reached the military station of Nusserabad, which then presented a miserable appearance, owing to the destruction effected by the rebels in 1857. Some days, however, were passed there very pleasantly, and M. Rousselet had "one more proof that there are few countries where travellers are treated with more disinterested courtesy and kindness than in the English cantonments of India." The next halt was at Ajmere, which town was approached through a country covered with flowers, and with fields of roses producing the famous *attar*, which reminded M. Rousselet strongly of the outskirts of Grasse or Nice. He was exceedingly well received by a Jain banker to whom Major Nixon had introduced him, and was grateful for the kindness shown, for he writes—"Let people accuse the Hindus of not understanding hospitality! It may be very true of the proud Baboo from the banks of the Ganges, or the superstitious Deckanees, who would let you die rather than receive you into their home, but assuredly not of the inhabitants of noble Rajesthan, whether they be Rajpoots, merchants, or peasants." And again, referring to a visit just paid to the Ajmere political officer, Major Davidson, he writes—"I found him as agreeable and kind as all the English residents with whom I had had any intercourse." M. Rousselet remained during ten days at Ajmere, which is, he says, "the Frankfort of Rajesthan, and its numerous Rothschilds have rivalled each other in enriching it with superb monuments." To M. Rousselet the principal attraction of Ajmere was the mosque of Araideen-ka-Jhopra, which is, he thinks, one of the most remarkable monuments in India. He found nowhere anything more beautiful than the roof of its long hall, and its mass of superb sculpture, which, reproduced in all its details, would "form

such an album of Indian ornamentation as has never existed." It is very remarkable that this mosque, which is one of the finest buildings erected by the Mahomedans, should contain some of the best specimens of Jain architecture of the earliest period. We give M. Rousselet's explanation of this :—

"When the Mahomedans first invaded India, they only thought of pillaging and destroying, without for a moment considering how they were to replace the magnificence they were overturning. But when they had become masters of the country, and wished to establish themselves firmly in it, their first Emperors hastened to build temples to the true God, and, having no architects, were obliged to intrust the work to the Hindus. The palaces of the ancient Kings, and the wonderful temples of their predecessors, furnished them with an inexhaustible supply of materials. They only had, therefore, to destroy the idols, make a few characteristic alterations, and give the final stamp to the mosque by adding a front of pointed arches. One may say that such was the origin of this grand style of architecture, which some call Indo-Saracen, and to which India owes some of its most marvellous productions."

At the sacred lake of Poshkur M. Rousselet remained for a few days. Here the shores are covered with temples and cenotaphs, built long ago by the princely families of India, forming, in a triple circle round the lake, a picturesque collection of buildings in various styles, and "quite unique of its kind." But the glory of the place has departed. An old priest told M. Rousselet, "This kind of thing does not answer in these days; one barely succeeds in getting a livelihood, and the valley is in the hands of infidels." A long stay was made at Jeypoor, whence the valley of Ambîr, the ancient capital, and the great salt lake of Sambher, fifty miles in circumference, were visited. In the beginning of October a farewell visit was paid to the Jeypoor Chief, of whose kindness and hospitality M. Rousselet writes in very high terms; and a few days later Ulwûr was reached. During M. Rousselet's visit the Rao of Ulwûr was summoned to attend a grand *Durbar* to be held by the Viceroy of India at Agra, and M. Rousselet thankfully accepted the Rao's invitation to accompany him thither. At the end of October they started, accompanied by the Rao's Court and an escort of 3000 men. M. Rousselet's party were liberally supplied by the Rao with every requisite, and with numerous luxuries; they had a separate camp, numerous servants, horses, &c., placed at their disposal, and the style of their table may be inferred from the following statement:—"Baskets of Bordeaux, champagne, hock, &c., followed us; and as the jolting of the carts, or the swaying motion of the camels, might have injured these precious liquors, they were carefully suspended to long

bamboos, and carried by banghy coolies." A short stay was made at the capital of the Jât principality of Bhurtpoor, Digh, a very ancient town, which flourished "about fifteen centuries before the Christian era." On the 10th November they arrived at Agra; and a few days later M. Rousselet was present at the grand *Durbar*, which he describes as "so magnificent that one would have to go back to the most splendid days of the Mogul Empire to find anything to compare to it." At this time the cholera was raging, yet "the people seemed to live without any apprehension of danger;" the festivities went on, and only on visiting the cemetery did M. Rousselet become aware of the number of victims. There was an investiture of the Star of India; a review by the Viceroy of 20,000 men, commanded by General Mansfield, now Lord Sandhurst, the evolutions being "executed to perfection;" an entertainment given by the Rao of Ulwur, where, to M. Rousselet's great astonishment, the Rao, "the descendant of Rama, was seen figuring in a quadrille with an English "lady on his arm;" and a costly *fête* given by Scindia in the illuminated gardens of the Taj. All the splendid Mahomedan monuments were visited, and lastly, the gates of Somnath, brought by Lord Ellenborough's order from Ghuznee, and supposed to be the very gates of the temple of Kristna, at Somnath, in Goojerat, carried off in the tenth century to Affghanistan by the fierce iconoclast, the Sultan Mahmoud. This, however, M. Rousselet questions, for the gates are, he says, "made of Deodara wood, which does not grow in India proper; and the design, which is exactly similar to that of the sculptures of the Ebu Touloun at Cairo, does not at all resemble Hindu workmanship."

The journey was now to be continued through Bundelcund and Bhopal, but great difficulties arose; there were no more Rajahs to supply carriage, and the servants brought from Baroda refused to go any further. At last, however, a start was made, and after a visit to Bhurtpoor, the ruins of Futtehpoor-Sikri were reached. The history of this town is indeed extraordinary. Commenced by the Emperor Akbar in 1571, and completed on a splendid scale with extraordinary rapidity, it was abandoned in 1584, when Akbar carried off the whole population to people his new capital of Agra. Futtehpoor, "the town of victory," is now a scene of splendid desolation. The palaces, with their fountains and magnificent gardens, "wherein the pomegranate and the jessamine have grown for centuries," still stand "perfect and entire amidst the ruined dwellings of the people," and the town may be at first sight taken for one recently deserted by its inhabitants. The Imperial palace covers a space equal to that occupied by the Louvre and Tuilleries. To each Princess was allotted a separate palace; in that of "the Queen Mary, a Portuguese lady whom



Akbar had espoused," M. Rousselet found, greatly to his surprise, among numerous frescoes, "one representing the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary."

New Year's Day, 1867, found the travellers in their saddles, on their way to Dholepore, a small Jât principality, an icy wind sweeping over the plain, and making them shiver in spite of warm wraps. On reaching Dholepore they were at once visited by the Prime Minister, a Brahmun of the Deckan, a well-instructed man of polished manners, who spoke English fluently. They were most hospitably treated by the Rana, who, on their leaving for Gualior, presented them with some handsome shawls and jewels, and furnished an elephant for the journey, which was not, however, accomplished without a narrow escape from serious injury, for, while seated on this elephant, in "a magnificent *howdah*, with velvet cushions supported by gilt swans," which had been presented to them at Dholepore, but which must "have been in existence a great many years," the *howdah* suddenly came in two, its occupants fortunately finding their way to the ground unhurt, though, as their horses had preceded them, they were obliged, "in spite of the intolerable heat, to continue the journey on foot, carrying the broken remains of the *howdah*," until they met a country cart, in which they placed their burden. Such was, says M. Rousselet, "the sorry plight in which we reached the bungalow of Gualior, after having counted on making a triumphal entry with our golden swans!" At Gualior there was much to be seen, though the Court does not, M. Rousselet thinks, offer to the traveller the same attractions as those of Baroda and Oudeypoor, as at Gualior "politics and the reorganisation of his country occupy the time and thoughts of the Prince far more than festivities." On the 26th January they were received in *Durbar* by Scindia, whose great skill in horsemanship they afterwards witnessed from a balcony. The Chief of Gualior is thus described:—

"The Maharaja, Syajee Scindia, is a man of remarkable physiognomy. At first sight one is struck by the furrowed brow, the hard mouth, and the wild and melancholy expression which pervades the whole countenance; but the features are full of a royal and imposing dignity, and express much sympathy and feeling. He was only thirty-three years of age, but appeared much older. He was afflicted with an impediment in his speech, which made him so nervous before strangers that he could scarcely articulate a sound."

M. Rousselet was struck by the superior administration of Scindia's territory, due to the remarkable Minister, Sir Dinkur Row, who has so well served his own countrymen, and at the same time the British Government. There is an excellent account

of the ancient fortified city of Gualior, situated on the summit of a steep and isolated rock—the fortress which has since 1858 been held by British troops. The long and fatiguing ascent of steps cut out of the solid rock; the five monumental gates placed at intervals; the long causeway lined with “a series of monuments, bas-reliefs, caverns, and cisterns, forming a natural museum of great interest to the archæologist;” the rocks overhanging the road, containing numerous chambers, altars, and statues; the fine old palace at the summit, “which springs from the very brink of the precipice;” the effect produced by this gigantic edifice, “combining rampart and palace in one;” the imposing temple of Adinath, “one of the finest specimens of Jain architecture of the sixteenth century;” the long lines of “large, well-ventilated, extremely clean,” English barracks, which run close to the temple; and the great ravine of Ourwhai, with its sides rising perpendicularly to a height of ninety feet, and covered with statues cut in the solid rock—are all thoroughly described by M. Rousselet, who is of opinion that this fortress “furnishes one of the most valuable collections of Indian monuments, since we can here trace all the phases of the Jain and Hindu architecture from the second century before Christ to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of our era.” Ten years later than M. Rousselet’s visit, the old fortress has looked down upon the brilliant, and in some respects extraordinary, spectacle of the Gualior army reviewed by the Prince of Wales, Scindia passing at the head of his troops; saluting, for the first time, it is said, in his life; handling very creditably a force consisting of four regiments of cavalry and five of infantry, with four batteries of artillery, horse and foot; and afterwards publishing in general orders the Prince of Wales’ eulogium on the creditable display. How far the indulgence of these military tastes by Scindia, or any other Native feudatory Chief, can properly be carried, is an important question which we do not care here to discuss. The force now maintained by Scindia is trifling compared with that broken at Maharajpoor and Punnar, where loss was sustained by the British troops which testifies to the fighting qualities of Gualior men.

At the end of January the travellers left Gualior with a rather motley caravan, headed by MM. Rousselet and Schaumberg, perched upon “tall dromedaries, with their elegant harness to their silken saddle-cloths.” The mounted escort, furnished by Scindia’s order, formed “a collection of typical characters that would have gladdened the heart of a painter of Oriental life; all more or less in rags, for their new clothing had been left behind in the town.” The rear was brought up by a string of camels bearing “mountains of boxes,” on which were piled objects which M. Rousselet calls “heterogeneous;” and such, indeed, they were,

for among them were to be seen "fowls, monkeys, parrots, and even young *nautchnis*, or dancing-girls." They were now in Bundelcund, a country which contains some well-cultivated plains, thickly populated, but consists mostly of immense virgin forests, the finest in India. Of the inhabitants M. Rousselet does not speak well. "False as a Boundêla" is, he says, a Rajpoot proverb, though these Boundêlas are the equals of the Rajpoots in physical qualities and courage. That long before the Christian era Bundelcund was inhabited by an industrious and civilised people is shown by numerous vast dykes and ruins of great cities, throughout a country later on "the classic land of brigandism. In its sombre forests was born the terrible religion of the Thugs; and there flourished, some years ago, the Dacoits, a set of highway robbers and assassins." Near Jhansi, where, in 1857, some of the worst scenes of the Mutiny were enacted, lies one of the large ancient works of irrigation with which India abounds—the artificial lake of Barwa-Sagur. Here a fine dam, half a mile long, forty feet high, and from thirty to forty feet broad, converts a small tributary of the river Betwa into a sheet of water two miles in length and one in breadth, which fertilises the whole of the country below. While in Bundelcund, M. Rousselet visited the holy hill of Sounaghur, a pyramidical rock covered with innumerable temples piled upon one another amidst colossal blocks of granite, which, hanging suspended, as it were, above the temples, appear about to fall and crush them, while not a trace of vegetation is to be seen. At this place M. Rousselet fell in with one of "the most hideous illustrations of Hindu fanaticism"—a Gossain, or religious mendicant, who, besides the usual unkempt beard, hair tied in a knot above the head, and lean and naked body besmeared with ashes, presented the revolting spectacle of a left arm, "withered and quite stiff, standing out perpendicularly from the shoulder. Through the closed hand, bound round with straps of linen, the nails had worked their way, and were growing out on the other side, and the hollow of this hand, which had been filled with earth, served as a flower-pot for a small myrtle-bush." To obtain this horrid result long and terrible torture must be endured, the patient being tied down to a seat, and the extended arm fastened to a cross bar, and thus kept until it withers and becomes rigid. About this time another unusual sight presented itself to M. Rousselet, in the shape of a group of nearly naked men, who, their arms covered with blood, were dancing and shrieking round a baggage-camel that had just died, while others, armed with long knives, were cutting the animal into shreds, and tearing out the entrails. Disgust, however, gave way to pity when M. Rousselet found these people to be the victims of "Caste"—members of the fourth and lowest class,} "to whom Hindu society" denies the



right, common to every human being, of enjoying the aliments of the earth, whom it places lower in the social scale than animals, and whose life is not worth a rupee!" At Oorcha, the former capital of Bundelcund, there was much to interest the travellers. M. Rousselet thinks that the palaces and chief temples here, "built all at one period by a young and powerful race," and containing nothing that is not imposing, full of originality, and boldly conceived, will bear comparison with the masterpieces of the great Hindu schools of architecture. While at Oorcha, M. Rousselet received from the chief British political officer in Central India letters of introduction to the various subordinate agents. He gratefully acknowledges this assistance; and, to show the exceeding value of it, and "how much respect is paid to Europeans who have an official title, or who are supposed to have one," records a somewhat laughable history of the recovery of a leather provision-bag which was missed when leaving Oorcha. Believing it to have been stolen, he complained to the village chief authority, who promised inquiry. A week later M. Rousselet was at Nowgong, and there the bag arrived, accompanied by a document stating that it had been "discovered some distance from the village, in possession of the culprit, who was a dog. The letter went on to say that the dog had been duly punished, and that the bag had been sent on from post to post, as the attestation of each policeman on the route would prove."

At the British station of Nowgong the travellers remained a week, and were treated with kindness which they will, says M. Rousselet, "never forget." They then went on to Chutterpore, the capital of a small Native State. The Chief was, however, absent, celebrating the Holee festival "amidst the ruins of the ancient Kajraha, whose temples, dating back to a fabulously early epoch, are esteemed as the greatest marvel in Bundelcund." There the travellers followed him, and were very well received. His amiable manners and unlimited hospitality were very gratifying, and "it was evident that, though rather reserved and timid in manner, he was sincerely anxious to promote reforms which would tend to the good of his subjects." For some of these subjects he was much too good, for twelve months later he was assassinated at the instance of a reactionary party, who, however, gained nothing by their crime, as the murdered Chief's son being an infant, the regency was forthwith assumed by the British Government. The second week of March found the travellers at Punnah, a small Native State remarkable for its diamond mines, of which M. Rousselet has a high opinion. He thinks that, were the operations carried on properly, the results would be "miraculous." The mines have been worked for twenty centuries, but so imperfectly worked that they remain, he says, in "an almost virgin state."

The stones at present obtained are of great purity, but of no considerable size; they average five or six carats in weight, though one of forty-three carats has been found. The Chief of Punnah belongs to the "Young India" party, and wore, when M. Rousselet saw him, the costume of the reformers of Bengal. He has received a fair English education, is well versed in several of the Oriental languages, "possesses some notion of our practical sciences," and governs his State well. His singular loyalty during the Mutiny was rewarded by a cession of territory. M. Rousselet was invited to a grand hunt, and on reaching the palace found, instead of escort, carriages, or horses, a road locomotive, heated and ready to start, which had some time previously been obtained from Calcutta at great expense. M. Rousselet's astonishment was much relished by the Chief, whose "eyes sparkled with pride." The two squeezed themselves into the narrow chariot attached to the locomotive, and were then off at full speed along a stuccoed road constructed for the machine. M. Rousselet describes the stupefaction of the wild Goonds who gazed at "this fiery chariot, with its plumes of smoke and its storm of sparks, advancing towards their forest." Several mishaps, which the Chief recounted on the road, had already occurred. From Calcutta an English engineer had accompanied the locomotive, which, after his departure, remained unused, until at last an Indian stoker from one of the railways was obtained and appointed engineer. He, however, on one of the first expeditions, so overheated the engine that the Chief and his companion, alarmed at the excessive speed and uproar, threw themselves out of the carriage; "and it was well for them that they did so, for about a hundred yards further on the boiler exploded, killing the unhappy engine-driver, who had remained at his post." Many stories are told of this Chief's courage. Passionately fond of sport, he neglected even ordinary precautions, and at last would have been killed by a wounded tiger, had not his eldest son thrown himself upon the animal, and fortunately succeeded in despatching it. From this time the Chief shot tigers from "a cage with strong iron bars, and fixed upon wheels," in which he awaited their coming. Altogether the reader will probably agree with M. Rousselet that the Rajah of Punnah is "decidedly a remarkable man."

The next visit, to the Chief of Rewah, was also a remarkable one. Here M. Rousselet found a man of "superb stature—a real Rajpoot, fully sensible of all the importance of his rank and power"—who received him with a discourse, "in the purest English," evidently prepared beforehand. M. Rousselet expressed surprise at this fluency in the English language, and was then further astonished, and, as he tells us, disgusted, by the following speech:—

“Without a knowledge of English, an Indian Prince must remain in ignorance of the least progress of civilisation. Constantly hearing matters spoken of which he cannot understand, and himself unable to seek for science in books, he is compelled to follow in the beaten track left by his ancestors, with all its accompaniments of oppression and barbarity; and, unless possessed of more than ordinary talents, he can only incur the disfavour of the Imperial Government, and, finally, the loss of his kingdom. If, on the contrary, he can personally keep pace with the progress of European opinion, he is sure to be encouraged and supported, and will thus succeed in bettering the condition of his subjects and increasing his revenues.”

Fortunate Rewah! exclaims the reader. Not so, however, M. Rousselet, who curiously omits any explanation whatever of the grounds on which he arrives at the opposite conclusion. He merely says, “What can be said of sentiments so eloquently expressed? Unfortunately for Rewah, they are mere words.”

There is an interesting description of the extraordinary *mhowah*-tree, which grows in abundance in the Rewah forests, and supplies “a nutritious food in its flowers and fruits, besides yielding, by various processes, wine, brandy, vinegar, oil, a textile material, and valuable timber for building.” It is, says M. Rousselet, “ranked by the inhabitants as equal to the Divinity.” While shooting at the Rewah Chief’s summer palace at Govindghur, M. Rousselet was enabled to examine an extraordinary specimen of humanity found among the twelve hundred beaters employed—a savage from the high plateau of the Sirgonja, which, from its extreme poverty and terrible malaria, is almost a *terra incognita*, popularly believed to contain animals of gigantic size, and human beings “having the appearance of apes, living in trees, and shunning the eyes of men.” Great was M. Rousselet’s delight at finding “one of these men-apes, or *Bundar lokh*,” as the Indians call them, within his reach. He found the title fully justified by the low stature (scarcely five English feet), extreme length of arm, and animal expression of the wrinkled countenance of the specimen before him. The whole appearance of this savage satisfied M. Rousselet that he saw “one of the representatives of the interesting Negritto race of India, which, after having at a certain period peopled all the western coasts of the Gulf of Bengal, has now almost entirely disappeared.” The creature’s examination had so alarmed him that he escaped during the night, and was not again seen.

After leaving Rewah there was much trouble in the camp. The baggage was now carried on carts drawn by oxen, and the wretched progress made caused the travellers bitterly to regret “those good camels of the West, with their long slow step, which none the less gets over long distances in a short space of time.” Then, during the march, some of the baggage was stolen, having been



carried off almost from under the very bodies of the sleeping servants. And on the night of the 17th April M. Rousselet fell asleep in the elephant howdah, and awoke to find himself completely blinded, and with all the symptoms of ophthalmia. Sight was, however, shortly restored by "strong tea-baths." The travellers were now in the Central Provinces, and there found, says M. Rousselet, at every turn some indication of the able and energetic administration of Sir R. Temple. At Saugor they saw some extraordinary performances of serpent-charmers, one of the tricks bearing "a striking resemblance to the famous miracle of Moses before Pharaoh." The juggler, naked with the exception of a very small strip of cloth round his loins, placed a serpent in a basket, which he covered and quitted, and then armed himself with a sort of flexible wand, which, having whirled it for some minutes above his head, he suddenly flung at the spectators, and at their feet it arrived in the shape of a serpent. M. Rousselet paid, he says, the closest attention to several repetitions of the trick, but it defied detection.

The 25th April found M. Rousselet in a place which may, he thinks, "justly claim to rank with the most celebrated spots on the globe—the obscure valley of Bhilsa, buried in the heart of the Vindhya solitudes," where the first authentic monuments of Indian civilisation, the original types of the architecture of the whole of the extreme East, have been, by a miraculous chance, preserved. M. Rousselet is scarcely wrong in placing on an equality with anything yet found in Egypt or Assyria these Bhilsa monuments, presenting, as they do, "in an incomparable series of basso-relievos, a faithful and highly-finished picture of the life, manners, and civilisation of India twenty-five centuries before our own." He thinks that later Asiatic art has produced nothing to be compared with "four marvellous triumphal arches, admirably sculptured, and covered with delicate bas-reliefs," which stand before the entrance of the largest of the Chaityas.

"These bas-reliefs represent the principal scenes in the life of Buddha, religious ceremonies, processions or royal *cortèges*, sieges and battles; and a series of more unpretending, but doubly precious, pictures reproduce the interiors of palaces, apartments with their furniture, and kitchens with their accessories; and, finally, dances and gymnastic exercises, . . . a complete picture of the life and history of the Indian people during the centuries which preceded the birth of Christ. . . . They are all the more distinguished from everything else that Asiatic art has produced, because the artist has limited himself to portraying what he had before his eyes, simply and delicately, without being compelled to have recourse to mythology for those exaggerated forms or attributes which after his time were destined to become the basis of Hindu sculpture."

Interesting as must have been these explorations to M. Rousselet, his sojourn in the Bhilsa valley was not altogether an agreeable one. The heat was deadly, the jungles were full of deleterious miasmata, and wild beasts swarmed to a dangerous extent. On one occasion he put his foot on a snake of the most deadly species; on another, having entered an opening leading, apparently, to some ancient excavation, he heard loud cries from his guides, whom he had preceded, and, on looking about, found himself surrounded by bones and carcasses, some dried, and others still bleeding. He was in a tiger's lair, but fortunately "the master of the establishment was absent." Last, and worst of all, he was robbed; thieves entered his tent at night, while he was there asleep, and carried off his stereotype plates, and a steel box of English manufacture, containing all his valuables—an expensive watch, a thousand rupees in silver, a fine collection of diamonds and jewels received from various Native Chiefs, and bills of exchange for a very large amount. The bills were afterwards found near the village, and the Bhopal Government indemnified him for the loss sustained, but nothing could, he says, replace memorials to which he "attached so great a value."

As the rainy season was now rapidly approaching, and jungle-fever raged in their camp, the travellers wended their way towards Bhopal, "the proud Mussulman city, one of the last bulwarks of Islam in Hindostan," the capital of the territory ruled by that remarkable female, the Begum Secunder, whose admirable management of her own State, and conspicuous loyalty to the British Government, are notorious. At Bhopal M. Rousselet found, to his great surprise and pleasure, a small colony of descendants of a Frenchman, Jean de Bourbon, who, about the middle of the 16th century, arrived at the court of Delhi, and obtained high employ. His descendants were also fortunate, and form at present a clan of about four hundred families, of whom three hundred have settled in Bhopal territory, and acknowledge as suzerain a lady, Madame Elizabeth de Bourbon, whom M. Rousselet found living in almost royal state, but faithfully attached, as are said to be the whole of her followers, to "the name, customs, and religion of their ancestors." M. Rousselet was indeed invited to attend, and was present at, their celebration of the *fête Napoléon*. At Bhopal M. Rousselet first saw the *Jogees*—religious mendicants "of a frightfully sinister description," who, completely naked, go about brandishing a small, sharp-pointed weapon, and extort money by stabbing themselves until sufficiently remunerated. The weapons used are, it was explained to M. Rousselet, made with an excessively pointed and quite conical blade, so as to inflict wounds of no great consequence, the *Jogees* taking care to strike only where there is little danger. Here M. Rousselet witnessed a very extra-

ordinary performance, called "the egg-dance." On the head of the dancing-girl, who holds a basket full of eggs, is placed horizontally a tolerably large wicker wheel, round which are attached at equal distances threads, each having at its extremity a slip-knot, kept open by a glass bead. The dancer turns herself round with great rapidity, and while doing so takes an egg from the basket she holds, and inserts it in one of the slip-knots, which by a jerk she instantly tightens. By the rapidity of her turning the thread is at once drawn to its whole length, and the egg stands out from the wheel. One after another the remaining eggs are thus treated, until the threads, each with an egg at its extremity, form "a horizontal *aureola*" round the dancer's head, her turning at this time gradually increasing in rapidity. Now comes the withdrawal of the eggs, and this is the most difficult part of the operation, for it is effected, not by her stopping, but by continuing to turn, and by seizing the eggs, drawing them away from the strings, and replacing them in the basket as they were taken, one after the other, taking care when withdrawing one egg to avoid touching the thread of any other. All the eggs thus withdrawn, the dancer stops abruptly, apparently unaffected by the sustained whirling, and, advancing, presents the basket that the eggs may be broken, to prove the absence of trickery. That life in Bhopal has its disagreeables is evident from the state of M. Rousselet's apartments during the month of August: they swarmed with reptiles, large and small; there were lizards everywhere, and a mat or carpet was seldom raised without disclosing some undesirable visitor. They found, at one time or another, "scorpions of all sizes and colours, scolopendra, centipedes with venomous stings, and black hairy spiders of most respectable dimensions. As for serpents, not a day passed without discovering some black cobras, whip-snakes, and other species." At this time M. Rousselet was very nearly drowned while crossing a swollen river on an elephant, which was carried away by the flood. He owed his life to the animal's sagacious courage. Having received from the Begum a *khillut* of honour, to which a Court dignity was attached, M. Rousselet prepared to quit Bhopal. The beginning of November found him returning through the plains of Malwa to Gualior, which he had quitted ten months previously. The last day's journey into Gualior, on the Indian mail-cart, was a time of suffering which M. Rousselet shall describe:—

"We saw a curious-looking team of four horses coming down the road, galloping at full speed, and drawing behind them a light box, painted red, perched on two immense wheels, and executing the most fantastic springs. . . . 'Quick, gentlemen!' exclaimed the courier, a tall, meagre, bony Indian, wrapped in an old red cloth tunic, which left his long, thin, naked legs exposed. I mounted beside him, and



Schaumberg sat behind on the other half of the box. 'Hold tight was the policy. I clung to the sides, and we were off, tearing along at full speed, hurried away by the furious gallop of our horses, who seemed to have run wild. The cart sprang; it leaped; it seemed to me every moment that I was going to fly into the air. I wanted to speak, but it was impossible to open my mouth. The Indian, impassible, and almost upright on his seat, showered his whip about the horses. Ascents, descents, narrow bridges—all were passed in this giddy and tumultuous gallop. . . . Off we went again, passing several relays in the same manner. I felt I could not endure the torture much longer. The shocks and the joltings were so violent that I could not hold my pipe in my mouth. . . . 'Stop,' I said to the courier, 'I will get down;' but he answered that the post only stopped at the relays. . . . At last our sufferings terminated; our horses were brought to before the Travellers' Bungalow, and we got down, bruised, worn out, and bent double, and vowed that we should never again be caught tearing along Indian roads on a mail-cart."

Christmas was spent at Gualior, and on the 28th December the travellers, having now traversed the Deckan, Goojerat, Rajpootana, and Central India, and having yet to explore the magnificent valley of the Ganges, found themselves for the second time at Agra, where they took up their quarters in a portion of the Taj placed at the service of travellers; and here, on a terrace of that marvellous building, with the Jumna flowing silently below, they passed the last hours of 1867 and the first of 1868. From Agra they went to Secundra, where they spent a few days examining the magnificent mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar; next came the city of Muttra; then Goverdhun and Bindraban, two spots famous in Hindu mythology; and, finally, Delhi, where a lengthened halt was to be made. Here M. Rousselet found himself at the threshold of what he calls "the India of modern civilisation." He was quitting, with mingled feelings, the "life of the jungles, the life of free air and liberty, with its close communion between man and an almost virgin nature;" and he justly remarks, that only those who have tasted the pleasures of such a life can form an "idea of the heaviness of heart felt by those who . . . are about to bid adieu to it, perhaps for ever." From M. Rousselet's account of Delhi we extract a description of that which he considers the greatest curiosity to be found there. Referring to the beautiful Mosque of the Koutab, he says:—

"But to the archæologist all these beauties fade before the monument which decorates the centre of the court—a simple iron column, on which the tourist would scarcely cast a careless glance, but which is, none the less, one of the wonders not only of India, but of the world. It is a smooth, cylindrical shaft of solid metal, from the

pavement of the court to the elegant capital which surrounds it, measuring twenty-two feet. The reader may say that this is not a matter to raise much enthusiasm—a column of cast-iron twenty-two feet in height is no great wonder. True; but this column is sunk in the earth to a corresponding depth, which thus gives it an entire length of forty-four feet. When I record that this gigantic piece of cast-iron was moulded in the fourth century of our era; that is, at a period when half the nations of the world were ignorant even of the extraction of this metal; and when I add that our manufactories, with all their improved processes, only dared to attempt a work as considerable as this for the first time about twenty years ago; it will not be disputed that the iron column of Delhi may be classed among the most marvellous works of antiquity. It is almost impossible to understand what means the Indians could have employed in moulding and casting this enormous incandescent bar at a time when cranes and pestle-hammers were unknown.”

Delhi has its proud and chequered history, which tells of Mahomedan grandeur, and of long and bloody struggles, but of nothing more glorious or more decisive than the desperate strife of 1857, when during several months a small British force held their ground against swarms of disciplined mutineers with a powerful and well-served artillery, and never let go their grip until they at last obtained possession of Delhi, at a price recorded on one of the tablets of the memorial monument erected on the ridge which, from May 30th to September 20th, was the scene of incessant fighting and carnage. Of about 9000 Europeans and Natives who formed the investing force, 1129 were killed and 2795 wounded during the siege. A different but very interesting sight was again presented to many of the survivors of that force, when, on nearly the same ground, 20,000 British troops were reviewed by the Prince of Wales, who rode down the line accompanied by Scindia, and followed by several distinguished Native Chiefs formally gazetted as aides-de-camp to His Royal Highness.

On the 16th February the travellers parted company. M. Schaumberg, having been attacked by jungle-fever, was obliged to return to Agra, while M. Rousselet made his way towards the Punjab. On his way to Lahore he saw the great battlefield of Paniput; Umballa, where he found nothing requiring special remark; Loodiana, where he paid an interesting visit to one of the shawl manufactories; and Umritsir, the holy city of the Seikhs, with its marble and gold basilisks in the midst of the beautiful Lake of Immortality. His stay at Lahore was brief, as he was anxious to push on to Peshawur, whence he examined “the terrible Affghan frontier, which none can pass without inviting certain death.” He had intended to visit Cashmere, but cholera was raging: a *cordon sanitaire* had been established, and

he could not obtain the necessary passports. He, therefore, returned to Umballa, and there found M. Schaumberg, who, happily rid of the fever, had hastened to rejoin him. They then visited Simla, and after passing a few days there, returned *via* Umballa and Delhi to Agra, whence they paid flying visits to Cawnpore and to Lucknow, where M. Rousselet examined with great interest the scene of that wonderful defence planned by the fine soldier and statesman who was not permitted to witness its success. The Prince of Wales, during his recent tour in India, can have visited no spot more interesting than this one. It was undoubtedly a grateful task that he performed when he laid the foundation-stone of the monument which will commemorate the Natives who fell in defending the Residency. Well did the Chief Commissioner of Oude describe, as without parallel in the world's annals, the conduct of those Natives and of their surviving companions, whose only watchword, in the face of constant and excessive temptation, was "fidelity to their salt." Impressive, indeed, must have been the sight of those old warriors filing past the Prince, some of them infirm from age and wounds, and scarcely able to walk unaided, yet still proud as ever of the old, and in many cases tattered, uniforms, and of the well-earned decorations which they wore. It seems unbefitting and little creditable to England that this monument should have been erected at the expense of Lord Northbrook, whose wise liberality the Prince gracefully acknowledged.

From Cawnpore M. Rousselet went on to Allahabad, and while there visited some of the indigo factories in the neighbourhood. He was very much struck by, and he makes some very pertinent remarks on, the position, curious as it is in some respects, which the Indigo-planters occupy in their districts. Next came Benares, "the capital of the Brahminic and Buddhist world," which M. Rousselet compares to Christian Rome, the capital of the Catholic world; but, he goes on to say, "whereas Christian Rome dates its true splendour only as far back as ten centuries at the utmost, and at the present day maintains its sway over two hundred millions of believers, Benares has shone with uninterrupted splendour for more than thirty centuries, and still has its name revered by over five hundred millions of men—Brahminists of India, and Buddhists of Ceylon, Indo-China, China, and Thibet." M. Rousselet remarks on the singular fact that Benares, though so very ancient a city, contains nothing of very great antiquity; and he attributes this to the frequency of the religious wars of which it was the scene, and in which "the victor was each time eagerly bent on destroying all traces of the vanquished." At Benares M. Rousselet witnessed the curious spectacle of a Protestant missionary, who, "at ten paces from all that the Hindu holds to be most sacred in his religion," denounced that religion in most unmeasured



language, but was listened to immovably, though, as it seemed, attentively. M. Rousselet believes this very tolerance to be that which most disheartens the missionaries, of whom one said to him, "Our labours are in vain. You can never convert a man who has sufficient conviction in his own faith to listen, without moving a muscle, to all the attacks you can make against it." M. Rousselet appears to have been, when he wrote, scarcely, if at all, aware of the extent and effect of the educational movement in India, and of the fact that education has already produced results infinitely greater than those obtained from first to last by missionary labour. Benares, with its high houses on either side of dark narrow streets, is an uninviting place to explore, but the distant view of the illuminated city, which the Prince of Wales had from the roof of the castle of the Raja of Benares, must have been superb, as the city rises to a great height in tiers, which were, throughout their whole length, systematically illuminated.

At the end of April M. Rousselet left Benares, and after visiting Behar, reached Calcutta in the month of June 1868. After a short rest there he set out for Cuttack, and afterwards visited Dacca. The end of August found him again in Calcutta, and on the first of the following month he embarked for Europe on board the *Labourdonnais*, leaving behind M. Schaumberg, his "good and faithful companion, who was detained by fresh projects in the country."

M. Rousselet, while claiming for his country the marks of respect rendered to his "own humble and obscure individuality," states at the conclusion of his narrative—"On the part of the English the reception I obtained was neither less sympathetic nor less courteous. No shadow of suspicion intervened to hinder my researches. On the contrary, I met everywhere with the heartiest hospitality, the warmest cordiality, and even, I must say, with the sincerest support."

We have, we fear, scarcely done justice to a narrative which derives much of its effect from 300 excellent illustrations. The translated work is dedicated, by permission, to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and has been presented by him to some of the educated Natives, who could hardly have received a gift more fitting than that of a beautifully-illustrated popular account of matter deeply interesting to every intelligent native of India, thoroughly known to very few of them, and certainly never before within their reach in its present agreeably-intelligible form. In England, too, such knowledge is one of the best correctives of the ignorant error to which Sir H. Maine, in the lecture on "The Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought," delivered last year at Cambridge, drew attention, when, having described "the apparent belief of some educated persons here that Indians require

nothing but School-Boards and normal schools to turn them into Englishmen," "and the brutal assumption of the English vulgar, that there is nothing to choose between the Indian and the Negro," he explained the utterly different ideas suggested by even a moderate amount of knowledge of India, not as it is ignorantly supposed to be, neither as it here and there is, but as it really exists in "its great interior block," where the social system is one which cannot properly be described as barbarous, using the term in its usual acceptation, for the so-called barbarism is that either of "the very family of mankind to which we belong, or of races which have accepted its chief and most characteristic institutions. It is a barbarism which contains a great deal of our own civilisation, with its elements as yet inseparate and not yet unfolded."

Of the difficulties attending the Prince of Wales' visit to India, one of the greatest—perhaps the greatest—was, long before his arrival, thus foreshadowed in a Calcutta Native newspaper.\*

"The people of India have all along consoled themselves with the belief that though they sometimes suffer wrongs at the hands of their Anglo-Indian masters, it is done without the knowledge and sanction of the people in England. The universal belief is that the English in England, unlike a portion of their brethren in India, are strictly just, and would never knowingly allow an injustice to be done. This belief is on its trial. If H.R.H. the future King of England, accompanied by a portion of the *élite* of London, show Anglo-Indian indifferences to our protests and cries, our true interests and advantages, our complaints and petitions, the rumour will spread like wildfire from mouth to mouth, from Himalayas to Cormorin, that they are all alike—princes and peasants. We beseech those who rule our destinies to see that such a rumour may have no basis to stand on."

A very strong proof of the existence of this feeling was furnished at Calcutta by a Mahomedan of Gya, who, having some complaint against one of the Judges, broke through the line of troops, and, knocking aside the sword of an officer who formed part of the mounted escort, threw his petition into the Prince's carriage. The man is described as having approached with arms extended, to show that he had no weapon, and as having thus, probably, escaped being cut down.

The discussion of this subject was not, however, confined to the Native newspapers. The following extract is from one of the Calcutta English papers.†

"If the Prince were coming to redress matters that we know to be wrong, his visit would be the happiest event that could befall the

\* *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, August 1875.

† *The Friend of India*, 9th October 1875.

country. But it is not so. He is coming simply to smooth difficulties over with gracious assurances that mean nothing but a continuance of the insincerity with which we veil our conduct from ourselves. One righteous and noble act would do more to bring the people's sympathies round us than all the fireworks that ever blazed, or the Durbars that were ever held in the country."

It is not surprising that hostile foreign critics should write in the same strain. In a review of Asiatic events of international importance in 1875, which lately appeared in the official Russian *Invalides*, the proceedings of Great Britain are described very unfairly, and very incorrectly. Of the Prince of Wales' Indian tour it is said \*—

"The latter event, which makes so much noise, will bear no fruit. In his circuit through India, the successor to the English throne confines himself to receiving princes and officials, attending festivities, and frequenting hunts and reviews. He does not care to know the wants of the Native population, and petitions handed to him are delivered to the local authorities without even a glance. The unpolitical character of the Prince's visit has made a very bad impression on the natives."

It is much easier to admit that there is some truth in this last assertion, than to show what other arrangement was reasonably possible. In point of fact, however, the Prince's visit has, whatever may have been the original intention, necessarily assumed to some extent a political character. Whether it will lead to any important political results remains to be seen, and must depend on others than His Royal Highness.

That misunderstanding and misrepresentation would attend the Prince's movements was to be expected, but scarcely in the shape of an attempt to excite suspicion throughout India, by charging His Royal Highness with having, at Tinavelly, in the Madras Presidency, replied to a Christian Missionary address in terms calculated to lead the natives of India to infer that "the influence of the heir to the Crown will be thrown into the scale in favour of missionaries." † Great concern was professed that one of the "conflicting influences" surrounding the Prince should have succeeded in making itself predominant in drawing up the royal reply; Sir Bartle Frere was named as having allowed his piety to overmaster his discretion in counselling such language; the probability of further similar error was alleged; and a distinct disclaimer from the Prince himself of any intention ever to depart from the promises of religious toleration already made by the

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\* The *Times*, 29th January 1876.

† The *Bombay Times of India*, 13th December 1875.



British Government was declared to be the only means of neutralising the ill effects of the "first grand political error" committed since his arrival. A more unwarrantable attack was never made. The reply at Tinavelly could not, according to any reasonable construction, bear out the newspaper assertion. The Prince said, "It is a great satisfaction to me to find our countrymen engaged in offering to our Indian fellow-subjects those truths which form the foundation of our social and political system, and which we ourselves esteem as our most valued possession." There was surely nothing here savouring of intolerance; but even assuming for the moment that there was, it was effectually neutralised by that which immediately followed, for in the next sentence the Prince eulogised "the freedom in all matters of opinion which our Government ensures to all."

The Prince's utterances and movements must have been carefully and wisely guarded, when a legion of anxious critics can connect them with nothing more objectionable than religious intolerance existing only in their own imagination, a visit to elephant and rhinoceros fights at Baroda, and witnessing the *Nautch*, or performance of native dancing-women, which in India has from time immemorial formed an important part of the entertainment given to an honoured guest. Had the Prince attended, or in any way countenanced, such atrocious exhibitions as those shown (p. 396) to have been tolerated at Baroda when M. Rousselet was there, objections might well have been raised; but out of trials of strength between two unwieldy animals rarely injured in any way, even political capital can scarcely be made. We cannot expect that anything will convince those who now insist, as the same class did in Falstaff's time insist, that "there shall be no cakes and ale," but the description of the *Nautch* given by M. Rousselet (p. 391), an impartial judge, who had no interests to serve and no prejudices to gratify, will probably convince most people that it is, in truth, a harmless performance, which the Prince of Wales could not reasonably be advised to decline seeing.

The controversy between the Government of India and the Hyderabad authorities regarding the Nizam's projected journey to Bombay for the purpose of meeting the Prince of Wales, is, so far as we are aware, the only serious *contretemps* that has occurred in connection with the Royal visit, and for this the Indian authorities seem to be clearly responsible. Whether the Resident at the Nizam's court strictly carried out or exceeded his instructions, we do not know. The facts ascertainable from the correspondence published here and in India are these: It was desired that the Nizam, who is a child, should meet the Prince of Wales at Bombay; but to this the Nizam's Minister, Sir Salar Jung, would not consent, declaring the state of the Nizam's health to be such as to

render the journey a risk which his responsible Ministers could not permit him to incur. The proposal, however, continued to be pressed by the Resident and resisted by the Minister, whose persistence at length drew forth a letter couched in dictatorial and threatening language, unadvisable under almost any circumstances, but especially so under those now proved to have existed. Sir Salar Jung's simple reply to these menaces was a reference to his former objections, and a polite suggestion that if the British Government would not accept his opinion regarding the state of the Nizam's health, they should obtain that of their own medical officer, who would be afforded every opportunity of forming a judgment. Here the published correspondence ends. Sir Salar Jung, however, gained his point. The Nizam did not visit Bombay, and is the only Native Chief of importance who has not been presented to the Prince of Wales. There seems to have been extraordinary mismanagement. Whether the point really at issue was the Nizam's dignity, and not his health, seems immaterial, inasmuch as in neither case do the proceedings of the British authorities appear capable of justification. If Sir Salar Jung's only motive throughout was a sincere conviction that the Nizam's health was at stake, a very gratuitous affront has been put upon one whose good sense and capacity preserved tranquillity at Hyderabad in 1857, when that tranquillity was of priceless value; and whose eminent services in doing so have been acknowledged by the British Government. If, on the other hand, there were good and sufficient grounds for attributing the Minister's resistance to improper political motives, the obvious, indeed, the only reasonable course was either to accept the reason assigned by him or peremptorily reject it and insist on compliance with the requirement made. If the Minister acted in good faith, he has been unwarrantably insulted. If he did not so act, he has been, by the want of judgment shown in dealing with him, placed in the position which the British Government ought to have been made to occupy. It is broadly stated by the Indian newspapers that the Minister's real object has been the assertion of the Nizam's independent Sovereignty; and that Lord Canning, when on his way to Hyderabad for the purpose of investing the present Nizam's father with the order of the Star of India, was stopped by an intimation that the Nizam might decline to visit him, the difficulty being solved by the Viceroy not going to Hyderabad at all. It is also matter of very general belief that Sir Salar Jung desires above all things the restoration to the Nizam of the administration of the Berar provinces. This administration was ceded in perpetuity to the British Government nearly a quarter of a century ago; but it is not surprising that Indian Princes and their advisers should,

since the restoration of Mysore, disbelieve the finality of any measure.

The tale of Mysore is to be found in the third \* Report of the Commons' Select Committee on Indian Finance, who sat through several sessions, and had not concluded their inquiries at the accession to office of the present Ministry, who, for reasons unexplained, thought fit to ignore the Committee's unanimous recommendation that they should be reappointed; the result being that no complete report has been possible, although the importance of obtaining one is unmistakably shown by the evidence already recorded. This treatment of the Committee was at the close of the last session deprecated by Mr Fawcett, who notified his intention of moving their reappointment this year, in the event of no steps being taken by the Government. We can here but briefly refer to the evidence regarding the restoration of Mysore to Native rule which the Committee obtained. The most remarkable is that of Sir C. Trevelyan, who said—"I have a strong opinion. I may say that I have a right to an opinion, because I drew the original despatch of Lord William Bentinck's Government, ordering the sequestration of Mysore. . . . I was cognisant of all the discussions that took place, and knew the whole thing, and I have watched it since from time to time, and my own opinion is that we ought not to have relegated that noble country to the chances of a new Native government; not an established government, but a mere boy picked up at hazard, and manufactured for the occasion. . . . But assuming for the moment that it was proper not to absorb Mysore; even so, I maintain that it was a very extravagant arrangement financially. . . . If we chose to revive the Native government of Mysore under the entirely new circumstances of the present time, we ought to have made a new financial arrangement, and have taken a proportion of the Mysore revenue suited to the advantages which they derive from us."

Sir C. Trevelyan's long and distinguished official career in India and in England gives great weight to his opinion on such a subject. Unless he is completely misinformed, or under some strange delusion, *how* the restoration to Native rule of a large territory which during forty years had been under British administration was brought about, is at least as much to be deprecated as the restoration itself. "Done in the House of Lords under the influence of a brilliant oration;" accepted by the people of England because they "did not understand the subject;" and brought about mainly by "a limited number of officials immediately connected with the administration of Mysore, who pulled the strings with their petitions sent to Calcutta at the expense of 500 rupees,"

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\* Pages 27, 28, and 35.



with "large sums paid for agency in England," and with "interest made by them in all sorts of ways"—is Sir C. Trevelyan's description of a case which, together with those of the Nawab of the Carnatic, of the descendants of Tippoo Sultan, and of the Nawab of Surat, we believe to be deplorable. We trust that Berar may not be added to the list.

The great feature of the Prince's visit to India has been his reception of and by the Native Princes and Chiefs; and here, with the single exception of the mistake committed at Hyderabad—a mistake wholly beyond the Prince's control—everything appears to have succeeded, even beyond expectation. It seems to be on all sides admitted that very much of this success is due to the Prince himself, whose genial manners and natural courtesy will not soon be forgotten. The intercourse between the Native Chiefs, hitherto very rare, which the Prince's visit has brought about, must have a good effect, in spite of some few heartburnings at supposed slights which, in a matter full of difficulties appreciable only by those who have had to deal with them, human ingenuity could hardly have prevented. Absurd exaggeration has been showered on almost everything connected with the royal visit, but it stands out clear that the Heir-apparent to the British throne has left the best possible impression on one of the most important classes of his Indian subjects, and that the strong tie of personal loyalty thus created is likely, *if wisely cultivated*, to be of exceeding value, and to contribute to the satisfactory solution of the difficulties which surround the relations between these feudatories and the Paramount authority. With the position and treatment of the Native States is intimately associated a name which will assuredly go down to posterity as the name of one of our greatest Indian Rulers. Lord Dalhousie's proceedings regarding the Native States have been little understood, and have been subjected to misrepresentation which he, unfortunately, did not live to refute, and which may yet for a long time remain unrefuted, as he has, with the consciousness of power remarkable throughout his career, relegated the publication of his private papers to a period comparatively remote. His treatment of the Native States was consistent and intelligible. Their treatment since his death has been an ever-varying quantity defying analysis. We believe that Lord Dalhousie foresaw more clearly, and estimated more correctly, than any of his less gifted successors, the difficulties inseparable from the maintenance of Native rule within British India. His untimely death took place just when his counsels were most required. The Mutiny of 1857, with its attendant horrors and danger, had caused in England a scare of which the Court of Directors were the first; and Lord Dalhousie's territorial policy the next victims; and then was hastily introduced a radical change

of which the future satisfactory working must have been simply taken for granted. It was the launch of the "Happy-go-lucky," which has since buffeted about until her straining appears to have convinced those responsible for her safety that *something* more is absolutely necessary. That there should be much groping in the dark under such circumstances is not surprising, for although everything points to the want of a sufficient system of dealing with the Native feudatory States, the best intellects and the largest experience may well be taxed to devise one which shall, while gradually bringing the Native Rulers to our own administrative level, reconcile them to the absence of independent authority. Unquestionably difficult as is this problem, its satisfactory solution can only be rendered more unlikely than ever by ignoring the fact that between the aspirations of educated Natives to an ever-increasing share in the administration of British territory, and the aspirations of educated Natives who rule States within that territory, there must be a great and irreconcilable difference; and by hesitating to revise engagements framed under circumstances so utterly different from those now existing as to have become, in many respects, worse than useless. Of many questions which ought to have been thoroughly dealt with in 1857-58, we will refer to one of the least important—the right of coining exercised by many of the feudatory Chiefs, and very recently formally recognised in the case of Baroda, of which State the coinage will now be a legal tender throughout the British Indian Empire. This must surely foster the illusions regarding independent Sovereignty which it is so desirable to dispel.

To what extent a consideration of the important questions just referred to has influenced the decision that Her Majesty shall henceforth take a title from India as well as from Great Britain and Ireland, is not apparent from the explanation hitherto afforded regarding a measure which has been allowed to assume an undesirable resemblance to those stage effects which are not meant for, and will not bear, close inspection. No addition to the Royal style and titles was made when the direct government of India was eighteen years ago transferred to the Crown, and this has now been described as an omission which the late loyal reception of the Prince of Wales in India affords a fitting opportunity for supplying. It is now also known that the omission was not accidental, but the deliberate act of the Ministry of the day, who then lost, as we believe, the best possible opportunity for carrying out a measure of which the effect appears to be much misunderstood, inasmuch as it seems to be very generally believed that it would have removed, and that it will remove, difficulties due not to any insufficiency of the Sovereign's titles, but to hesitating, weak, and inconsistent action very much in keeping with

the Prime Minister's late unhappy definition \* of the position of the Native feudatory Chiefs, which was at once questioned by the able and experienced Indian officer† fortunately at hand to correct it, and to point out that of the Native rulers of States within British India none are, and none can be, "Sovereign Princes,"—a fact which cannot be too clearly proclaimed, or too unflinchingly insisted on. It is most improbable that on the masses of India either the Prince's visit, or the change in the Sovereign's titles, can have any considerable effect. Indeed, to most of them these things are a seven days' wonder, and nothing more. They are naturally occupied with their own surroundings, and scarcely look beyond them. Police requirements, judicial decrees, and revenue demands—by these they test, and are not very wrong in testing, the government under which they live. To them it has ever mattered little whether they rendered allegiance to the Great Mogul, the "Kumpani Buhadoor," or the Queen of England. They have been contented if free from police oppression, ruinous judicial processes, excessive revenue demands, and, though last not least, interference with their caste and religion. That they prefer "to be ruled by persons rather than by systems," has been lately put forward, on what authority we know not. Nor is the purpose of this assertion more intelligible, bearing in mind that no change in the form of government is contemplated or at all probable. But although the masses in India may not "understand the mysteries of our constitution," they can be influenced by those who do. The educated and higher classes understand both the use and the abuse of the power existing in England to reverse any order passed in India. Lord Lawrence, who ought to be an unusually competent judge,‡ told the House of Commons' Select Committee—"The natives of India would not like it to be laid down that Parliament could not interfere, or would not interfere. I think, whether it is for good or for evil, they value that power which Parliament has of interfering." The late address of the Calcutta Association to Mr Fawcett sufficiently proves that educated Indians are well able to appreciate the functions and power of the British Parliament.

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\* House of Commons, 17th February 1876.

† Sir G. Campbell.

‡ Third Report, p. 436.



## ART. VI.—“FREE-WILL” AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. *An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy.* By J. S. MILL.
2. *The Emotions and the Will.* By ALEXANDER BAIN.
3. *Mental and Moral Science.* By ALEXANDER BAIN.
4. *Du Libre Arbitre.* By E. LITTRÉ.

1. IT is not our purpose to revive the metaphysical imbroglio of Free-will, or guide our readers through the labyrinth of views which have been held concerning it. The problem belongs already to the past; it has been shown to rest on misconceptions, and doubtless it would never have been called into existence, but for the body of doctrine which it was destined to support. That body of doctrine is now slowly crumbling to the ground, and hence the extraordinary theological hypothesis, which for centuries attracted and perplexed mankind, will soon have lost its *raison d'être*. An interest, however, still attaches to the speculations of past epochs, even when we know them to be mistaken and unprofitable; they serve to show the distance we have travelled over, and test the methods by which we have advanced. In this respect the doctrine of Free-will stands pre-eminent; it is an admirable example of the genesis of theological theories, and of the characteristic vice which underlies them. The very sterility of the controversy (a sterility which our forefathers must often have bemoaned) becomes instructive from this point of view. Is it not strange, or rather, is it not remarkable, that discussion, which in scientific questions proves so eminently useful, should in Church matters always have proved barren? To what can this difference be due? One might have thought that it was owing to the peculiar loftiness of theological inquiries, just as Socrates divided knowledge into the *divine* and *human*, and ranked astronomy and physical philosophy as departments that were beyond the reach of human knowledge. But no; the doctrine of Free-will steps in to prove the contrary. Here is a field on which Theology and Science meet; the facts, far from being *obscure* or *beyond reach*, are *fundamental facts* of human consciousness; each individual can verify them for himself, without books, or instruments, or special studies. The only question, therefore, is how these facts shall be connected

and presented. Theology undertakes the matter first, and makes a hopeless muddle of it, the discussion raging on from century to century without producing any understanding. Science undertakes it in her turn, and immediately the hubbub subsides, and the case is found to be quite regular and easy. We must not forestall our exposition of the subject in order to justify these statements now; our only present business is with the sterility attaching to theological discussions, a sterility which we must both explain in others, and avoid on our own score, on pain of being deserted by our readers. The fact is, that in science a theory is invented with a sole view to the phenomena which it connects and accounts for; it has no value of its own, independently of the work which it performs: and hence, whenever a second theory is found which does the work more advantageously, explaining the same phenomena with a smaller number of assumptions, or embracing by one principle a greater number of phenomena, the former is willingly relinquished for the latter. In theology the case is the reverse; here it is the theory or doctrine which is paramount, while the facts are instrumental. Nay, the doctrine has a value which transcends all earthly standards, and forms part and parcel of a system which claims for itself a higher origin. Whereas, therefore, in science the man who demolishes your theory proves himself your benefactor, since he gives you a better article than that which he destroys, in theology you can only look upon him as your robber, as your murderer, since he takes from you a treasure beyond price, and offers nothing but a worthless conception in exchange. It is true that this conception may suit the facts which you imprudently alleged in your defence, and suit them better than your doctrine; but what of that, if it does not square with the remainder of your creed? Your facts were in reality an after-thought; you value them as agreeable accessories as long as they will serve in the good cause, but your faith is justified on grounds quite different, is rooted in the comfort it has given you, in the hopes you rest upon it, in your craving for a personified ideal, and to attack that faith by a kind of evidence alien to itself, may cause uneasiness through inability to answer, but cannot really change your mind. The facts themselves will not be recognised by you. Facts are like those fishes which change their colour according to the ground which they swim over, and whosoever values them because they militate in the service of his God, will repudiate them with equal earnestness when he sees them in the service of the devil. In such conditions, therefore, discussion can only end in a dead-lock; each adversary will persist in his own view, and probably proceed to call the other names. Did not Bossuet declare of Protestants, that they were

"too narrow of heart, and too straitened of bowels," to discern the real presence of God in the Eucharist? There is but one escape out of such sterile angry controversy, there is but one road to mutual enlightenment and progress; it is to judge each question of positive knowledge for itself, without reference to its possible bearing upon doctrines, and to bring all differences of theory to the test of facts, as the sovereign umpire and arbiter of all.

There is another reason for which our present inquiry seems opportune. The doctrine of Free-will is the corner-stone of Christian orthodoxy, and by it most of our articles of faith must stand or fall. It is well to remind our readers of this connection, for it generally happens that Churches remain standing long after their rational foundation has mouldered away. Let it not be feared that such investigations, commended as they are by honesty and truth, should prove injurious to the cause of true religion; there is no greater error than to confound religion with the dogmas of its Churches. Religion (we mean the idealisation and contemplation of the Good) is imperishable; it springs, like a perennial fount, from the depth of human needs; the theological systems of each epoch are but the channels through which its waters are directed; and these succeed each other without end, like the river-beds and ocean-beds which at different times have furrowed the surface of our globe. The business of each generation is to harmonise, as far as possible, the expression of its religious sentiment with the progress of its scientific knowledge. Our time has much to do in this respect; the victories of the experimental method have been rapid, and the Church organisation, which, as in a process of petrification, accretes and hardens round each new religious germ, has for centuries deprived the Christian conception of its primitive adaptability. A great doctrinal reform has thus become desirable, and no observer can doubt that it is rapidly approaching. The signs are unmistakable; the disintegration of the old establishments is steadily progressing, and while one part of our society is already proclaiming its complete emancipation, and attempting to live without any religion at all, another part, driven into terrorised reaction, is abjuring evidence and reason to seek a refuge in authority. Neither extreme will draw the centre after it; the reign of ignorance and superstition will not return, neither will the mass of mankind succeed, at least as yet, in merging its accustomed hopes and aspirations in purely scientific interests. What the future vent of religious sentiment will be, whether we shall incline towards the conception of some Spiritualists, and find reason to believe in a hierarchy of beings usually invisible to us, whom we shall join at death, and



with whom we are destined to progress;\* whether we shall adopt Mr Herbert Spencer's worship of the Unknowable, or whether, instead of abstracting the nobler elements from man to clothe therewith an entity beyond us, we content ourselves with reverencing the ideal in humanity itself, and with seeking to enlarge the share of that ideal in our motives and our actions—all these, and many other issues, must for the present remain doubtful. Certain it is, at any rate, that our present orthodoxy will not stand, and that whatever creed the coming generations may adopt, they will have to discover for it some better basis than the puzzle of Free-will, or the cognate doctrines which have been raised upon it. This is what we hope to show in the ensuing pages, and we can do so without departing from our proper business as reviewers. Such writers as James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Professor Bain, and others, leave but little to glean after them; we must rest content with repeating what they have said, and with pointing here and there an inference. We hope, however, that this voluntary confession will incline our judges to indulgence, and that we shall be allowed the pleasure of stating the matter in our own words, without breaking the flow of exposition by numerous quotations.

2. It is not easy to anticipate, from the title of this celebrated controversy, what room it can afford for contestation. The freedom of the will, to uninitiated minds, is not distinct from the freedom of the individual, and nothing in this latter seems to favour a dispute. As Dr Johnson said to Boswell—"Sir, we *know* that we are free, and there's an end on't." Undoubtedly, we know that we are free, and no theory that did not recognise this fundamental fact could be worth a minute's hearing. Freedom is implied in every act of choice, and as the exercise of choice pervades our whole existence, as we cannot eat, or speak, or move without it, the consciousness of freedom must be all-pervading too. From every inch of ground we stand on, numerous roads are always branching forth, alluring us by their respective promises. We compare, we deliberate, we waver, we *decide*, feeling as we do so that we are shaping our own destiny, and will suffer if we shape it ill. So much is recognised by everybody, and we do not think that Dr Johnson's consciousness extended any further. But such freedom as this is the freedom of the individual; it suggests no reason for claiming any special freedom for the will. Nay, if such distinction were admissible, it is not easy to conceive what purpose it would serve. The

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\* We mention the Spiritualistic creed as one which has considerable chance of gaining ground, but we regard it ourselves as a deplorable delusion.

individual is free when he picks out his own course, when his actions are the exact expression of his preference ; his freedom cannot be extended beyond this were he the Deity in person, for God himself enjoys no greater freedom than that of doing whatsoever he may please. Our courts of law have never based their sentences upon the nature of the will ; they simply hold the individual responsible whenever it is shown that no compulsion was practised on him from without, and that consequently his acts may fairly be considered as an index to his mental, moral balance. You and I, in our daily comments upon character, proceed upon no other principle. When I say that I esteem Jack Robinson as truth-loving and honest, my thoughts are not directed to an outward shape of flesh and bone, but to an inner life of thought and sentiment, to a succession of emotions and desires ; this is to me what really constitutes the individual, and nothing else can be a proper object of my praise or blame. What I praise is the preponderance in the inner life of noble sympathies and moral preferences ; what I blame is the preponderance of selfish appetites. In every case I judge the inner balance by the outward act, to which, as I assume, it corresponds. All this is perfectly intelligible, until we introduce the will as a third element, when immediately everything becomes confused. If Jack Robinson (the inner man, the thread of thought and sentiment) be distinguishable from his will, then from which of the two do the outward acts proceed ? If they proceed from the will, there is an end to the individual, since I know the latter only through the acts ; if they proceed from the individual, what function has the will ? There is no escape from this dilemma ; whichever way we look at it, we are forced back from duality into unity. The individual and his will cannot exist side by side ; one of the two must give way to the other. We might propose, therefore, to the disputants in the Free-will controversy to compromise matters by altering a name ; for if we spoke of the freedom of the agent instead of speaking of the freedom of the will, all parties might be satisfied.

"No," the theologians would exclaim, "we can agree to nothing of the sort. There exists a freedom of the will quite independent of the freedom of the individual, and what is more, quite different from it. It is, in fact, a freedom *sui generis*, a freedom of a unique character, and the notions you derive from courts of justice can only lead you into error. The will is free because its action is *spontaneous*, that is to say, is absolutely undetermined by anything that has preceded it ; the will has no place in the chain of cause and effect ; it is disengaged from all necessity ; it is subject to no law."

"Excuse me," some reader may reply, "your proposition is so novel that I am not sure of hearing it aright. You tell me

that the action of the will is undetermined; but is not this a stretch of language on your part? Do you not mean that the action of the will is undetermined by anything *external to the will itself*? The human will, as you conceive it, seems to be an independent entity—a little man residing within man, like a squirrel in a cage, and pulling the strings which make the body move. But in that case, must not this mannikin have attributes, that is to say, have certain regularities of action? Is it conceivable that the will should act on Monday in a certain mode, which we may designate as A, and that on Tuesday, under precisely the same circumstances, the will should act quite differently? This change must surely be ascribable to *something*, either to some unnoticed variation in the external world, or else to some evolution in the will itself, for otherwise it would be absolutely inexplicable."

"Precisely," say the theologians; "the change remains inexplicable. We must accept this mystery as a necessary consequence of the freedom of the will. To explain a phenomenon means to refer it to some antecedent, or some group of antecedents, which being given, the phenomenon in question regularly follows. Thus, we should explain the lighting of a match by showing that phosphorus ignites always at a certain definite degree of heat, which heat may be produced by friction. The will, however, stands outside this category of phenomena; it constitutes an exception to the law of causation; it has no attribute save that of spontaneity; and, difficult as it may seem to reconcile this statement with experience, we must accept it as the indispensable foundation of our liberty."

"Pardon me again," the reader will resume; "you cannot surely mean to say that human actions have no reference to motives! When Robinson Crusoe climbed up into a tree to spend his first night on his desert island, will you affirm that his fear of wild beasts had no part in his determination?"

"Undoubtedly it prompted him, but he need not have yielded to the prompting. His will was undetermined; it might have counteracted the temptation."

"Then why did it not do so?"

"We have already told you that the action of the will is spontaneous, and cannot be explained."

We shall pursue this dialogue no further, for the position of the Free-will controversialists is already sufficiently elucidated. Our business is at present to account for it, since so extraordinary a tenet could never have been resorted to except on grounds of the most stringent need. What this need was, we shall easily discover. Very early in the elaboration of the Christian dogma, our theorists became aware of a terrible objection to their scheme.



Starting with the Jewish conception of a single God, and tempted by that potent fascination which the Infinite and Absolute have always exercised on human speculation, they had been led to constitute their Deity all-wise, all-powerful, all-good. Their craving for ideal unity carried everything before it, and for a time imagination had its feast. Every attribute which humanity had learned to prize was made to converge upon a single point, no matter whether it was contradictory with other attributes or not. The dual conception of a good and of an evil power was recklessly discarded; everything must have proceeded from a single benevolent Omnipotence, and consequently everything must have originally been good. Here, however, the Nemesis of speculative riots showed its head. If everything had been created good, then why had everything become so bad? The existence of evil was beyond all question; for in the first place, it would have tasked the boldness even of a theologian to deny it; and in the second, it played as essential a part in the new scheme as original goodness itself. The two, therefore, had of necessity to be conciliated. It may be asked why the problem had not forced itself upon the early Hebrews, but our space will not allow us any long digression. Suffice it to remind the reader, that Jehovah, in reality, was not the universal God. Doubtless his worshippers claimed for him the honours of creation; but they did so rather out of compliment to him and to themselves, than from any genuine belief that all men were equally his children. Much in the same way the Persians call their Shah the King of Kings, without supposing that he virtually reigns everywhere. Jehovah was essentially a party god, the military chieftain of a clan; his virtues and his vices were alike incompatible with the serenity of real omnipotence. Jealous of authority, exacting of homage, selfish, boastful, and revengeful, he was good to his own soldiers as long as they obeyed, and fertile in stratagems to help them in their need. He took little notice of the heathen, except to exterminate them at certain intervals, for his own glory and the benefit of his peculiar people. The idea of abstract justice was not likely to be troublesome under such a reign of favouritism and military violence; it could only become prominent when the monotheistical conception had been gradually developed to its consequences, when the moral perfections showered on the Deity had rendered it incumbent on his followers to justify his ways, and when the influence of Grecian thought had schooled the human intellect in philosophical consistency and abstract speculation. However this may be, the problem pressed upon the early Christians, threatening, Sphinx-like, imminent ruin and destruction. In this strait two different courses were resorted to, which gradually generated two great divisions in the Church.

The first, the more logical of the two, consisted in destroying the dilemma by cutting off one of its horns. The difficulty being to reconcile original goodness with subsequent evil, original goodness was suppressed. Adam was not created good; he was, on the contrary, fore-ordained to sin, and to draw his heirs into destruction after him. Some of these are redeemed, not for any merit in themselves, but simply because it is God's pleasure; the rest remain in their damnation. If we ask why this separation of the elect and non-elect takes place, or why God dooms the greater part of mankind to eternal torment, the answer is, that such is his will, and that he is responsible to nobody. "*Dieu n'a pas de comptes à nous rendre.*" Of this conception, which, as everybody knows, was systematised and popularised by Calvin,\* we have little to say, except that it will stand as a memorable record, to testify how much of the wild beast there was in man. It is logical in its ferocity. But logic is not always on the side of progress, and the theory of Predestination is a manifest retrogression, even as compared with the Hebrew scheme. Not only is the system of favouritism retained (the God of the Jews becoming the God of the elect), but it is aggravated by atrocious cruelty to the populations in disgrace. The Jews attempted to explain this partiality, and the attempt does honour to their feelings; they represented the heathen as abandoned on account of their idolatry, thereby at least suggesting as a possibility, that whenever these idolaters returned to the true worship from which they had backslided, they might obtain forgiveness and protection. They did not push their theory to the length of inquiring *why* the heathen remained in their transgression, and of asserting that Jehovah had himself ordained the sin, and excluded for ever the repentance. This odious consistency was reserved for Calvinism. The only wonder is that men (and good men!) should be found who, after making such an image of the Deity, should be willing to fall down and worship it. Were we to dream that children building figures in the snow had discovered a mode of endowing the snow man with the sense of pain; that they pelted him and

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\* The reader will understand, of course, that the doctrine of Predestination was not originally promulgated, as we represent it here, in the logical completeness which it ultimately attained. Such sudden ripeness would be contrary to all laws of development. St Augustin, and most of his successors, do not reject Free-will entirely, but they limit its application to Adam. Adam was free in the theological sense, his will was undetermined; but Adam having sinned, freedom was lost for his successors. We did not think it advisable to insist on these quibbles and shiftings. If the Free-will theory is untenable, it is as untenable for Adam as for anybody else; if Predestination is odious, it matters little whether one individual more or less be included in it.

tortured him for the delight of watching him in anguish, that they refined his sensibility in order to heighten their enjoyment, and laughed over each new cruelty as they invented it, should we not wake with drops of sweat upon our brows, and shudder to think that even in a nightmare we should have given birth to such atrocities? Yet the amusement of such imps would only last a day, an hour; imagine, then, what a Creator must be who never tires of his savage sport, but goes on torturing for ages upon ages, multiplying the number of his victims lest they should fall short of his requirements, and conferring immortality upon them in order that his ears may for ever be tickled by their howls! \* Well might Mr James Mill say that all ages and nations have represented their gods as wicked in a constantly increasing progression, and have gone on adding trait after trait until they had reached the most perfect conception of atrocity which the human mind can devise. We turn with loathing from the picture; logic itself would become hateful to us were it to lead to monstrosities so hideous.

The second mode of dealing with the problem was the doctrine of Free-will, of which an outline has been traced above. By this device, as it was fondly hoped, everything that is good in the universe might be ascribed to God, without ascribing to him the source of what is bad. The action of the will being absolutely spontaneous, God is not to blame if that action turns out evil. He is responsible for everything else, for in everything except the will there exists a link between the present and the past, each successive status being the consequence of the foregoing; but as regards the will alone, he is disengaged from all responsibility. The defence of this extraordinary conception was much assisted by contrasting freedom with so-called "necessity." It was urged that if man's actions constituted no exception to the law of causation, if every action were determined by the upshot of conflicting motives (just as in Mechanics the movement of a body acted on by divergent forces takes place according to the "resultant" of those forces), and if those

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\* It will probably be said that we misstate Calvinism, and exaggerate its horrors by representing God as torturing his creatures merely for the pleasure of so doing. But we reply that this is the sole and single motive on which his institution of eternal torment is intelligible. It will not do to say that hell is the necessary part of a grand scheme, and that the Creator, pursuing some great good, had no choice but to make a certain number of his creatures suffer. This charitable hypothesis might be acceptable in any other case, but it is useless here. *No compromise can be forced upon Omnipotence.* Whatever may have been God's aim, he might have attained it without instituting hell, had he not wanted hell for its own sake, namely, for the pleasure of inflicting pain. The cruelty practised by Omnipotence cannot be anything but wanton cruelty.



motives were themselves determined by preceding circumstances, man would be the slave of antecedents, and deprived of all voluntary action whatsoever. His motives, his actions would be all cut out for him beforehand ; he would be a link in a chain, a butterfly pinned to the wall ; he would be neither free nor responsible to his Creator. But consciousness emphatically repudiates such fatalism ; consciousness assures us both that we are free, as also that we are responsible ; hence the Free-will theory must be maintained, whatever difficulties may meet us in explaining it.

The refutation of these arguments is very easy, and might be given in the same breath as the arguments themselves. But we would rather draw the reader's attention for the present to the theological need which called for the invention of Free-will, and which is its real historical foundation, than to the verbal inaccuracies and *quid-pro-quo*'s which availed for its defence. The latter have been sufficiently exposed already, and by abler heads than ours ; our aim is chiefly to explain the doctrine as part and parcel of a memorable epoch, and replace it in the frame which gives it its real value. As a metaphysical imbroglio, the subject is of faded interest ; as a corner-stone of Christian orthodoxy, it still retains considerable importance.

We repeat, therefore, that the Free-will doctrine is an effort of the human intellect at bay, hemmed in between a stubborn fact and a still more intractable conception. While, on the one hand, the progress of philosophy and ethics had led men to expand the Hebrew notion of one God, until they had filled space with an ideal, not only of power, but of goodness ; on the other hand, the miseries of life pressed in upon them, and clamoured for explanation and relief. Relief in prospect was at any rate obtainable ; the immortality conferred upon the Deity had been soon reflected back upon his creatures, and a magnificent field was thus thrown open to rectify existing inequalities, and reinstate that felicity of the true worshippers which (as the latter naïvely supposed) must necessarily have been the Creator's first intention. Alas ! few men can rest content with blessings for themselves, unless they can at the same time have curses for their enemies. Accordingly, that future world which was to be of endless satisfaction for the few, was made to serve a twofold use, by endless torment for the many. How grotesque this conception of divine justice was, how utterly disproportionate a passing sin, however grievous, is to an everlasting penalty, we need not here point out ; our business is with the irreconcilability of evil and suffering in any dose, with the existence of an omnipotent and perfectly benevolent Creator. If God were willing that evil should be, he is not good ; if he was unwilling, then is he not almighty. We have seen the Calvinists in this dilemma sacrifice

God's goodness (a curious example of the principle that men are more fascinated by power than by goodness), while the adverse party sacrificed the universality of his government, by making of the will an independent sovereignty. Would it not have been simpler to sacrifice the Deity's omnipotence? Such is the conclusion which is beginning only now to dawn upon believers, after centuries of buffet with impossibilities. How obstinate and inflexible man's craving for the Infinite and Absolute, may well be seen by this example.

If only this Free-will fulfilled its purpose, some satisfaction might be had in clinging to it. But no, it cannot even do its preappointed work; it is a dummy stuck upon the breach, without the slightest power to repel assault. Admitting everything that Libertarians claim, we find them still as helpless as before. They neither save the first responsibility of a creation, nor do they justify God's subsequent displeasure. If he foresaw (as they expressly state) the endless misery which the creation of the will would lead to, then why did he create it? And furthermore, if actions do not spring from motives, what object can they be for praise or blame? They are, in that case, *unintentional*; they may indeed be hurtful still, or beneficial, but they cannot possibly be righteous or unrighteous. A lie is not wicked unless it be told with the intention of deceiving, that is to say, unless deception be the motive; a man who runs away from battle is not a coward unless he so behaves from fear of danger. It is a mere tampering with words to say that acts are influenced by motives, but not determined by them, since an influence which does not *contribute* to determination, but has no share in it at all, is virtually null. I may talk to the north wind till I am hoarse, but nobody will accuse me of influencing it. In whatever proportion we ascribe an action to the will instead of to the motive, in that proportion does the act become unintentional. Nay, the Free-will system is so utterly inapplicable, that even those who proclaim it loudest in their theory, abandon it in practice. Milton himself, in his "Paradise Lost," after stating at great pains that Adam was created free, "free to stand or free to fall," succumbs to the necessity, a few lines afterwards, of calling motives to his aid. He *explains* the Fall, whereas, if the latter had been due to a spontaneous action of the will, it could not be explained. Adam was guilty, because he preferred sharing the forbidden fruit with Eve to keeping God's commandment; he was guilty, because the conscientious motive, the desire to do right, did not outweigh the other motives. The temptation was precisely constituted by the circumstance which induced the clash, and revealed the temporary superiority of one set of motives to the other. But if the disobedience had no

relevance to this, if it afforded no clue to Adam's balance, then in what respect was the eating of the apple Adam's act? It was not his, the conscious being had no part in it; it was all done by a stranger within him, who happened at that moment (nobody knows why) to take upon himself the charge of Adam's limbs, but who was completely alien to all Adam's interests. The fall of man might have been just as well determined by chucking up a shilling and calling heads or tails.

3. If now we pass from the theological to the scientific point of view, the Free-will doctrine fares still worse. It has all the exigencies which could possibly be granted to the best theory, without performing even that small service which is expected from the worst. It separates the individual from his will; it claims for this will an anomalous position, dissimilar to everything in nature, opposed to what we see of human conduct; and all for what? for the sake of establishing a *mystery*! Truly, to go through so much to learn so little, as the boy said when he got through his alphabet, is hardly worth the while. A theory has no other end but that of explanation; if it cannot explain, it had better throw up the sponge at once, and declare itself unfit for work. A mystery must be our last resort; we must manfully repudiate it until we find ourselves completely beaten. Now in this matter of the will, explanation is not even difficult. Let us briefly recapitulate the leading facts, from whose conjunction it must spring.

Firstly, I am conscious I am free, and master of my destiny. I know that at each moment of my life, my course has been determined by my choice, by the conscious singling out of one step amidst many. At this very moment, as I write, I exercise my sovereignty; there is nobody to compel my hand, or prevent my laying down the pen. I do what I please. I manifest my preference.

Secondly, I am conscious that I am responsible. This is a corollary of the foregoing, it only means that I shall be judged according to my acts. My fellow-men will argue from my actions to my preferences, and regard my conduct as the index to my moral balance. Their praise or blame attaches always to the inner sovereign, the state of consciousness, but the latter is only knowable through acts. The fact, therefore, that moral judgments are in any measure possible, implies that acts proceed from motives, and are the upshot of their concourse or their conflict.

Thirdly, I observe in my own successive states of consciousness, as in the acts of those around me, certain regularities which we express by "tastes," by "habits," or by "principles," and the sum of which makes up a "character." One man pre-



fers gaudy colours, and another sober ; one man is saving, and another wasteful ; one man will uniformly sacrifice his selfish interests at the call of duty, another will commit mean actions for the sake of gain. In all these cases we can, from observation of an individual in the past, predict his conduct in the future, and the closer we observe, the greater number of regularities we find, and the more we are able to predict. If, walking in the street with Mr Pickwick, I see a child crying in the distance, I feel immediately assured, from previous observation of my friend, that he will presently stop to ask the reason of the child's distress ; and the event confirms my judgment. If it does not, I shall ascribe my failure to the neglect of some important datum in my calculation, some second regularity interfering with the tender-heartedness for children ; but I shall never doubt but that my friend's behaviour had its causes, and might have been predicted, if all the data had been duly weighed. The universal experience of mankind confirms this view, and all our social measures (exemplified in education, government, mutual reliance) have no other basis. Caprice itself, upon analysis, is not supposed to be an acting *without* motive, but rather an acting without *sufficient* motive, that is to say, without a motive which in ordinary reasonable persons would suffice. In certain unhealthy states of mind a very trifling circumstance may suddenly assume overpowering proportions, and determine an action which at first sight seems unaccountable. Thus a patient who has sent post-haste for a physician twenty miles away may suddenly refuse to see him when he comes, simply on learning that his name is Dr Fillgrave. In other cases, the determining motive is the love of contradiction, the wish to disappoint an expectation, or to puzzle an observer. A spoilt child may ask for a thing it cannot use, simply to test the extent of its domination over others. But all observers will agree that capricious persons may be "managed" just as well as others, and that the only difficulty lies in selecting the right chords, that is to say, in awakening the apparently remote and trivial motives which in a given state of mind will prove decisive. Here, therefore, is a case of legitimate logical induction, according to what John Stuart Mill has termed the canon of "Concomitant Variations," and we may argue that, since our power of predicting the conduct of a given individual in a given circumstance keeps constant pace with our previous knowledge of that individual, so if our knowledge could be made complete, our power of prediction would be complete also.

This uniformity, this explicability of human actions, is utterly irreconcilable with the doctrine of Free-will, which receives

thereby its final blow. Those who assert that the will is undetermined, are bound to give some proof of their assertion, by pointing out at least one category of actions which cannot be explained by motives. We may safely defy them so to do. Their usual answer consists in referring to those actions which are determined by our wish to move, although there be no objective reason for moving in one direction rather than in another. Thus Bossuet asserts that we feel our will to be undetermined, when, holding up our hand, we move it to the right instead of to the left, although we are not more attracted to one side than to the other. If action were solely determined by motives, then in cases like the above, where there are no motives, or where the motives exactly balance each other, action could not take place at all. The same argument has been stated in another form, by imagining an ass placed so exactly between two bundles of hay of equal attraction, that the animal would have no motive for choosing one rather than the other, and thus would die of hunger. Truly here is valuable evidence for such a theory as that of Free-will! The answer simply is, that our choice, in cases of equal attraction, is determined by our wish to choose. The fact that we turn our hand to the right is sufficiently explained by the wish we have to turn our hand, since we cannot turn it except by choice of some direction. However puzzling it may be to explain how the wish to move generates a motion to the right instead of to the left, it is not more puzzling on the hypothesis of a determined than on that of an undetermined will. On the contrary, as even in Bossuet's statement a motive is assumed (the wish to move), it is far more natural to ascribe the result to this antecedent than to ascribe it to none. Moreover, were we to concede all that Bossuet can possibly claim, namely, that the will acts spontaneously *in default of motives to determine it*, he would still gain nothing by the concession, since actions of this kind have no moral character. We are praiseworthy or blamable only when we act from motives, and here the grand fact of predicability stands fast. If Bossuet's individual were a pilot in charge of a steamer coming up the Thames, the motions of his hand to right or left would be perfectly predictable. Take whatever case you please of human collaboration: the performance of an orchestra, the manœuvres of a regiment, the working of a factory, and the *prima facie* fact is regularity. If the action of the will were spontaneous, why should the violin bows move up and down in such exact coincidence. These daily occurrences are inexplicable on any other theory but that of motives.

What then is this theory? The three fundamental facts just quoted speak so plainly for themselves, that nobody whose mind

is free from metaphysical or theological preoccupations will find any difficulty in co-ordinating them. The Self, the inner sovereign from which the act proceeds, and which is free *because* the act proceeds from it, is nothing more, at each successive moment, but a group of feelings. My notion of my Self is constituted by a summing up of all these groups or successive states of consciousness, just as my notion of my inkstand is constituted by the sum of different sensations which I have at different times derived from it, and which I should derive from it again, if I placed myself in the fit relations to it. When I speak of my Self as choleric, as tender-hearted, as a lover of music, I speak of feelings which regularly recur in my thread of consciousness on the application of certain stimulants. I *know* that in all the simpler cases these feelings or motives are the immediate antecedents of my acts, and in the complicated cases, where the concurrence of motives is so great that it is impossible to watch them all, I am not conscious of any other antecedents. What then is more simple and more plausible than to say that the act is determined by the resultant of all the motives, just as in Mechanics a body acted on by a system of divergent forces moves in the direction of the resultant of those forces? When I contemplate any given action, a number of motives arise in my mind, some of which are impulses, and some of which are checks. As long as the latter counteract the former, I hesitate, I deliberate, I waver; when the checks grow weaker, or are withdrawn, the action immediately takes place. Let us suppose, as an example, that a hungry child is presented with a cake. The first motive arising out of the circumstance in the child's consciousness will naturally be that of appetite, and if no other motive arises as a check, the child will take the cake and eat it. The cake, however, may happen to be of a peculiar kind or colour, and thus awaken a feeling of distrust, whether it be really good for food. Or the giver may seem in want of it himself, and the sympathy inspired by a fellow-being's hunger may prove stronger than the child's own appetite. Thirdly, the child may have been desired by its parents not to eat between its meals, and here the idea of duty will arise. Pride, or the unwillingness to be under an obligation to a stranger, may add another check, and any one of these, or all together, may so counterbalance the desire for food, as to hinder all decisive action. But the giver will generally distinguish what the chief obstacles to the child's acceptance are, and by removing them, prove his analysis correct. If it be distrust, he will take a bite out of the cake himself; if it be sympathy with his own need, he will produce another cake out of his pocket; if it be a conscientious scruple, he will either refer to the parents for permission, or



plead that such permission would not be withheld if sought; finally, if pride be the impediment, he will ask the child to render him some little service represented as important, and offer the cake merely as a trifling token of his gratitude. In the exact measure that he removes the check-motives, he will observe in the child's face the growing preponderance of the first desire, and at a moment, which it is quite possible to predetermine, the little hand will be stretched forth. Is not this a crucial test, and can anybody doubt either its practicability or its relevance? But truly we have no need to institute experiments. Let any doubter look into himself, and analyse those simplest of all cases, in which the motives are single or comparatively few. If the relation of the action to the motive is unmistakable in these, why should he suppose it radically altered when the number of motives is increased? If, standing in the Stock Exchange, we found ourselves unable from the roar and hubbub to trace distinctly what was said, should we doubt on that account that buying and selling were conducted there on the same general principles which we had gathered from observation of the smaller groups, or the quiet transactions between man and man? There is no better reason to doubt that complex motives determine action in the same general way as simple motives.

The objection of Necessity, which was sketched above, is chiefly based on an impropriety of language. Necessity is generally understood to imply compulsion, and compulsion is undoubtedly contradictory of freedom. But there is no compulsion in the fact that a man's actions are determined by his motives, since he and his motives are not two different beings, of which one domineers over the other, but one and the same being, as far as the present moment is concerned. A friend of ours, sitting opposite at dinner to an old lady of jocular disposition but of failing memory, used to amuse himself by saying to her at dessert, "Ah, Mrs Briggs" (with a solemn sigh and a shake of the head), "this is a wicked, wicked world!" The old lady never once failed to reply, "It's not the world, doctor, which is wicked, but the people that live in it." Now here is a case such as we alluded to above, a case in which the check commonly furnished by the memory having been removed, a given action could be regularly and immediately determined by a simple motive. Will any one maintain that Mrs Briggs was a victim to compulsion, because her little joke could be produced at pleasure, on the application of the proper stimulus? Evidently no. She was free because her action proceeded from her motive, and it is irrelevant to the question of freedom or compulsion to examine how that motive arose, and whether it was the necessary consequent, or not, of certain antecedents. Thus the predictability of human actions is compatible

with perfect freedom ; the latter hinges on the sequence between the motive and the action, whereas the former is secured by the invariable relation of the motive to the antecedents.

The imputation of Fatalism to the motive theory of action is equally ungrounded. Fatalism is the compound of a great truth with a gross oversight: it is quite right in affirming that a first state of the universe being given, the ensuing states are theoretically predictable; it is quite wrong in forgetting that human minds are essential factors in this calculation, and that the slightest alteration either in the knowledge or the wishes of a single individual would produce an alteration in the result. Fatalists usually imagine that the procession of events is not only regular but immutable; that even were a man allowed to read the Book of Fate, he would not be able to avoid the acts therein set down for him. But this amounts to the assumption that human motives, human knowledge, have no part in human conduct—a tenet which no Fatalist, however thorough, has ever carried out in practice. A capitalist invests his money in a certain way because he hopes to gain by it; he would not make the same investment with a certainty to lose. An immense majority of human acts are in the same predicament: they are performed in view of an uncertain future benefit, and would never be performed at all, or would be otherwise performed, were it known, by perusal of the Book of Fate, what their exact results will be. We shall not waste our readers' time by dwelling any longer on so obvious a mistake.

The root of the fallacy of Necessity, and of the general metaphysical obscurities in which the question has been wrapped, lies in the fact already mentioned, that our conception of Mr A. is built up out of a whole series of states of consciousness, which are all supposed (by a dangerous fiction of the human mind) to reside *potentially* in him. Mr A. acted conscientiously on Monday and Tuesday, in spite of temptations; therefore a power of acting conscientiously is supposed to reside in him. The real Mr A. (the present state of consciousness) is thus contradistinguished from the fictive compound of past states, and the former being regarded as a mere "accident," whereas the latter is the "substance," we feel indignant that the substance should be domineered over by the accident. In reality, however, there are not two Messrs A., but only one, the present; and the various powers conferred on him by virtue of past actions are only an injudicious mode of asserting our expectation that the motive which predominated on Monday and Tuesday will predominate again on Wednesday. In the same way, I may affirm of the lucifer matches on my table, that they have a *power* of igniting when rubbed on their box, thereby expressing my belief

that they will ignite in the future as they have ignited in the past, provided their state remains the same. But supposing the matches to grow damp, what becomes of their power? Shall I say that the matches could still ignite if they so willed? The "will" itself is as much a fiction of the intellect as "power;" it is an abstraction thrust in between the real antecedent and its consequent, between the state of consciousness and the ensuing action. Mr A. has the power or the will to act conscientiously as long as he is conscientious—that is to say, as long as in the different groups of feelings which at successive moments constitute Mr A. the motive of duty is predominant; but to say that the acts will persist the same when the state of consciousness has changed, is an absurdity, since in that case the acts would not be Mr A.'s.

4. We have now concluded what we had to say on the theory of volition, and might pass at once to its bearing on the Christian dogma; an easy task indeed, since our main conclusions have already been anticipated. But the occasion seems to us propitious to defer these applications until we have reviewed the cognate theory of Right and Wrong, with its correlatives Reward and Punishment, for which the foregoing considerations will afford us great facilities. Here, also, theological difficulties have been thrown in the way of scientific treatment, and the necessity of showing man responsible to a Creator, has strangely vitiated the simple explanation of man's responsibility to man. The latter task, however, is evidently the only one which can fairly be imposed upon us. The social relations existing between men are fact; as such we must accept them and analyse their consequences; the rest is merely a deduction from an unwarranted hypothesis which our previous discussion has shown to be disastrous and untenable. We have already dwelt too lengthily on the theological aspect of these questions to lose much time in repetitions; we shall merely show, as before, that the theological solution is no solution, that it leads to no intelligible scheme, but only to a riddle, and then immediately proceed to examine the subject on its natural and scientific grounds. We shall chiefly have to inquire how the notion of Right and Wrong originates, and how it is linked to that of punishability; how the human conscience comes to be developed, and why its dictates are unanimous on certain points, as well as why they vary from age to age and from race to race on others. The motive theory of actions will receive hereby a fresh corroboration, and we venture to promise, notwithstanding the necessary rapidity of our sketch, that it will prove, as before, an admirable dispeller of all seeming contradictions.

The foremost doctrine with which we have to deal is that of



an innate Moral Sense. Assuming the existence of a Deity, whose simple will is the unique source of Right and Wrong, it naturally follows that, if man is to be punished for disobeying the divine commands, he must, in common justice, have been previously informed of them. In what manner is this information given? Adam had it by a special revelation, and later revelations have been made from time to time, but these are never simultaneously vouchsafed to all men, young and old; and even if they were, the fallibility of human memory might sometimes cause them to escape. Accordingly, it is asserted that man has been endowed by God with a special faculty which from the cradle to the grave enlightens and admonishes; that this Conscience is innate, invariable, and universal; that the worst criminals possess it (or possessed it in youth before wilfully obliterating it) in the same degree as the most virtuous; that it not only enables us to discern the good, but powerfully inclines us towards it; and that, finally, the balance being thus disposed in the most favourable way, nothing remains undetermined but the human will, which, from its nature, must be “free.” If, after all these advantages, we still choose to transgress, Punishment is justified, not as an instrument for correction and amelioration, but as an end: Punishment is the necessary consequent of sin, and need serve no other purpose than the offender’s misery.

The sophisms involved in this defence have been exposed by one of the most celebrated champions of orthodoxy itself, and we cannot do better than refer to him. The doctrine is that of “*la grâce actuelle*” and of “*la grâce suffisante*,” presented by Pascal 220 years ago as inventions of the Jesuits, and demolished by him with that irresistible lucidity and that exquisitely humorous *naïveté* which have rendered “*Les Provinciales*” so justly celebrated. It has always seemed to us, however, that the Jesuits were rather hardly treated in this matter, and that, if their logic was defective, the moral sentiment which lay at the root of their endeavour entitled them to some respect. The Jesuits felt that the orthodox proceeding of sweeping everything to hell for Adam’s sin was indefensible; that the condemnation of a new-born infant could not rest upon a fact which happened long before its birth; that each successive criminal must have a trial of his own, and that before sinking for ever in the waters of damnation, some plank — perhaps some straw — must be thrown out to him, if the ways of God were to be justified to man. Acting upon this want, and endeavouring, as ever since, to conciliate rebellious intellects, and bring the straying sheep by hook or crook into the fold, they taught that an actual grace and a sufficient grace are given to all men; that, at the precise moment of each temp-

tation, God enlightens the offender as to what he ought to do, and furthermore, endows him with the necessary strength to do it; that hereby, although the sinner retains the faculty of choice, and may reject the divine aid, he has every facility afforded him for accepting it; and that, finally, if matters were conducted otherwise, the sinner could not justly be condemned, since being in a fallen state, he could neither distinguish the right course, nor find resources in himself to follow it.

Unfortunately (it is so hard to avoid flaws!) the Jesuits had to burden their theory with a supplement, and this supplement spoiled everything. As human nature is utterly depraved, and as every good thing comes from God, the righteous man who stands against temptation must so resist it by a special gift. What is this gift? It cannot be "*la grâce actuelle*" nor "*la grâce suffisante*," since these are given indiscriminately to all; let us call it, therefore, "*la grâce efficace*." But what! an efficacious grace into the bargain, by which alone we can withstand the devil? If this be so, why call the other grace *sufficient*? No more is needed for Pascal; his triumph is assured. He slips into the disguise of a simple honest gentleman unlearned in Church matters, walks himself almost off his legs by going about from one theologian to another, from a "Thomist" to a Jesuit, from a Jesuit to a Jansenist, and having by his child-like, unsuspecting questioning elicited the necessary confessions, he lays the contradictions bare in all their flagrancy. The only genuine retort which the Jesuits could have made, namely, that *some* covering was needful, whether good or bad, to make Orthodoxy decent, they were, of course, prohibited from giving, and so they contented themselves with slandering their adversaries on other grounds. But Pascal, in demolishing the doctrine of Sufficient Grace, demolishes as well the tenet of a Moral Sense, for any theological virtue which may be thought residing in it. If it be asserted, to vindicate God's justice, that every man has a sufficiency of Moral Sense to keep him good, then why does this sufficiency not operate? On account of the will? But we have shown already that the will is determined by motives. Moreover, the theological "free" will stands in the same relation to the Moral Sense as the efficacious grace to the sufficient grace; if the will is bad, the Moral Sense does not improve it; if the will be good, the Moral Sense is not required. One of the two, clearly, is superfluous. If volition be spontaneous, as Libertarians assert, it is a matter of supreme indifference whether the individual distinguish Good and Bad or not, since his knowledge and his inclinations have no share in determining his actions; if, on the contrary, volition be determined by motives, then it is absurd to talk about these motives as naturally good, while

admitting in the same breath that the will is naturally bad.

The theory of a Moral Sense is therefore useless in theology ; we shall presently see that it is equally unacceptable in science. It is evident from the outset that the position is unfavourable. The introduction into psychology of an element foreign to experience, and independent of those laws of growth which we see exemplified elsewhere, is a measure which at best could only be adopted with extreme reluctance, as a temporary concession to the difficulties of a special case. We might say, with a slight garbling of the poet's words—

"Each other faculty must learn its trade,  
The Moral Sense alone is ready-made."

Now what evidence is there for the assumption of such an anomaly ? Its supporters argue that moral discrimination is a power belonging to all mankind, that its exercise is immediate and instantaneous, and that the feeling of the authority of Right is totally dissimilar to any other feeling. But the universality of certain dicta of the human conscience is nothing more than what we may expect from the correlative universality of certain fundamental requisites of social life ; the immediateness of moral judgments (which is limited, moreover, to the simpler moral questions) is abundantly explained by early education and long practice ; while the difference of authority between the conscientious motive and the motives of expediency is no greater than the analogous difference we recognise between the so-called "necessary" truth of mathematics and the contingent truth of practical maxims. If the cogency of mathematical tenets can be traced to a uniform and exhaustive experience, so may the cogency of moral precepts. Besides, if we recur to a special intuition in order to account for those few points in which all moral codes agree, how shall we account for all the other points in which they disagree ? How shall we explain, for instance, that Slavery, which was looked upon as a divine institution not a century ago, is now looked upon as diabolical ? How shall we explain that the selfsame intuition declares revenge to be a duty in one country and a crime in another ? All this proves intelligible as soon as we take experience as our starting-point : with any other method it proves insufferably difficult.

Apart, however, from this question of origin and growth, the Moral Sense deserves attention in another aspect, as the generator of man's so-called spiritual life. It is impossible to deny that a contrast exists between the shifting play of human appetites and interests on the one hand, and the calm immutability of conscientious principle upon the other. While the personal



motives vary from day to day, according to the outward circumstances in which the individual is placed, the impersonal motives possess a fixity, an independence of externals, which seems to attach them to a higher sphere, and to scorn connection with the nether world. We must accept this contrast as a fundamental fact in feeling, however widely we may differ from theologians in explaining it. What is this duality in human nature which has been the eternal theme of moralists, and which has been so constantly connected by religion with a good and evil principle? When Socrates, for instance, describes himself as having been assailed in youth by vicious propensities of every kind, which he gradually succeeded in repressing, what are we to understand by this internal struggle? Were there two individuals in Socrates, or only one? Why should Socrates identify himself with one set of motives rather than with the other, and why should the former be called "higher" than the latter? How can a man be said to "subdue his nature" or reform his character? Is the man himself something different from his nature or his character; and if so, in what does he consist? A preliminary understanding on these points is indispensable before we can proceed.

The fundamental difference between the higher nature and the lower is, as we conceive, a difference of persistency. The state of consciousness which constitutes the individual at any given moment comprises feelings which differ from each other by the frequency of their recurrence: some of them are permanent, or nearly so; others are periodical; others, again, are accidental. It is natural, and within certain limits quite legitimate, to consider the permanent feelings as constituting what the scholastics would have termed the "substance" of the individual (his better self, his soul, his imperishable element); while the transient feelings are regarded as his "accidents." The latter, therefore, may be distinguished from the individual proper in our blame or our resentment; they are indeed his adjuncts, but "he" would disclaim them if he could; "he" knows them to be dangerous allies at best; "he" knows them to be frequently his enemies; "he" tries to fight and to subdue them, as we ourselves would do; and if "he" fails, he deserves compassion, since weakness is not a fault, but a misfortune. It is evident that this distinction between the essential individual, the nucleus of permanent feelings, and the individual's "passions," or the individual's "nature," may lead us into fathomless absurdities and mysteries if we use it unreservedly; but we repeat that it is legitimate within certain limits, and it lies at any rate at the bottom of the popular conception of responsibility. Our next inquiry must be, *Why* certain feelings are more susceptible

of permanency than the rest, or, in other words, what is the ultimate generating condition of Right and Wrong? Let us cast a rapid glance over the history of man's mental development, and note the circumstances by which it is determined.

In the earliest phases of existence the infant individual is purely selfish: he has sensations of comfort or discomfort, and he seeks (by what Professor Bain has termed the law of Conservation) to prolong the former or abridge the latter; but the outer world has not yet grown into distinctness for him. Presently, however, a differentiation in consciousness takes place; the external perceptions of touch, of sight, of hearing, are contrasted with the permanent undercurrent of existence, and a Not-self is gradually superadded to the Self. These perceptions, moreover, co-existing with painful or pleasurable states, contract with the latter an indissoluble link; the mother's loving tones, her gentle touch, her smile, become associated with well-being; while the harsher voice of reprimand, the threatening gesture, or the tap, connect themselves with suffering. To cut a long story short, the infant comes to recognise around him other beings, in whose existence he is interwoven, and whose satisfaction or displeasure, which he will presently infer analogous to his from the analogy of its expression, is a constant factor in his own condition. The same law of Conservation which ruled his first instinctive movements will now cause him to repeat those actions which give pleasure to his little circle, and discontinue those which are reprov'd. Affection will grow up (the desire for the being who promotes our happiness), and the child's attention will more and more be drawn from his own state to the external states which react upon his own. It is not necessary, although it generally so happens, that the pain of others should be translated into punishment and retaliation; the mere perception of it will be efficacious; the averted face, the darkened brow, will induce a sadder mood, and the brother's cry will occasion a sympathetic response. Herewith the sphere of sentiment receives a great extension; the child begins to feel indirectly, or through others, whereas, in the first instance, he only felt directly; and as the sympathetic feelings are obviously much more frequent than the egotistic, since for one occurrence which affects us personally there are fifty which affect our neighbours, we may expect them to grow in importance as the circle of our experience is enlarged, until they come to be the almost exclusive basis of our approbation or reproof. This participation in the joys and sorrows of our nearest friends, and the shaping of our conduct which immediately results therefrom, is the basis and beginning of morality. An isolated being can have no moral law; and hence there is instinctive logic in

those creeds which make of a Deity, supposed to have existed from all eternity in solitude, a monster of despotism and selfishness. The ethical sense dates from the origin of social life, and its development keeps pace with the progress of the latter. Doubtless this development will meet with many checks: the egotistic motive will often clash with the sympathetic, altruistic; and the interest of the more immediate circle—the family, the tribe—will be pursued to the detriment of the more general community. Still, as the advantages of fellowship and co-operation render the contact between man and man more intimate, and the call for altruistic conduct more persistent, the selfish impulses will gradually lose strength through reiterated check. To what extent the perfect triumph of the moral sense will be found compatible with the struggle for life and the necessities of Self, and whether the view taken by Mr Spencer in his *"Social Statics"* of the *"Evanescence of Evil"* is likely to be carried out by experience, is a question on which we cannot enter for the present.

When once by the child's earliest experience an association has been formed between the status of others and the status of Self (an association which we have only considered hitherto in its natural foundation, but which is greatly aided and abetted by artificial means, such as the institution of rewards and punishments), the mere idea of a forbidden act brings with it the idea of blame, of suffering, and a check-motive is thus tacked to the unwholesome selfish impulse. In like manner, the idea of ourselves performing certain other acts is associated with the idea of our being praised, and the happiness we derive from thus contemplating ourselves in good behaviour will be a strong incentive to carrying it out. Why are we moved by the recital of an heroic deed, if not because we take by sympathy the hero's place, and feel exalted by the idea of general approval, inseparable from the idea of noble conduct? And here we touch another point in our development. We find not only that we ourselves are praised when behaving in a certain manner, but that other children meet with like reward, and grown-up people amongst each other. We pass, therefore, from the idea of praiseworthy agents to the idea of praiseworthy actions, and the corroboration which this association constantly receives as the sphere of our observation is enlarged will contribute most essentially to our final generalisations.

"It is thus" (we quote from James Mill) "that men, born in the social state, acquire the habits of moral acting, and certain affections connected with it, before they are capable of reflecting on the grounds which recommend the acts either to praise or blame. Nearly at this point the greater part of them remain, continuing to perform moral acts and to abstain from the contrary, chiefly from the habit they



have acquired, and the authority upon which they originally acted, though it is not possible that any man should come to the years and blessing of reason without perceiving, at least in an indistinct and general way, the advantage which mankind derive from their acting towards one another in one way rather than in another."

A last stage remains to be considered : it is that in which our social experiences are generalised, and made to yield an abstract rule. We have already observed the beginning of this process : we have seen how a child, starting from the experience of increased well-being resulting to himself from the approbation of his parents, will connect the idea of himself in certain modes of action with the idea of happiness, and how, generalising this association by the observation of other parents and of other children, or of grown-up people amongst themselves, he will arrive at the complex notion of praiseworthy agents and of praiseworthy actions. There is but one step from this to the love of good actions in themselves, even should they not happen to be praised. The association of two ideas is always primarily derived from the association of two facts ; but when it has been so derived, it is more persistent than the latter, for the reason that in experience the two elements associated may be marred and blurred by a number of concomitant circumstances, whereas in our thoughts we abstract from all such adventitious interferences, and view the connection in its purity. Thus the action which recommends itself originally by the praise of our parents recommends itself next, as our circle is extended, by the praise of our friends, of our party, of our race, of humanity at large, until it recommends itself finally by the happiness we feel in contemplating it, and until we feel ready to perform it, even though, by some fatal misconstruction, everybody should condemn us for it. This love of moral beauty, of integrity, of goodness, is the most generalised form which the idea of praiseworthiness can assume, and as it is the most general, so it is also the most persistent, and the satisfaction derived from it the most serene. The indulgence of our selfish appetites is rarely free from bitterness ; our social needs are too deeply implanted in us through the helplessness of our first years, and too numerous and constant even in our subsequent career, to allow us to be really indifferent to the feelings and behaviour of our fellow-creatures ; and though the violence of egotism may for a time carry everything before it, the revulsion of satiety will generally ensue, and the remembered mutilation or repression of the more permanent wants will fill us with self-reproach and discontent. Man, being eminently social, can only be happy inasmuch as he acts socially. But this is not enough, for if he stakes his happiness on the favour of individuals,

however numerous, he will be exposed to constant crosses and disturbances ; these individuals may fail him, or may misconceive him, and like an actor who has been the public's favourite, he may one day find himself cheerless and abandoned. He alone who directs his course, not only from social motives, but from the highest generalisations of the latter, secures himself from such accidents as these, and tastes that tranquillity of happiness which is said to be bestowed by a good conscience. Thus the moral sense may legitimately be called our higher nature and our better Self. But when the triumph of the latter is complete, when the love of the praiseworthy has become a permanent and preponderant motive in the thread of consciousness, what matters it that the individual should interpret this love in one way or another, that he should call it love of God or love of man ? Is it not exactly the same force, acting in the same direction ? A certain bishop ventured lately to qualify as "twaddle" the belief expressed by such noble thinkers as John Stuart Mill, that the love of humanity, and the idea of its progress, might serve as a substitute for the incentives of the dogma. Our readers will judge on which side of the question is the "twaddle."

An important confirmation will be gained for the preceding sketch if we consider the analogy subsisting between the genesis of conscience and the genesis of other motives susceptible of permanence. The love of money, quoted by Professor Bain, is an interesting example to the point. The miser, at the outset of his career, values money only as a means ; his motive for acquiring it is the prospective enjoyment of the other things which money will procure. But as in this intellectual process money is a constant, invariable factor, whereas the objects which money represents are numerous and shifting, the idea of enjoyment associates itself with money, rather than with the desired objects themselves, and money comes to be loved for its own sake, quite independently of what it may do. If it be asked why in this case all men do not become misers, we answer that the fascination of enjoyment kept in prospect has in different individuals different degrees of strength. The child who has obtained a penny to buy a cake is generally beset by two motives of contrary tendencies ; on the one hand is the immediate indulgence of an appetite ; on the other is the ideal anticipation of that indulgence, an anticipation which can be prolonged, recurred to constantly, directed from the cake to any other article of equal value, as long as the moment of realisation is staved off. The upshot, we repeat, will be a question of temperament, and it is only when the child prefers the ideal indulgence to the real, that the first step towards the love of money in itself is taken. But what is instructive for our present inquiry is to observe how, by

the development of a motive susceptible of permanence, the conduct of the individual may be changed, how instruments are converted into ends, and how the former ends may then be sacrificed. It is thus that a miser may allow himself to starve sooner than touch his cherished money-bags: it is thus that a highly conscientious man may deliberately incur the reprobation of his neighbours, the punishment of his magistrates—nay, may confront obloquy and death sooner than run counter to that idea of the praiseworthy which was generated in him by that very society against which it is now turned.

The idea of Right, considered as innate, must be compared with those other ideas which have been so long considered as independent of experience. Why has our conception of Time, for instance, been referred to a peculiar constitution of the human mind? It is solely because of an unbroken regularity in our experience. Because we never have a sensation but what is followed by another sensation, we find ourselves unable to conceive a limit to duration, that is to say, to represent ourselves as existing at any moment which shall not be followed by another moment. Why have mathematical truths, such as the proposition that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, a cogency so peculiarly their own, a character of immutability and necessity which distinguishes them from other propositions? Again, the answer is that they rest upon an experience which is uniform and exhaustive. Because we can at any moment picture to ourselves the intersection of two straight lines, and pursue these lines in fancy to any point we please, convincing ourselves, by an inspection which we feel to be thorough and final, that no second intersection can occur, we attain here to a degree of certainty which is unattainable in ordinary cases of observation, and we declare, not only that the proposition is true, but that its contrary is inconceivable. It is unnecessary to multiply such instances, for the explanation always remains the same. The history of innate truths is a curious illustration of the German proverb, "*Er sieht den Wald vor Bäumen nicht*" (There are so many trees that he does not see the forest), for the very fact that a sensation is invariable in experience inclines us to believe that we do not get it from experience. No wonder, therefore, that a similar mistake should have occurred in Ethics. Undoubtedly the idea of Right has a peculiar character, a cogency which does not belong to altruistic motives in general; there is a fundamental difference between an act which we perform for conscience' sake, and an act which we perform in order to be agreeable to others, but the difference is no greater than that which obtains between contingent truths and "necessary" truths; it is sufficiently explained by the fact that certain rules of conduct are



invariably, universally imposed on us by social education, whereas other rules are merely local, transient, and subject to numerous contingencies. The rule of Right seems to be impersonal, simply because it is the rule of all persons, but its human origin will easily be recognised if we compare the conscience of one period or of one society with the conscience of another. Two centuries ago the English conscience imperatively commanded passive obedience to the sovereign, whatever the latter might exact; this duty, once paramount, has now passed away, together with the fashions of its time.

But although the doctrine of innate ideas is indefensible in its classical form, it is yet distantly related to a truth. We have seen that whenever in experience two sensations are invariably associated, there is a tendency in the two corresponding ideas to become inseparable. Now this inseparability must have its cause in some modification of the cerebral structure; some link between the brain-fibres must have been established by which the nerve-disturbance A immediately induces another nerve-disturbance B. This link, moreover, having once been generated, may become hereditary, just like any other feature of the physical organisation, and the association of ideas which has grown to be organised in the parent will thus prepare and facilitate in the offspring a similar association. This will be more especially the case if the experience continues to be the same, confirming, thus, in each successive generation, the hereditary predisposition which it got from the past. We cannot enter here on the discussion of this interesting view, which our readers will find ably developed in Mr Herbert Spencer's "*Psychology*;" a single example must suffice. When we approach an infant smiling in its mother's arms, and frown at it with an angry face, it turns away from us, evincing a desire to escape, and probably begins to cry. Whence comes this sensation of uneasiness and pain, attendant on the manifestation of our displeasure? The infant cannot yet know from experience what angry faces mean, or what the usual consequences are, heralded by the clenching of the fist; its impulse, therefore, is innate, caused by the association, from a time probably much anterior to the origin of man, of the signs of anger with the corresponding deeds. Such facts as these are a guarantee for the moral progress of our race, since the longer men continue in the social state, and the longer certain anti-social modes of action are constantly visited with reprobation, the more radical and innate will the connection become of wrong-doing with feelings of suffering and of aversion. For the rest, we need hardly point out that there is not the slightest incompatibility between Mr Herbert Spencer's theory and the

explanations concerning the nature of Right and Wrong which we have attempted to delineate.

Returning now to the conscience of the individual, it will be easy for us to determine what, according to the foregoing, the hierarchy of duties will be; or in other words, which of two commendable actions, in a case of contention, will take precedence of the other. Such cases of contention will evidently be very frequent. Thus we are told to be just before we are generous. But why? Plainly because the claim of justice is the more general and invariable of the two, because an act of injustice causes an infinitely greater disturbance in the social body, than an act of stinginess. As a more special case, we may take the story of the Arab, who, having granted hospitality to an unknown wanderer, discovered an hour later that he was sheltering his brother's murderer. In countries where there is no adequate police, the punishment of crimes must evidently be intrusted to the parties interested, viz., to the nearest relations of the victim, and hence retaliation becomes for these a sacred obligation. On the other hand, in countries where each man's hand may be lifted against his neighbour, it is absolutely essential that some sanctuary, some place of refuge, be provided, where a man, harassed and worn by the tension of incessant vigilance, may lie down in security to rest. Hence the inviolable rights of hospitality. Both these laws rest clearly on a fundamental social need; they come to be enthroned in the conscience of the individual through the protracted influence of public opinion, growing out of the general craving for security. Now in a case like that before us, which of the two motives will prove predominant? We answer that the balance will depend entirely on the individual's previous experience. The Arab in question decided in favour of hospitality; he allowed his guest to depart unhurt. And rightly so, for this short delayal of vengeance would not perceptibly encourage homicides, whereas a single breach of trust towards the guest with whom a host had eaten salt might do incalculable damage to the general reliance on hospitality. But let us not be understood to mean that the Arab's decision was founded consciously on this utilitarian consideration. Nothing, probably, was further from his mind; he acted simply on the strength of a conscientious feeling, to which, as the saying is, he sacrificed his personal resentment. It is only when we inquire *why* the conscientious feeling was in favour of hospitality, that we strike upon the underlying stratum of utility. The answer is, because the praiseworthiness of loyalty (and, conversely, the odiousness of disloyalty) towards guests had been established in this man's mind by the widest and most invariable experience;

because it was a generalisation of a higher kind than that of the praiseworthiness of vengeance. And this superiority, again, was based on the general immemorial experience of the community, each individual thereof concurring with the rest to brand an act which he had felt, either directly or sympathetically, to be his greatest enemy.

It will be seen by these examples that we look upon utility as the ultimate basis of the praiseworthy, and consequently, as the philosophical explanation of Right and Wrong. Professor Bain seems discontented with this theory: he claims that Sentiment, as well as Utility, has a share in moral codes, and points to the dislike of the pig, the consecration of the cow, the Brahmin's abstinence from animal food, &c., in support of his assertion. The evidence is undeniable, but it is perfectly compatible with Utilitarianism. All likings and dislikings are naturally tyrannical. The man who detests pork will not only abstain from it himself, but will endeavour to make his neighbours abstain likewise: if his aversion be an isolated case, its social action will be checked; if, on the contrary, it is shared by a majority, the exclusion of pigs will become law, and the original dislike will then gain strength from habit and the influence of the blameworthy. The only radical difference between such measures as this and measures of "utility," such as the protection of life and property, is that the corresponding sentiment is public and unanimous in one case, whereas it is personal and accidental in the other. All men resent spoliation; all men do not dislike pork, and even if they did, still, as their tastes would have proved pre-eminently variable on many other points, there would attach only a minor authority to the taste in which all men happened to agree. In general, therefore, Sentiment will not succeed in imposing itself as law, unless it is something more than a mere taste, that is to say, unless it is aided and abetted by some influence of a more general kind. Thus a disgust may find support in an utility; pork may be unwholesome as well as untempting, and its prohibition will thereby be facilitated. Thus, also, a practice indifferent in itself may be associated by circumstances with some national feeling, with the remembrance of an ancient bitter feud, with some religious idea, or with the prestige of some great legislator. At certain periods the floating moral perceptions of a community are collected and codified by an individual of strong personality and commanding influence, who imparts to his views of public utility the stamp of his own private tastes. Thus many characteristic details in the modern Quaker creed are owing to the fancies of George Fox, in whose mind they had doubtless been associated through the haphazards of experience with the idea of moral purity. Nothing in all



this is contrary to Utilitarianism, which simply claims that our ideas of right and wrong grow out of the fundamental tendency in every social being to regulate the conduct of his neighbours according to his own sensations of agreeableness or offensiveness. As the individual will be able to effect this only inasmuch as he is backed by his associates, it follows that the law will be the expression of an utility well or ill considered, that is to say, of a general mutual claim. The more unanimous and imperative this claim, and especially the more it is opposed to the selfish interests of the parties in whom it creates an obligation, the greater sanction it will receive through public opinion, and the higher it will be enthroned in the young conscience. For it must be noticed, that although a moral sanction has always a correlative utility (whether genuine or false), not every utility, conversely, generates a moral sanction. There are many public interests which may be left to take care of themselves, being sufficiently subserved by private interests. Thus, it is undoubtedly desirable that experiments should be made in chemistry, and that the discoveries to which they lead be published; but as this desideratum may be obtained by the unaided working of selfish aims, it does not enter into the ethical domain. But suppose a circumstance in which the coincidence of public and private interests does not exist: suppose, for instance, that a chemist should discover a certain article to be poisonously adulterated, and should hesitate, from a regard to his own profit, to make his conviction known, immediately his conduct becomes blameworthy. Conscience, therefore, is the guardian created by society to take charge of those general mutual claims which are at variance with selfish interests. And well it is for humanity that conscience has no "higher" origin, since experience leads constantly to progress, whereas intuition would be stationary. In proportion as social intercourse becomes more extended, the authority of local tastes, of accidental association, will become weaker and weaker, until the conscience of the individual, divested of all that is narrow, unreasonable, and superstitious, will enjoin such practices alone as rest on the basis of a genuine altruistic utility. In this sense, Utilitarianism is not only the philosophical history of past codes, but a guide to their improvement, a test whereby each man may learn to distinguish that which is secondary and transient in morality from that which is primary and genuinely human.

There remains for us now to notice the principal sophisms by which the natural conception of responsibility has been embarrassed. The theory of Punishment is implied in what we have said concerning the genesis of the moral sense in the individual and the genesis of legislation in the community, since the

endeavour of each social being to impress his requirements upon his neighbours, and thereby regulate their conduct, derives its efficacy from the threatened displeasure of that being in case of disappointment. Whenever this endeavour is collective, whenever the claim of the individual is reinforced by a similar claim on the part of all other individuals, the offender is met by a general social reprobation, translating itself, if the nature of the case permit, into a legal infliction, and generating in the young conscience a permanent aversion to the forbidden mode of conduct. Yet simple as the matter seems, a metaphysical puzzle has been introduced into it by that same doctrine of Necessity which we have had occasion to expose above. It has been urged that if a man's action in a given circumstance is determined by the motives arising in his thread of consciousness, and if these motives, again, are determined by their antecedents, the man cannot equitably be punished because his motives are not good. He has no power to evoke them or repel them. If the conscientious motive be deficient, he cannot help himself, he cannot struggle even for a moment; he is irrevocably doomed, however strongly we may assert that he is free. Such a case can only call for pity. A want of moral balance is not a fault but a misfortune, just like any other defect in the organisation. And indeed, what distinction can we make between a moral and a physical defect, if the one, like the other, be the invariable consequent of certain remote data. Criminals are no more responsible for their crimes than lame men are for halting, and the most that society can be allowed to do is to treat them medically in order to restore their health and prevent them meanwhile from injuring themselves or others.

The answer is that criminals *can* help themselves. We say that a man cannot help himself when his action is not the expression of his preference, as in the case of halting, because one leg is shorter than another. Here there is a genuine duality: the inner sovereign, the group of motives, is something different from the leg; and hence it is permissible to represent the former as thwarted by the latter. When we plead that the man is not responsible for his short leg, we affirm that no change in the man proper—that is to say, in the group of motives—would remedy the physical deformity. But this plea becomes nonsensical when we apply it in the defence of ordinary criminals. To say that a man is not responsible for his motives is to affirm that a man and his motives are independent of each other, and that a change in the former would not imply a change in the latter. The mistake is exactly the same as we found it before; it consists in representing an identity as a duality. It is clear therefore that criminals are not in the same case as lame men, and that the

disorder being different, the remedy must be different also. As in one case the surgeon treats the leg, so in the other the magistrate endeavours to act upon the offender's will. As the defect in the will—that is to say, in the state of consciousness which immediately precedes action—consists in the weakness of certain impulses or of certain checks, we immediately proceed to strengthen these. The principal means we have of doing so consists precisely in inflicting punishment, the remembrance of which, and of the suffering which it occasioned, will present itself in the offender's mind as a new check when a similar temptation recurs. We do not generally reason out the matter in this way; we simply feel indignant upon witnessing iniquities of certain kinds, and express our desire of retaliating upon the offender the suffering which he has caused us. But this reaction is so strong *because it is appropriate*—that is to say, because it is successful in experience. Resentment is felt on other different occasions; we feel it, for instance, when encountering the stupidity of a person whom we wish to convince; but as such reactions as these are far more variable in their effect, as in many cases they do not succeed at all, we gradually learn to repress them, at least within the bounds of irritation, and no strong mental association is cemented between the idea of the disturbing cause and the idea of retribution. In the case of moral obliquity, on the contrary, our indignation receives from experience its highest sanction, and the association of ideas becomes tenacious in proportion. It is for this reason that moral guilt and punishment are so frequently represented as inseparable in justice. Because resentment is legitimate in our little human circle, where it works in a certain beneficial way, we imagine that its commendability is absolute—that is to say, irrespective of its working. This is but one consequence more of that general psychical tendency to which we have already adverted, and which has led to the manufacturing of so many "necessary truths."

The grand fact of the predictability of human actions, erroneously interpreted as a law of Necessity, far from being incompatible with punishability, is, on the contrary, indispensable to it. Were the criminal to plead that he is only what circumstances made him, he would urge the very reason which makes his condemnation necessary. On any other hypothesis, such as that of Libertarians, punishment would be a wanton cruelty. If A stole a purse on Monday by the spontaneous action of his will, we have no more reason to expect that he will steal again than to expect that B will steal, whose conduct always has been blameless. We might just as rationally, therefore, imprison B *as A, since the only object, and the only justification of imprisonment, is the security of the community.* Furthermore, granting



that A, if left at liberty, is likely to commit a second theft, we could only treat him as we treat an insane person, that is to say, a person whose will we cannot influence by supplying motives. But if, discarding theological absurdities, we attribute A's misconduct to a state of mind which, being the result of circumstances, may through circumstances be altered, the infliction of suffering immediately is justified. We confine the madman in an asylum, because this is the only means we have of preventing the recurrence of his injurious acts; but whenever an educational measure is available—a measure which acts upon the balance of motives, instead of acting solely on the limbs, and conduces not only to the improvement of A, but, by the power of example, to that of other persons who may stand in need of a like check—this measure is evidently preferable.

The same motive theory of the will which renders punishment legitimate renders it also more humane. The more we ascribe the defects observed in an individual state of consciousness to antecedent circumstances, the more we may hope by education to remove them. The plea of Necessity, which we showed to be fallacious when urged against the application of any punishment at all, may yet be used to mitigate the violence of our resentment. We say of an offender that he was carried away by the impulse of the moment, that he was blinded by his passions, or led astray by his associates, and claim for him the palliating circumstances of bad example or of neglected early training. This brings us back to what we said towards the beginning of this section, concerning the relative importance of the different fractions into which a state of consciousness is divisible. The essence of the individual being vested in the permanent motives (which attain such permanence because they are in unison with the necessities of social life), the other fractions constituted by occasional motives, such as appetites and passions, come to be looked upon almost as outsiders, with whom the individual proper is at variance. Hence a delinquency will be judged very differently, according to the fraction of the individual to which it is attributed. If we can represent the higher nature as accidentally overpowered by its hostile subordinates, our reprobation of the act is compatible with sympathy for the agent, and we punish less in anger than in sorrow. We say, Our brother is not bad; the conscientious motive is not deficient; it is only under a cloud; let us co-operate with the offender in removing this cloud, and our brother will be restored to us. Indeed, this philanthropic view is constantly gaining ground by the experience that even when a criminal appears most irretrievable, some gleam of conscience and of altruism remains, which by appropriate sympathetic treatment may be gradually developed to

predominance. In a semi-barbarous state of society (and we fear that ours is not yet beyond the reach of the allusion) the correction of offenders is attempted too exclusively by supplying checks, whereas it is generally possible, and always more humane, to supply incentives. At any rate, it is this sympathy with the offender, pervading our condemnation of the offence, which distinguishes an act of educational discipline from a merely selfish act of self-defence. The theory of punishment remains in either case essentially the same; a state of consciousness having been recognised as anti-social on a given occasion, it is assumed that, under similar circumstances, the defect will reappear, and measures are taken, either to remove it radically, by supplying the deficient motives, or failing this, at least to impede the external manifestation of the disorder.

Our readers will remember from the outset that the nature of man's responsibility towards man was all that we undertook to analyse. The theological conception of man's responsibility to a supposed Creator is quite another matter; we admit without reluctance that its justification is utterly beyond our power. The conception, indeed, is borrowed from a rational conception, but it is divested of the conditions to which that rationality is due. Punishment, as a human institution, is warranted by our very helplessness, by the inability in which we are of producing, otherwise than through the infliction of suffering, that mental change in an offender which alone can render him compatible with the existence of his fellow-creatures. But what ground shall we assign for punishment when we suppose it inflicted by a Deity? Granting all the previous difficulties solved, putting aside the question of the origin of evil, putting aside the hypothesis of a Creator, still more so of an omnipotent Creator, and considering the Deity simply as a Ruler, what reason would he have for instituting suffering? Does he institute it in his own defence, or solely in the interest of transgressors? On either supposition the end might be secured by better means. The infliction of punishment is regarded as a defeat, even by our poor human educators; their business is to govern by developing the sympathies, by moral suasion, by the influence of high example, and in proportion as they fail in this, they give the measure of their incapacity. How much more, then, must severity be discreditable to a Deity? If our penal legislators find that it is possible to reform criminals, even when taken at maturity, if the progress of our civilisation has been marked by a progressive mildness in our codes, and if the duration of each penalty is being made, as far as possible, dependent on the offender's own behaviour, must we not expect a policy benigner still from God, who has the moulding of his charges from their

earliest hour, and who can act directly on their minds? If, with such an expectation, we turn to Christianity, our disappointment will indeed be great. Not one of God's punishments is educational; all have the character of wanton ferocity. They are neither made to depend on the offender's subsequent behaviour, nor do they exhibit any proportionality to the transgression; the code of Providence is infinitely worse than Draco's, since even death is not allowed to put an end to the transgressor's sufferings. Adam, having sinned once, is punished for ever; and as the punishment is maximum, whatever subsequent disobedience Adam may commit, he cannot deserve worse than eternal damnation. We might at least imagine that if this first infliction is not intended as a check on Adam's conduct, it is intended as a check on his descendants. Not at all, the maximum penalty is pronounced for Adam's sin on his descendants also! We shall pursue no further; the exposition of such a scheme as this is an outrage on the reader's understanding.

We cannot leave this subject without adverting to that popular misconception of punishment which pervades the Christian dogma. According to the Church, the infliction of punishment is justified by the bare fact of transgression, independently of the prevision of that transgression's recurrence: the theory of justice is the theory of equivalents; each infraction of the law has an equivalent in suffering, and justice demands that such equivalent be paid. We need not detain our readers by any lengthy discussion of this view; it is sufficiently refuted by the fact that purely accidental transgressions are *not* held to require punishment. Why? Everybody will answer that it is because an accidental transgression does not imply a reprehensible motive. But why is punishment attached to motives rather than to acts? Evidently because a bad motive, or a bad balance of motives, threatens society with a whole series of injuries; whereas a merely accidental act is sporadic of its nature, and authorises no prevision of its recurrence in the same individual. Hence, it is not the transgression itself, but the prevision of its recurrence, which legitimates punishment; only, as this prevision invariably arises in us, together with our perception of bad motives, we are apt to take no account of it in theory, and to reason as if punishment were legitimated by the bare existence of the motive, independently of the anticipations which are implied for us in that existence. For the rest, the theory of equivalents has a rational basis, only that basis is not punishment, but reparation. When a transfer of property has been effected in an illegal manner, as by theft, it is a matter of course that society, besides punishing the offender, will make an attempt to reinstate the injured party in possession. Whenever this is



not feasible, an attempt is made to restore an equivalent. Thus the man who kills the head of a family may be required to provide for the children whom his act has bereaved of their natural support. The ancient Germans, by carrying out this idea, had fixed the equivalent in money of every bodily injury inflicted by one citizen on another. It is easy to perceive how this conception of equivalents in reparation became a conception of equivalents in retaliation, and how, in cases where the law had not fixed a compensation in specie, or where such compensation could not be obtained, the injured party was allowed to take out his satisfaction in *kind*. Hence the Hebrew rule : an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But such justice as this, which simply ministers to the savage passion of revenge, could never have maintained itself, even in a barbarous age, but for the good which it worked incidentally by checking the recurrence of anti-social acts. It was educational in spite of the theory, and the theory was thus sustained.

Its crowning-point, however, deserves a special mention. When once the principle of Justice had been vested in the equipoise of transgression and of penalty, there remained but one step further to the notion that it was indifferent in Justice *by whom* the penalty was borne. The essential point being that the books should be balanced, it matters little to the chief of the establishment whether the deficit in the cashier's account be made up by the cashier himself or by any other party, providing only that it be made up. The scheme of Redemption thus becomes intelligible. As the greater we imagine God's majesty to be, the greater is any offence against that majesty, and the greater the equivalent of suffering which Justice must demand ; so God, being pronounced infinite, the offence and its equivalent must be infinite too. Man, being finite, could not make up the deficit : the intensest suffering which myriads of human riffraff could endure throughout eternity still fell short of the demand. To satisfy Justice, some other victim, therefore, was required—some victim whose innocence and transcendent merits should make his suffering of transcendent value. It can hardly be necessary to show what the inference from such a conception of legality would be, and how we ought to imitate the example set us from above. We should say to our criminals—“Look here, my friend, you have poisoned your mother and cut up your sisters ; your life has been one tissue of infamy, and I find you incapable of a single good thought. The Law cries for vengeance, and your miserable body is not enough for the executioner. You are too guilty yourself to make your suffering of any value ; but here is the best and noblest of our citizens—a man who deserves not obloquy and death, but happiness and

honour—take him, wreak your worst upon him, and then, when you have added this crime more to all the rest, the Law will be appeased, and bygones shall be forgotten.”

5. The results of the foregoing discussion will now be easily summed up. We must begin by dismissing, once and for all, the monstrous fiction of an undetermined Will, shown to be as unserviceable in theology as it is preposterous in science. No device can be thrust in between a Creator and his work by which the former can be cased of his responsibility. Whatever evil there may be in the Creation, its origin must lie in God, and not in man. The saying of Goethe’s, so beautiful in its simplicity—

“Hätte Gott mich anders gewollt  
Er hätte mich anders gebaut”—  
(If God had willed me different,  
He would have made me different),

—is the final sentence against the Christian scheme. If it be impossible for God to fail, then man must be exactly what God wished. If he was satisfied with his production on the seventh day, he must be equally contented with it now. He cannot complain, like a poor human workman, that his material was bad, or that a mischievous apprentice thwarted him. He made his own material, he made his tools, unlimited space and time were his, and nobody was by to interfere or to disturb. To pretend, therefore, that he is indignant towards his workmanship is to assert that he has blundered, and is irritated by his failure. Indignant otherwise he cannot be. He may be cruel, but his worshippers must not invoke Justice to palliate his cruelty; Justice has no relevance to what St Paul was pleased to call “the potter and his clay.” The potter makes some vessels to honour and some vessels to dishonour; but in the eyes of the potter each vessel must be good in its way.

The theologians who, like Calvin, are logical enough to accept this demonstration, take refuge in what they call the inscrutability of Providence. But this is only one example more of the verbal hocus-pocus by which men seek to stave off an inevitable defeat. If the ways of Providence be inscrutable, what right have you to call them “good”? You admit yourself, in the same breath, that you know not what they are! You may indeed reply that the ways of Providence are “good” by definition, that the Will of God is just, simply because it is his Will. But in this case the word “justice” has no meaning. When I say that my table is round, I predicate of my table a conformity to an external standard, a similarity in form to other things which are not my table, and my assertion can be made the sub-

ject of examination, and recognised as true or as erroneous. But if I choose to call my table "round" simply because it is my table, then my predicate "round" ceases to convey any genuine information, and the proposition is a play upon words. I might as well call my table "Mary," and my hearers would be just as wise. In like manner, when we say that God is just, we either mean that his conduct is conform to human justice, or we mean nothing at all. There is no such thing as "divine" justice, or "inscrutable" justice, any more than there is such a thing as divine roundness or inscrutable roundness. It is really time that such empty shilly-shallying should cease, and that clergymen, who are supposed to set an example of morality, should learn to refrain from a dishonesty of language such as the veriest pettifogger would not dare to resort to in a court of law.

Thus the Calvinists, after avoiding the pit into which the Libertarians fell, stumble themselves as fatally as these, only one step further on. They had undoubtedly the better of their rivals when they affirmed that, God being omnipotent, everything that comes to pass must be ordained by him. But they neglected the second inference from their position, namely, that God, being just, as well as omnipotent, everything that comes to pass must be just also. If Adam sinned by God's express design, how could the act be contrary to justice, that is to say, to God's own Will? How can God ordain what is contrary to his ordination? how can he commit an outrage on himself? The absurdity is greater (if indeed such a thing be possible) than the absurdity of the Libertarians themselves. The only logical consequence of Calvin's premises is Optimism. He ought to have declared, "*Que tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.*" It is a curious point in the history of human thought that the inference drawn was the exact reverse, and that the more theologians insisted that God was absolutely good, the more they insisted that his work was absolutely bad.

The incoherence of the Christian scheme is surpassed by its moral depravity. What are the motives attributed to the Creator for ordaining evil? He ordained it, as the theologians tell us, for his own glorification! His object was to manifest his majesty in justice and in mercy; his means was to create man; he created him miserable in order to show his mercy, he created him sinful in order to show his justice! Thus the incentive to Creation was *Vanity*, the inconceivably puerile desire in the Creator to dazzle the eyes of his own puppets! It was for this that he ordained eternal misery; it was thus that amongst men he gives life to those who in their mothers' womb are destined to inevitable damnation, in order to glorify his name



by their ruin! The climax is capped; we have reached that *ne plus ultra* of abomination which James Mill indicates as the goal towards which the dogma tends. It has been said that man creates God in his own image; the saying is a slander upon human nature. Man has never been as bad as God; the lowest savage would be revolted by the deeds which we attribute reverentially to the Almighty. Whence comes this strange amalgam in religion of the moral element with the immoral; by what mysterious affinity does the angel take a demon's garb? Why should the ethical perceptions of Jesus, so beautiful amongst all others, have incorporated themselves in a body of doctrine with which they were inconsistent from the first, and which has grown from bad to worse as the centuries rolled by? The explanation must be sought in that law of the human intellect, by which each theory is gradually expanded and carried to its furthest consequences. Whenever the primitive idea is sound, this evolution is a progress; whenever, on the contrary, the primitive idea is vicious, its systematisation renders its defects more glaring. The theory of a Deity is of the latter kind, since it attempts to combine the existence of a world full of imperfections and of suffering with the existence of a Creator who, in order to deserve our reverence and to realise our ideal, must necessarily be conceived as a *summum* of goodness and of wisdom. The result is inevitable: the ideal must become a monster. Logic, far from helping us, leads us deeper into the slough; the more we syllogise from the data of our untenable hypothesis, the more ungovernable do the contradictions become. The edifice being based upon the sand, the higher it is raised the more certain is its fall. Not so with the moral element of religion, for our moral conceptions being drawn from experience, are by experience perpetually corrected and improved.

Is it not marvellous, this spectacle of the rise and fall of creeds? As we glance back over the Past, and watch the piling up of doctrine upon doctrine; as we see man, exulting in his relationship to the Eternal and the Infinite, staking all his happiness upon it, fighting, slaying, burning in defence of it, reckoning the rest as nothing; as we contemplate him when he becomes aware of flaws in his aerial castle, and see him twisting, turning, writhing, racking his brains to consolidate that which is beyond consolidation, until at last he turns from his own fabric with disgust, and sets to work upon another—we hardly know whether smiles or sadness best befits the play. What is the dogma which the Future keeps in store for us? We cannot say; but we feel convinced that experience is the only source of human knowledge, and that every attempt to reach beyond, must carry in itself the germ of its discredit and miscarriage.

## ART. VII.—THE CIVIL SERVICE.

1. *First, Second, and Third Reports of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission, 1875.*
2. *Orders in Council, 27th February and 15th April 1795, 23d January 1799, 18th February 1801, 12th October 1803, 10th May 1809, 24th July 1817, 27th March 1822, 21st May 1855, 26th April 1862, 4th June 1870.*
3. *Calendars of State Papers.—Privy Council Proceedings.—Parliamentary Returns.*
4. *Parliamentary Estimates: Army, Navy, Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1850, 1856, and 1876.*

IN the article which appeared in our January number we traced the rise of officialism in this country, and the creation of our several departments of public business. For the origin of the Civil Service we turn to the statute 50 Geo. III. c. 117, which, for the first time in our history, gave the formal recognition of the Estates of the realm to persons employed in public offices. Until the passing of this Act these *employés* were simply private clerks to the Minister intrusted with the office, and in his service. They obtained pay for their work out of the fees which he received from such members of the public as had business with his department, and they were destitute of any public status whatever. The fees were formed into a Fee-fund. Out of this fund the Minister defrayed the working expenses of his department, and he retained as his perquisite any balance that was left.

For a long period of history the emoluments of Ministers were derived from poundage and the use of public moneys in official hands. After the abolition of these two sources of profit by the substitution, in lieu, of fixed salaries for the great posts of Government, the practice of exacting fees from the public stepped in to supplement the gains of office. The sale, too, of subordinate posts became a recognised source of revenue to a Minister; and it prevailed so universally, that the appointment by Mr Pitt of a person to the Clerkship of the Pells in the Treasury department, without acceptance of any purchase-money for the place, was a topic of universal comment at the time. Official simony, and the exaction of fees from the public, enabled a Minister to

increase his remuneration to figures materially in excess of the £6000 a year, which, upon the award of fixed salaries to members of the Government, was assigned as the stipend of a Principal Secretary of State. The emoluments of Ministers during the last century appear to have been profits commensurate with the importance of their posts ; and it may be supposed that their interest in the Fee-funds of their departments precluded any undue extravagance upon their clerical service.

The example, however, of Mr Pitt, who was absolutely incorruptible, checked the practice of converting ministerial posts into sources of revenue to Ministers. The practice, too, of exaction of fees from the public likewise fell off ; until at last, in the year 1810, it was found that Fee-funds were not always adequate to meeting the working expenses of certain departments. The statute 50 Geo. III. c. 117 accordingly directed that, "when any deficiency of the Fee-fund should be found in the offices of the Principal Secretary of State, of the Council, and of the Treasury," such deficiency should be made good out of the Civil List of the sovereign. The statute thus withdrew the *employés* in these offices from the personal service of their departmental chiefs, and it invested them with the degree of servants of the sovereign. To this statute we accordingly trace back the origin of the Civil Service.

The Act 56 Geo. III. c. 46 is, however, to be taken as the statute which first created a Civil Service of the Crown. The provisions of this Act were very remarkable. It drew a distinction between the retinue of the sovereign and the retinue of the Crown ; it identified the Crown of England as an institution, and it awarded distinct identities to the *personnel* attached to the First of the Three Estates, and to that attached to the Three Estates combined. It repealed the statute of 1810 ; and it directed that, for the future, any deficiency in the Fee-fund of a department, in lieu of being made good out of the Civil List of the sovereign, should "be made good out of any funds which may be granted by Parliament to defray such expenses ;" and, thus, it converted persons employed on the public business, who had originally been servants of the Minister, and afterwards servants of the sovereign, into servants of the nation. It assigned them an official status, and constituted them into a Civil Service of the Crown. And, finally, this statute placed the royal household under the authority of the Civil Service of the nation, which was thus created, by the appointment of an official to be Auditor of the Civil List for the fiscal control of the departments of the Lord High Chamberlain, the Lord High Steward, and the Master of the Horse.

The system of payment of subordinate *employés* in the several



departments out of Fee-funds was, henceforth, gradually suppressed by the award of fixed salaries to the officials out of the imperial exchequer; and the practice of exacting fees from the public was likewise abandoned. It was not, however, until the year 1836 that departmental Fee-funds were finally discontinued. The salaries of the officials in other departments had been previously placed upon the annual estimates of public expenditure laid before Parliament; but it was only in the year 1837 that salaries were, finally, assigned to the clerks in the offices of the two Houses of the Legislature, and placed upon the estimates in common with the pay of the other sections of the Civil Service. The era of the Civil Service may accordingly be said to date from that epoch. The year was an auspicious one, as it was marked by the ascent to the throne of the illustrious lady whose reign has proved the most orderly and the most prosperous period in the history of Great Britain.

It would appear from the statute of 1816, which created the Civil Service, that Fee-funds had ceased for some time to yield any profits to the chiefs of our great departments of State. The payment of salaries out of the imperial exchequer to subordinate functionaries led the way to the suppression of the practice of the levy of these vales upon the public; but, while it likewise stifled the practice of the sale of minor places by Ministers, it left them the valuable privilege of patronage over employment in the public service. It is somewhat difficult, in these times of the ballot and secret voting, to estimate correctly the full value of such a privilege to Ministers in enabling the Government in bygone times to purchase or requite influential supporters in the constituencies. There was nothing irregular in such a practice, nothing that could be reasonably objected to in days when seats in Parliament had a market value throughout the country, and constituencies could be assessed at fixed prices. If a pecuniary consideration could pass to a voter, why should not the consideration of a provision for life in the public service for the son of a voter pass to him equally for his support? The law itself ignores a gift; and it was only in riper times that the franchise came to be regarded as a trust and not a possession.

But, unfortunately, the creation of such a consideration came to be effected at the cost of the public. The devolution of payment of salaries from Fee-funds to the national exchequer led to the addition by Ministers to the number of *employés* in public offices for the purpose of increasing patronage. Every temporary pressure of work afforded a pretext for an increase of places, and their increase was not determined by a lapse of the pressure. No written law had placed the Treasury in authority over the Civil Service of the Crown; but, under the Commission's super-

vision of expenditure of public moneys, application was made to it by the various departments, upon any emergency or pressure of work arising, for permission to put on additional hands. If the circumstances appeared to warrant an increase of expenditure at the time, an addition was granted to the establishment of the department. If the applicant chanced to be afflicted for the moment with the weakness of modesty, or if the circumstances represented in the plea for the increase of an office did not appear sufficiently strong, in the eyes of the Treasury official intrusted with the regulation of such matters, to justify an increase of the establishment, Extra clerks only were asked for or were granted. The distinction between Established and Extra clerks would appear to have been that the former were rated in classes with progressive increase of pay, while the latter remained at their initial rate of salary until they could be placed upon the establishment of the office. Both orders were alike permanent. Subsequently, for the purpose of affording assistance under a momentary pressure, Temporary clerks were appointed; and they too, upon a favourable opportunity presenting itself, were added to the establishment. The patronage of Ministers thus extended, constituencies were conciliated. Everything proceeded smoothly enough, the Service of the Crown affording, as Mr Bright has put it, a system of outdoor relief to the poorer saplings of aristocracy, or, perhaps rather, a substantive definition of the value of the franchise in the constituencies which returned a member or a supporter of the Government to Parliament.

The Civil Service of the Crown became an epitome of the intellectual weakness of the nation. Families ennobled through law or trade deemed the public service a sphere of inactivity suited to their incapables, and gladly quartered them upon the national exchequer. Country manses eagerly got quit of their striplings to a certain provision by the State, and utilised every feminine influence that could further their aim to do so. Petty tradesmen in certain constituencies, known as Government boroughs, true to the principle of barter, made their electoral support contingent upon the promise of a place for some local hopeful with aspirations beyond the paternal counter. Even the oyster-dredgers of Queenboro', not unnaturally solicitous to secure a more comfortable career in life for their sons, exacted it in the public service from their nominees to Parliament.

This state of things proceeded upon the principle that nothing is given in this world for nothing. The service of the community became a close corporation, one into which admission was possible to a small section only of the public—a corporation of which little or nothing was known to the outside world. Matters, however, went on smoothly enough for a time; but the Crimean

War burst upon the country, and roused it from its lethargy.  
To its dismay the nation found

“*Scabros nigræ morsu rubiginis enses.*”

An impetus was given to inquiry into public administration ; and, as the result, “the collective action of the nation,” by a great measure of State, laid before the House of Commons, and passed on to the Throne, embodied in the historic Order in Council of the 21st May 1855, the solemn edict of the nation, that public employ should in future be the service of the country, and that the right to employment under the Crown should be, henceforth, vested in the community, and admitted, in the case of individuals, only in virtue of the possession of superior capacity and attainments recognised under tests applied by the State.

The measure was a wise and a statesmanlike act. For if State administration be the application of “the collective action of the nation,” it is both a peril and a discredit to the nation if “its collective action.” be not applied in the most intelligent, and in a perfect manner. The nation, consequently, acted in its own interests solely when it wrested employment upon its business from the patronage of politicians, and when, for the efficient performance of that business, it created a new career in social life, the career of service of the community.

And, to secure the most efficient service that the nation could command, it was naturally desirous of recruiting the most promising and the most intellectually vigorous of its youth into the ranks of its administrative staff. But high promise and intellectual superiority in youth require some test for their detection ; and the only test applicable for their discovery is competition between candidates for employment, a competition not literary only, but educational, and indicative of store of knowledge and powers of mind and application.

The Civil Service Commission was intrusted with the responsible duty of devising and applying a competitive test of this kind ; and the country has had every reason to recognise the ability and conscientiousness with which the Commission, during the twenty years of its existence, has fulfilled so responsible a trust. Under the auspices of the Commissioners the old practice of

“Grafting

The slip of coxcomb on the stock of fool ”

has received a check, in so far as the Civil Service of the Crown is concerned. In laying down this system of admission into the nation’s service, and inviting the most gifted and ambitious of its youth—for it is emulation that incites youth to competition—



to come forward to compete for public employment by right of proved superiority of parts and attainments, the nation surrendered a vested interest in their careers to the successful; and it incurred a reciprocal obligation for the intact preservation of the prospects offered to induce members of the community to win the right of public employment, *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

The Civil Service may, accordingly, be said to have been re-constituted upon a new footing from the 21st May 1855, the date of the passing of this Order in Council. The new constitution applied to all departments of the public service, and it established the relations between the nation and its servants upon a new basis. The Order in Council recognised a vested interest in their posts in all persons who were in the public service at the date of the passing of the Order; and it created a vested interest for each person who might hereafter obtain an appointment in the service, under the provisions of the Order, by competition at the examinations held under the authority of the State. And this vested interest extended to a right of protection by the nation of the positions, the standards of pay, and the careers that attached to the vested interests in existence in the year 1855, and were then held out to units of the community as the rewards to induce its youth to enter the service of the nation. The positions of civil servants have been till now respected. The standards of pay and the careers in the service appear to have been treated with less solicitude.

We find a salary of £80 a year quoted by an Order in Council of the 12th October 1803 as the initial rate of pay in that day of the clerks on the establishment of the Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department. A subsequent Order in Council of the 10th May 1809 appears, at the instance of Mr Canning, to have increased the salaries of the clerks in the office of the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "upon the principle of granting a special augmentation in consideration of length of service, and not of raising the fixed rate of salaries."

Until the year 1822, a clerkship in the Secretariats continued to be an individual post with a fixed salary; the holder attained to higher pay as he rose from a tenth clerkship to a ninth, from a ninth to an eighth, *et sic porro*. An Order in Council, bearing the date 27th March 1822, first assigned to the Secretariats fixed establishments with classes of clerks, who were henceforth to receive a yearly increment of salary until the *maximum* fixed for the class in which the *employé* might continue had been attained, in lieu of the fixed posts which had previously existed.

It would be impossible to trace the successive organisations of the staffs of our several departments of public business. The pay of the clerks in the office of the Lord High Admiral was originally defrayed out of his profits from poundage and the use of public moneys voted to the Navy. The remuneration of the Secretary to the Admiralty, originally Clerk to the Admiral, depended upon such portion as it pleased the Lord High Admiral to give his Clerk out of a poundage of 4d. on mariners' wages. The pay of the Secretary and the clerks subsequently became a charge upon the Naval vote, and the award of salaries to them was a departmental arrangement. The same remark will apply to the officials in the other warlike departments, as their pay was a charge upon the Army votes. The salaries of the functionaries in the General Post Office and the Revenue departments were charges upon the gross profits of these departments, and have only been detailed in the Parliamentary Estimates during the last twenty years. The year 1822 may, accordingly, be quoted as the date from which the system of rating public functionaries in classes, with yearly progressive salaries, came into operation for the Civil Service, under the authority of the royal Order in Council of the 27th March 1822.

The year 1837 has been mentioned as the epoch from which the era of a constituted Civil Service of the Crown may be said to take its date. Statistical science was unknown in that day, or was, at least, in its infancy. No records that can be relied on have survived to our time of the retail prices of articles of daily consumption at the commencement of the present reign, and it is, consequently, impossible to present any comparative quotations of such prices in the years 1837 and 1876. The economic effects, however, of the gold discoveries did not commence to operate until subsequently to the year 1850; and during the period between 1837 and 1850 it does not appear that there occurred in this country any marked increase of the prices of commodities, or any startling dislocation of relations between a fixed income and the expenditure of a household upon the necessaries of life.

We accordingly avail ourselves of a table of wholesale prices given in No. 1698 of the *Economist* (March 11, 1876), which starts with an average of such prices during the six years 1845-50, and quotes prices in each year in succession until the year 1876, the figure 100 being taken to represent the average of prices during the period 1845-50, and the prices in the successive years being calculated from that datum line. We extract from this table a schedule of prices in the period 1845-50, and in the year 1876.

YEAR.	Coffee.	Tea.	Sugar.	Tobacco.	Wheat.	Butcher Meat.	Cotton.	Silk—Raw.	Wool.	Indigo.	Oils.	Timber.	Tallow.	Leather.	Copper.	Iron.	Lead.	Tin.	Cotton Yarn.	Cotton Cloth.
1845-1850 }	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1876	183	100	67	256	84	153	107	87	133	130	116	123	120	147	100	125	131	99	123	111

A table of this kind, however, is no reliable index to any rise or fall in the retail prices of these commodities during the period that has intervened between the specified years. The number of middlemen between the producer and the retail purchaser has increased during the last twenty-five years; and it may, consequently, be assumed that the margin between wholesale and retail prices was much greater in the year 1875 than the margin which sufficed to cover the profits of middlemen twenty-five years previously. It is thus obvious that the ratio of a fixed income, say of £100 a year, to expenditure is materially less in the year 1876, when contrasted with the ratio of such an income to expenditure in the period 1845-50, than it would appear from this table. It is difficult to find any approximate measure of the two ratios. The safest and the severest measure that suggests itself, in the dearth of information as to retail prices in the period 1845-50, is the bank-note circulation of the United Kingdom, inasmuch as the bank-note circulation represents the greater or less abundance of money in the country, and abundance of money affects the value, both socially and practically, of a fixed income, say of £100 a year. In the table given in the number of the *Economist* to which we have referred, we find against the datum line of 100 for the period 1845-50, a bank-note circulation of 130 in the year 1876. It would consequently appear that the value of a fixed income has been depreciated 30 per cent. during the last twenty-five years, if the bank-note standard be accepted as an accurate measure of the values of a fixed income in the period 1845-50 and in the year 1876.

It may reasonably be assumed that a sense of justice to the nation precluded all undue liberality at the country's expense to the *employés* in our public offices at the final award of fixed rates of pay to Civil Servants from the imperial exchequer in the year 1837. The wording, too, of Orders in Council, and State Papers bearing upon the salaries of Civil Servants, indicates that the salaries were fixed at the lowest rates of pay that were consistent with enabling public functionaries to live in simplicity and yet maintain the appearance that is required of them. The



certainty of Government pay appears to have been discounted, as an element of value attaching to an official income, from the earliest moment of the nation assuming the payment of its servants, in the assessment of their rates of pay. The inquiry of the Commission presided over by Mr Playfair refers only to the subordinate *employés* in public departments; and it is the remuneration of these functionaries alone which falls within the scope of our observations in considering the Reports of the Commissioners.

The salaries of the *employés* in our several departments of public business do not appear in detail for the years 1845 or 1846 in the Parliamentary Estimates; and we accordingly take the salaries quoted in the Estimates for the year 1850 to represent the period 1845-50. The subjoined Table gives in detail the rates of pay received in the several departments in the year 1850, in the year 1856, which was the first year of the re-constituted Civil Service of the Crown, and in the year 1875, the figures having been extracted from the annual estimates laid before Parliament.

It would appear from this Table of salaries in our public departments that the pay of the officials in the two departments of warlike administration, to which the country intrusts an expenditure of (Admiralty) £11,288,872 and (War Office) £15,281,600 in the year 1876, against an expenditure of (Admiralty) £5,849,423 and (War Office) £5,996,847 in the year 1850, and upon which departments it thus imposes heavily increased responsibilities, have been reduced quite 20 per cent. Under such a state of things, the functionaries in these departments must look back with some regret to the days of poundage and Fee-funds. With a 30 per cent. depreciation in the value of a fixed income, and a 20 per cent. reduction of salary, an official can hardly be expected to derive much contentment

“Sotto l’usbergo del sentirsi puro.”

The pay of the *employés* in the office of the Privy Council, the supreme department of State administration, appears likewise to have been curtailed. On the other hand, with the process of disintegration of imperial rule by the surrender of self-government to many of our foreign plantations, the pay of the clerks in the Colonial Office appears to have been heavily increased at the cost of the imperial exchequer. And, upon the *sic vos non vobis* principle, the pay of the clerks in the Office of the Treasury Commission, the section of the Civil Service which appears to have assumed the duties of supervision and repression of expenditure of public moneys, has been likewise increased to the extent of considerably more than 20 per cent., although a

OFFICE.	1850.				1856.				1875.			
	Junior Class.	Senior Class.	Chief.		Junior Class.	Senior Class.	Chief.		Junior Class.	Senior Class.	Chief.	
Admiralty .....	£ 90—500	£ 500—800	£ ...	£	£ 90—500	£ 520—800	£ ...	£	£ 100—400	£ 400—600	£ 850	£
Do. ....	100—550	600—850	1000		100—550	600—850	1000		100—350	350—550	{ 650—1200	{ 900—1200
Audit .....	...	...	...		90—250	300—500	800—1000		100—400	420—750	775—900	900
Colonial .....	100—545	600—1000	1000		100—545	600—1000	1000		250—600	700—800	900—1250	900
Customs .....	...	...	...		70—200	210—290	300—350		80—240	250—350	380—550	350
Do. ....	...	...	...		100—230	240—300	350—450		100—270	280—400	420—550	400
Foreign .....	80—545	600—800	1250		100—545	700—1000	1250		100—545	550—1000	1000—1250	1000
Home .....	150—550	600—800	800		150—545	600—800	950		100—600	700—1000	1000—1200	1000
Inclosure and Tithes .....	...	...	...		100—300	300—500	800		100—300	300—500	500—1000	500
Inland Revenue .....	...	...	...		90—300	350—550	600—800		90—420	450—550	600—800	600
Paymaster-General. ....	80—350	350—450	550—700		80—350	350—545	550—700		100—500	520—800	800	800
Poor-Law and Local Government.	90—175	195—310	330		100—280	345—460	540		90—350	400—750	...	...
Post-Office .....	...	...	...		80—240	260—350	350—450		80—300	310—400	420—500	400
Do. ....	...	...	...		120—380	400—600	650		150—380	400—800	900	900
Privy Council .....	110—450	550—700	900		240—350	550—700	910		100—300	500—800	1100—1200	1100
Do. Board of Trade .....	90—300	300—500	800		100—300	300—600	...		200—600	625—800	...	...
Record .....	80—190	250—500	450		80—200	250—600	600—700		100—400	400—600	700	700
Registry of Seamen .....	90—220	220—300	500		80—270	270—350	400		85—350	380—500	500—700	500
Treasury .....	90—370	600—800	1000—1200		90—500	600—800	1000		250—600	700—900	1000—1200	1000
War .....	90—500	500—800	1000		100—500	520—800	1000—1200		100—400	420—600	{ 650—1200	{ 800—1200
Woods and Land Revenues .....	...	...	...		90—350	400—500	600—700		100—400	500—600	700—900	700

large department, the Audit Office, has been created under the independent authority of the Comptroller-General of the Exchequer for the discharge of most of the duties which formerly attached to the office of the Treasury Commission, and the latter has been relieved of the greater part of such other business, as formerly lay in its discharge, by the performance of such business for the State by the Bank of England.

If it be admitted that a 30 per cent. depreciation has occurred in the value of a fixed income during the last twenty-five years, there would appear to be reasonable grounds for an increase of official salaries with the view of keeping them at the standards of the pay of the Civil Service at the date of its reconstitution in the year 1855 ; but, if the principle be applied to some departments, it may reasonably be claimed throughout the service. It is, at least, difficult to understand the grounds for a 20 per cent. reduction in the pay of the officials in the warlike departments, with materially increased responsibilities to the public, and a 20 per cent. increase in the pay of the clerks in the offices of the Treasury Commission and the Colonial Secretariat, with diminished responsibilities, unless it is to be accepted as the ruling principle in the adjustment of salaries of the Civil Service, that increase of pay is to be awarded to a department of State administration in the ratio of reduction of public business. A *mensura juris vis* appears to have been assumed by the office of the Treasury Commission, and to be exercised in a somewhat eccentric fashion.

The work in our public offices appears from the First Report of Mr Playfair's Commission to be performed by superior officials—termed in the Report, under a confusion of ideas, Staff Officers—by Clerks, and by Writers. The two first grades constitute the Civil Service of the Crown. Now a Staff Officer is in reality an officer withdrawn from detail-work. The term Staff has come to mean a *comitatus*; and the term Staff Officers, in its modern use, signifies officers relieved of ordinary duties, and formed into an aggregate for special work. But the term Staff Officer implies no superiority of grade. A lieutenant may be an aide-de-camp, and as such he is an officer on the staff; but his grade is not higher than that of a colonel in command of his regiment and not on the staff. The term is inapplicable to a public department. In our prior article we have shown that the Royal Service has comprised the grades of Secretary and Clerks from the days of Henry VI., if not from the Conquest. This hierarchy of the Civil Service of the Crown thus dates from times in which the progenitors of those who would apply the terms of Principal and Assistant to the Civil Service of the Crown, and give the cast of a linendraper's establishment to a department



of State administration, were living upon acorns. With the growth of public departments, the grade of Clerk has been subdivided into the official degrees of Chief Clerk, Senior Clerk, and Junior Clerk, the two last-mentioned orders of Civil Servants being rated in classes under the system inaugurated by the Order in Council of 27th March 1822. The employment of Temporary Clerks appears to have been discontinued upon the reconstitution of the Civil Service in the year 1856. The nature of temporary employment is indicative of such employment being given for the performance of simply elementary work. With the discontinuance of the appointment of Temporary Clerks, it appears accordingly to have become the practice for our public departments to hire labour for the performance of simply clerical duties from a firm of law-stationers. The firm received the money from the hiring department, and settled with the hands which had been employed upon its work. This practice, however, was determined by the Order in Council of 4th June 1870, which inhibited the employment on public work of any person who had not obtained a certificate of educational fitness for clerical duties from the Civil Service Commissioners.

Notice appears to have been, henceforth, periodically given by the Commission that an examination would be held of persons desirous of obtaining such a certificate. The successful candidates were placed upon a register; and, upon the application of a department for clerical aid, the required hands were supplied by the Commission. They received the title of Writer, a term borrowed by the Commissioners from the India Office. The title was originally given by the East India Company to a class of scribes, who were employed in the great counting-house in Leadenhall Street, to distinguish them from the clerks who were the officials of the Company. The term was applied by the Company both to its home service and its Indian service, the officials in India being designated Civil Servants; and it appears to have been retained by the India Office after the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, and to have passed from the India Office to the Civil Service Commission.

A register of the Writers having been retained by the Commission, they appear to have been detailed for duty in the public departments at the discretion of the Commission. Their pay, however, instead of being issued to them at the office of the Commissioners, appears to have been issued to each Writer by the department which was employing him at the time. To this, perhaps, may be ascribed all the disaffection and agitation which culminated in the election of a Committee of Grievances by the Writers, and led to Mr Otway's motion in the House of Commons.

The First Report of Mr Playfair's Commission recommends the retention of the services of this class, but suggests the substitution of the title Copyist for that of Writer. Now the term Writer appears to be one that is exactly applicable to the service required of such persons. It has been in use, for the substratum of the most gigantic system of administration that was ever devised, from a period long antecedent to the days when Mr Playfair's distinguished father went out to India. It expresses more clearly than the term Copyist the duties that may be required of persons of this class, such as entry in a register of the departmental No. given to a paper upon its receipt in an office, and similar work, besides the simple work of copying.

The Commission seems to recognise the title of the Writer class to superannuation allowance in virtue of their possession of a Civil Service Commissioners' certificate. Mr Playfair defines such an allowance to be "postponed wages;" a somewhat incorrect definition of a pension, which is a reversion contingent on and during survivorship of a fixed period of service. "Postponed wages" accrue to the estate; any benefit of pension expires with the individual. The admission of such a title would appear to be not only a boon to the Writer class, but of advantage also to the public; as the concession would be the creation of a retaining fee for the call of the service of experienced Writers when needed, and for the good conduct in private life of persons in this class, whose services may only at intervals be required, so as to preclude any damage by individual misconduct to the character of their order.

The Report advocates the employment of Boy and Men Writers. The adoption of this recommendation would hold out every prospect to a Writer, who had joined as a Boy Writer, of working out the service required of him to earn a superannuation allowance, if the suggestion for the award of pension be likewise carried out. But, for the formation of a Writer class with a prospect of service to earn a pension, it is necessary that a muster-roll of the class should be permanently retained by some department of the public service; and, with a view to keeping Writers apart from the department to which they may be lent for such time as they may be required, it would appear desirable that their pay should be issued to them by the department which retains their muster-roll, and not by the department upon the work of which the writer might be temporarily employed. The cost of his hire would, of course, be recovered from the department which had employed the Writer, and form a charge upon the estimates of the expenditure of that department; but the issue of the pay of all Writers by a single department would enable it to keep

a correct muster-roll of the persons available for the duties required of the class, and a correct record of the service of Writers, to regulate the economy of the class, and to consolidate it into an effective substratum of the Civil Service. Any further questions as to the pay and prospects of Writers, and further agitation of their grievances, would be thus effectually precluded.

The Report, however, of Mr Playfair's Commission appears to complicate any grievances of the present class of Writers by advising the creation of a Lower class of clerks for the performance of duties hardly distinguishable from those of the Writer class, and composed, like the Writer class, of the two grades Boy and Man. The Writer class is to be an adjunct to the Civil Service; the Lower class of clerks is to form a portion of the Civil Service. The pay of the Writer may reach a maximum of 1s. an hour, or £93, 6s. a year; that of the Lower-class clerk may reach a maximum of £200 a year, or nearly 2s. 2d. an hour. The employment of the Writer is to be ephemeral; his eligibility for employment is to be acquired by his passing a test-examination by the Civil Service Commission. The employment of the Lower-class clerk is to be permanent; his status is to be a vested interest acquired by success in a competitive examination. Both orders are to be liable "to serve in any department of the State to which they may from time to time be appointed or transferred." To these two classes all the rudimentary work in our public offices is to be delivered over. The suggestions of the Commissioners, for the creation of two substrata to the Civil Service of the Crown, have been, somewhat precipitately, carried out by the Order in Council of 12th February 1876. The provisions of this Order appear to be mutually contradictory; and they conflict with the provisions of the Order in Council of 21st May 1855, and with those of the order in Council of 4th June 1870, and, likewise, with the Report of Mr Playfair's Commission.

Under the Order in Council of 4th June 1870, every person seeking employment as a Writer was required to obtain a certificate of qualification from the Civil Service Commissioners. It has been an open question till now whether, under the provisions of the Civil Service Superannuation Act of 1859, service to the public under the possession of a Civil Service Commissioner's certificate does not entitle Writers to pension. In the judgment of Mr Playfair's Commission, as implied by its Report, a right to pension may be claimed by the present Writers. If such be the case, all these persons stand upon a common footing; and if any of their number be absorbed into the Lower class of clerks, which alone is henceforth to be entitled to pension under the Order in Council of 12th February 1876,



the finding of the Playfair Commission is set at naught by the residue of their number being stripped of their right to earn a pension. Thus this Order conflicts equally with Mr Playfair's Report and the Order in Council of 4th June 1870, by sanctioning the admission of some of the Writers into the Lower class of clerks and the exclusion of others from its pale.

This provision of the Order of 12th February 1876 offends yet more against the historic Order in Council of 21st May 1855, which formally interdicted the future admission of any person into the Civil Service except through competition, and disqualified any act of admission by patronage. The provisions of this Order are reiterated and confirmed by that of 12th February 1876 ; and yet the latter Order in its context directs a violation of those provisions by sanctioning the admission of persons to be Civil Servants, in the Lower class of clerks, by selection from the Writers, that is to say, by patronage. The carrying out of the Order in Council of 12th February 1876 will, consequently, be the creation of a precedent for admission into the Civil Service by patronage, under which any future operation of the Order in Council of 21st May 1855 determines.

Apart, however, from the question of injustice to such of the present Writers as may be excluded from the Lower class of clerks, while others of their number are drafted into this class, and are thus converted into Civil Servants, the creation of two substrata to the Civil Service appears to be a measure eminently injudicious in every way. The mass of purely clerical work, required to be performed in the execution of public business, renders the institution of an effective substratum to the Civil Service a very desirable measure, both on the grounds of efficiency and economy. The present Writer class appears qualified in every way to supply such a substratum, and to perform every duty that should be required of it. Their enrolment in a corps, of which the muster-roll should be retained and the pay issued by a single department of the State, would consolidate their formation into a well-defined substratum to the Civil Service. A stimulus could be easily found for their zeal by the occasional award of additional remuneration by a department in which a Writer might have given long or meritorious service, and which would be a departmental issue to the recipient. Such a class of *substratified* Writers would answer every object of relieving the Civil Service of purely clerical work, and the *cadre* of a department of supernumerary Civil Servants.

The social castes of the two orders of Writer and Lower-class clerk, instituted under the recommendation of Mr Playfair, can

hardly fail to be identical. The two classes will be employed upon work which will be almost, if not absolutely, the same, and, at least, upon work in which they will fail to understand any difference. The carrying on of public business must necessarily entail the performance of a vast amount of clerical work. To divorce such work from the duties of Civil Servants is to cut away their training, and to annihilate their efficiency. The ablest officials, even if they be men of long service, upon transfer to the duties of a section of public business to which they may be strangers, usually endeavour to acquire a mastery of its details by passing through a course of the simplest work in connection with their new duties, until, having attained a thorough and practical acquaintance with the work, they feel themselves competent and justified, in their own interests, by the experience which they have thus obtained, to proceed to the direction of the public business intrusted to them. If persons of long official experience voluntarily resort to this system of self-training to new duties, it may be concluded that this method of acquiring efficiency in the discharge of public business is one that is specially adapted for the training of young men upon their entry on an official career. Administrative efficiency, that is to say, knowledge of detail and accuracy, is only to be acquired by such a course of training and apprenticeship for years to official business. Even in training to the practice of the law, both in its higher and in its lower branches, it is the practice to communicate facility and precision to the student by his employment for a time on elementary work. Official duties embrace a study of the law and practice of the department and their application to its business. A practical training to public business is, consequently, far more necessary for a Civil Servant than for a barrister or a solicitor; and yet the Report of Mr Playfair's Commission advocates the surrender of the work by the performance of which alone such a practical training and efficiency are to be acquired by the Civil Servant, who is to be intrusted with responsibility, to a Lower class of clerks, who are to receive an initial salary of £80 a year, and be advanced by triennial increments to a maximum rate of pay of £200 a year.

The admission of laymen into this Lower class of Civil Servants, for the performance of simply clerical work *in perpetuo*, and with such a modest rate of remuneration, by competition, appears to exaggerate the evil which our experience of twenty years of the application of competition to admission into the Civil Service proves to be an inevitable drawback to this system of obtaining Civil Servants. The struggle for existence, which grows fiercer daily in England, and the keen competition to obtain an opening

in life and employment of any kind, have already enlisted; even into the Writer class, persons who feel themselves wrongly placed in its ranks. The son of perhaps one of the highest officials in a public department is frequently to be found serving, to obtain employment, as a Writer in his father's office. A due sense of distinction between the subordinate officials of different grades serving under the father is thus destroyed, and discipline itself is sapped. If this be the case already, the danger to discipline is hardly likely to be checked by the creation of a class of Civil Servants of inferior grade, entitled by status to assert superiority over, but employed upon the same work as the Writer, whose father may belong to the Upper grade of the Civil Service. This, however, is a matter of internal organisation of a department, and may be obviated by a judicious allocation of *employés*. The evil of enlisting through competition into the Civil Service persons with culture and capacity too high for the work required to be performed—an evil which may result in the negligent performance of such work—cannot fail to be exaggerated by the creation of a low caste of Civil Servants, as, in the scarcity of appointments of the Upper grade, situations in the Lower class will be sought and will be won by superior men. An appointment won by competition, being a vested right, should offer such employment and such prospects to the holder as will preclude his considering it a college fellowship, and regarding it as a reward for past labour, and will be a guarantee to the public that the service which he will give will be conscientious and efficient. The creation of a vested interest, without such a guarantee, is a fine upon the community.

A liability to transfer to any department of the public service is fastened upon each person in the Lower class of clerks; or, in other words, all such persons are to be recruited for general service, and they are to form the rank and file of the Civil Service. If, however, any member of this Lower class of Civil Servants, while employed in a particular department, shall evince marked efficiency in its work, it is suggested by Mr Playfair's Commission that such an *employé* should be awarded a special duty-pay, which shall invest him with non-commissioned rank, but shall not enrol him upon the *cadre* of the department, or release him from liability for general service for which he was recruited. This suggestion of the Commissioners obviously springs from a very imperfect knowledge of the system upon which an army is organised. In the army non-commissioned rank is not given by pay, but pay is acquired by non-commissioned rank. A soldier holding a non-commissioned rank in one corps, if he be transferred to another corps, carries his rank and his pay with him. According to the scheme, however, of the Commissioners, one of



the rank and file of the Civil Service may, in virtue of his aptitude for the work of a particular department, acquire, while serving in it, non-commissioned pay and rank ; but he is to continue transferable to another department, for the duties of which he may have no aptitude, or in which he must serve as one of the rank and file before he can acquire the efficiency which may procure him the rank and pay which he formerly held elsewhere. Thus, while in the army a man can only be reduced from his rank and pay for misconduct, non-commissioned pay and rank among the privates of the Civil Service are to be held only temporarily, and are to be liable to forfeiture at any moment, under the liability of the holder to transfer to another department of public business. It is not for a moment to be supposed that a wanton injury would be ever done to an efficient Lower-class clerk by his relief of the duties which acquired for him non-commissioned rank and pay, and his transfer, without a public necessity, to some other department in which he would find himself less fortunately situated. But duties sometimes die out ; and it is to meet a contingency of this kind that liability to general service is rendered the condition of enlistment of recruits into the Lower class of Civil Servants.

A liability to mutual exchange is fastened upon all persons in this class by a strict proviso that none of the rank and file shall have any claim to go beyond a maximum of £200 a year in salary. But if a graduated scale of pay from £80 to £200 a year be awarded to the rank and file, it may happen that the surrender by a department of a man who receives £200 a year may lead to his being sent to a department for the work of which a man with the pay of £80 or £100 a year would have sufficed and been employed, if the man entitled to £200 a year had not been cast adrift. Thus the evil of overpayment for the class of work required to be given is perpetuated under the system of transfer of *employés* with a graduated scale of pay.

Under the proviso of a liability to general service attaching to the two orders of Writers and Lower-class clerks, it is necessary that a muster-roll of each class of *employés* should be retained by some particular department. Under the Order in Council of 12th February 1876, a roll of the Writers is to be retained by the Civil Service Commission ; but no proviso in this respect is made in regard to the Lower-class clerks, who are to be equally transferable. The legitimate duty, however, of that Commission is to test and ascertain the educational capacity of recruits for the Civil Service, and not to post men to departments or farm out hands. The doctor who examines a recruit is required to pronounce on his physical fitness for service ; and he might very reasonably object to being required to exceed his

province by supervising the posting of men, upon enlistment and throughout their service, to different corps. The Civil Service Commission was chartered for the examination of candidates for the Civil Service, and not for the regulation of the staffs of public departments, or the management of the supply to them in succession of interchangeable labour, or their relief of surplus hands. To the imposition of all these duties upon the Commission there lies the objection that any intermingling of duties, entirely distinct in character from each other, invariably entails a breakdown. Efficiency of administration is only secured by different duties being carried out throughout distinct channels.

It is undoubtedly necessary that a muster-roll of the two classes of Writers, Man and Boy, and one likewise of the two classes of the rank and file of the Civil Service, Man and Boy, if the Lower class of clerks is to be thus subdivided, should be retained by some one department of the State for the purpose of regulating the *cadre* of each class of *employés*, allocating them for service, and issuing their pay. A section of the Privy Council Office, as it is the fountainhead of all administration in this country, might perhaps be legitimately intrusted with these duties. They appear to have been delegated, under the provisions of the Order in Council of 12th February 1876, to the Commission which was instituted for the examination of candidates for admission into the Civil Service.

The Report of the Commission recommends that the privilege of competing for admission into the Upper grade of the Civil Service should be only conceded to an aspirant after he shall have successfully passed a preliminary test as to educational fitness at any one of four examinations which, the Commission recommends, should be held during the year in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. It offers no opinion as to whether, at such a competitive examination, the Oxford University system, of admitting to the list of passed candidates all who may have reached a fixed standard, should be applied; or whether the Cambridge system of pure competition and fixed *minimum* test should be adopted.

The most able administrator, perhaps, that the public service, imperial or Indian, has ever known—the official who, by virtue solely of his powers of mind, passed from local administration in India to place himself at the very head of imperial administration, much as the late Lord Lytton described Charles Dickens to have done, in the case of letters, in emerging abruptly from obscurity and placing himself at the very summit of English literature—has pronounced in unqualified terms in favour of the Cambridge system. The opinion of one so eminent, and so uni-

versally recognised within the official pale as the clearest intellect that has ever been brought to bear upon public administration in this country, as Sir Charles Trevelyan, requires but its mention to command support for the application to the competitive examination, for admission into the Upper grade of the Civil Service, of the system "of taking up to such a number as might be required those who obtained the greatest aggregate of marks."

The open professions offer far higher prizes than the Civil Service can by any possibility be made to do. The Service of the Crown can only be a career of security and of social distinction. The former will consequently always draft off "the flower of the youth of the country." But the application of pure competition to the admissions into the scientific corps of the army appears to have had the happy results of sparing "the flower of the youth of the country" to the open professions, and elevating the standard of the education of the officers of the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers to the requirements of their profession. These corps do not appear, upon a comparison of the Army List of the year 1876 with that of the year 1855, to have suffered from any depreciation in point of the social caste of their officers. The social degree of the youth who win admission into the Royal Military Academy appears to be the same as, if not superior to, that of the officers who held the commissions in our scientific corps when admissions into the Academy were by nomination. The intellectual vigour and culture of the officers of these corps have kept pace with the marvellous strides of science during the last twenty years, and the result of the application of pure competition to these corps may, consequently, be said to have been that it has led to the selection only of such minds for scientific military service as would be equal to every strain that it might cast upon them.

A similar result appears to have followed upon the application of pure competition to admissions into the Civil Service. During the last twenty years the State has assumed the administration of most of its business, in supersession of the obsolete practice of letting out the discharge of public business to farmers. A consolidated system of public administration has sprung into existence, and it appears to have enlisted into the public service a portion of the youth of the community who are in no way socially inferior to the *employés* who formerly filled the public offices, and who have at the outset of their career given sterling evidence of mental vigour and capacity.

Under the system of patronage these offices were to a great extent filled by connections of members of the Government, who in those times were more frequently members of the patrician order than



Ministers have latterly been. If, then, the Civil Servants of our day, who have won their careers by pure competition, be equal in social degree to the clerks to the Ministers of earlier times, and also equal to greater responsibilities than were formerly intrusted to the Civil Service, it is a fair inference that pure competition has succeeded not only in giving greater efficiency to the administrative staff of the nation, but in raising also the standard of education of the *haute volée*.

If it should prove further successful in filtering the youth of our upper classes through the Civil Service of the nation, and thus educating them practically for assuming in riper years the conduct of its business, public gratitude will be doubly due to such men as Sir Charles Trevelyan and Sir Stafford Northcote for having increased the efficiency of public administration and contributed materially to the higher culture of the upper strata of society. Such an aim, however, is hardly likely to be furthered by the adoption of the recommendations of Mr Playfair's Commission in respect to the pay and careers of Civil Servants.

It must be borne in mind that the title by which, under the system of admission by competition, a commission in the army and an appointment in the Civil Service are held, is one of proved superiority of parts and attainments under tests applied by the State. In the case of the soldiery, varied travel affords a scope for the development of their powers, and for the application of their attainments. In the Civil Service fixity of station and shortness of tether allow no such scope. Slowness of promotion and smallness of pay engender repining and discontent equally in both careers. Moving about the world, however, may wear away such feelings in one service. No such anodyne is within reach of the Civil Servant. The principle laid down by Gibbon for regulating the pay of the soldiery, that "with the military order, their modesty in peace and service in war are best secured by an honourable poverty," will not apply to the official.

A salary of £400 a year, after twenty years' service, with no prospect of advancement except under accidental circumstances, is hardly an adequate return for the outlay upon the education, the study, and the toil which won a man the first place of some ten or twenty candidates in a competitive examination for admission into the service of the nation, at least in times when far better pay and prospects are tendered by mercantile firms to clerks with any educational capacity as linguists or otherwise for the business of the firm.

This, however, is the *maximum* pay which, in the opinion of Mr Playfair's Commission, should be within the reach of the Civil Servant, with a possibility, or rather an offchance, of obtaining in addition duty-pay, the award of which to a Civil Servant

is an admission to him of his inadequate remuneration. The recommendation appears to be based upon a comparison made by the Commissioners between the hours of attendance in our public departments and the working-hours of private firms, and upon a further comparison of the description of the work performed in public offices with that of the work done in clearing-houses and the offices of railway companies, banks, insurance companies, and law-firms.

The Commissioners appear to have failed to learn, in the course of their inquiry, the standing law of the public service (a law laid down by supreme authority under the sign-manual of the sovereign, and daily applied), that official hours are not indicated by the hands of a clock. The whole time of a Civil Servant is at the command of the country, when required for the public service. The hours of attendance in public offices are generally fixed at 10 A.M. to 4 P.M., as sufficient, under ordinary circumstances, for the discharge of the current public business, and to fall in with the general arrangements of the community. The work of an official is not to be measured by his attendance on duty, but his attendance on duty is to be measured by the business which he is required to discharge. His service of the public is *in perpetuo*, until he is worn out and pensioned. It is only in the case of a daily attendance on service much and habitually in excess of the ordinary period of duty that, strictly speaking, duty-pay is justifiable, as such extra service effects, probably, the saving of the salary of another official.

The duties, too, of subordinate public *employés* in public offices will hardly admit of any comparison with the work of clearing-houses, banks, and similar institutions. Manual labour *per se* is manual labour, whether it be applied to making out a grocer's bill, a customer's bank-book, a lawyer's bill of costs, or a statement of the revenue and expenditure for the information of Parliament. Simple writing is the work of a Writer, and for its performance persons should be employed at the rates of pay given in banks and similar institutions. The position of a Civil Servant implies a certain degree of confidence in him on the part of the public, and a reliance by his superiors upon his conscientious discharge of his duty to the public. For an accurate measure of the pay which should attach to such a capacity, the Commissioners should have referred to the rates of remuneration which are but too gladly offered by business firms to any person whom they require for any post of trust, or one in which the firm must rely upon the integrity of the *employé*, rather than to the rates paid by clearing-houses and insurance offices.

Apart, however, from such considerations, it must be borne in mind that a person who enters the service of the private institu-

tions, to the business of which the Commission ventures to compare the application of "the collective action of the nation," is at the time of his admission barely lettered, and is only required to be able to read and write and know a little of figures. He receives his education for his work after he has passed into the service of his employers; and thus, for such work as he gives, he receives pay, and education which he intends to carry elsewhere. During the time that he is being thus requited for his service, he is ever on the watch for opportunities of engaging himself to rival establishments, or starting upon his own account, throwing over his employers, and wresting their business from them. Except in the case of utter incapacity, the *employé* in private service forces his advancement in countless ways, after having made his start in life without any immaterial capital of education, or any outlay upon its acquisition. The persons to be found at the age of thirty-five employed as clerks in banks and the service of law-firms are of the capacity and educational attainments of the Writer class in the public service.

A clerkship in a Government office is acquired by title of superiority of parts and education at the time of admission into the Civil Service. The *employé*, by the acceptance of his appointment, places his culture and his powers at the command of the community, to apply them in its service; and for his work he receives only pay, and not education and pay combined. He looks to advancement in life in the service of a single employer. It is a wrong to the community, and it is an injustice to the *employé*, if, in lieu of his powers being utilised in the service of the country, the career of work to which he has consecrated his ability and his knowledge from the outset of life be thwarted, and if he be compelled to consider his appointment as simply a place, or as a pension to youth for having toiled to acquire the education of its intelligence. A system of patronage may afford every facility for the creation of a system of life-billets for mendicants; the great Act of State of the year 1855 was supposed to have determined this practice of quartering them on the public exchequer. The result of the passing of that Act appears, so far, to have been the creation of a vast system of State endowments, as rewards to the youth of the country for having acquired mental culture which is to be only wasted, or at least to lie idle, in so far as the service of the community is concerned.

An official belongs entirely to the Service, quite as much as a soldier. The only excuse that can pass for his doing aught else besides his official work is the fact of his being compelled to resort to extraneous labour to enable him to procure the means of supporting his family. Under such a necessity, every apology may be offered for the *employés* who find themselves obliged to



resort to somewhat questionable expedients for eking out a very inadequate stipend from the State by keeping market-gardens, shops, coal and house-agency offices. Such practices have long been in vogue in what are called the East-End offices. The usual resource in West-End offices appears to have been to obtain directorships of companies, until the practice was checked by an inhibition from the Government. The report of Mr Playfair's Commission suggests the award to the Civil Service of an uniform rate of pay, commencing at £100 and rising by triennial increments of £50 to a maximum of £400 a year, with a contingency of extra pay in sums of £50, £100, and £200 a year for discharge of special duties, and a remote possibility of advancement to what is termed by the Commissioners a Staff appointment.

The object of the application of competition to the admissions into the Civil Service of the Crown would appear to be the enlistment of ability into the nation's service. The result of its application must necessarily be to recruit men of superior energy and capacity. Persons at the time of life of candidates are not, as a rule, foreseeing; and in general, they are somewhat straitened in means. Under the most favourable circumstances of an easy home, it is gratifying to a youth to have obtained a small independence in a Government appointment; and he may be forgiven, upon the plea of his inexperience, for not realising at the time that his future must prove a disappointment of the hopes with which, under the glow of a first success, he entered the service of the nation. The disappointment, however, cannot fail to be reciprocal.

Under the discontent which a sense of disappointment must engender, any utility which may be expected from the ability of an *employé* will be effectually marred. Compelled, by the scantiness of his pay, to resort to other work for the purpose of eking out his means, he will surrender to it the best of his parts and the most of his energy. Under his fixity of tenure of his place, he will consider the business of the public a secondary consideration, and he will reserve himself, in the main, for the private work which he will create for himself.

The mental calibre of the persons who win admission into the Civil Service by competition must necessarily render them more gamblers than gamblers. They will deem the uncertain contingency of the duty-pay, held out by Mr Playfair as a bait for their zeal in the public service, too speculative a gain for them to waste their days in idly discounting it; they will employ their energies upon matters that will yield a sure return; and, for an increase of their official income, they will rely upon a periodical recurrence of the necessity, under which Mr Canning

found himself, in the year 1809, of an award of "a special augmentation of salary in consideration of length of service." Duty-pay to an official, under the conditions of his career, is simply an admission to him of his inadequate remuneration. In recommending its award, the Commissioners advocate the commission and the perpetuation of an injustice by the State, coupled with an acknowledgment of the wrong to the *employé*.

The scheme of Mr Playfair, for the creation of two orders in the Civil Service, is one of reversion to the Indian system of a Covenanted and an Uncovenanted service. It retains for the Lower grade a brand of inferiority, while it concedes to that class all the credit that may result from competitive success—the fixity of tenure, the graduated scale of pay, the right to pension, and the status of a Civil Servant. The very pith and marrow of an efficient system of public administration lies in the inducement of a high tone and strong *esprit de corps* between persons in the service. The official who succeeds in maintaining discipline without asserting it, and who creates such an influence around him that his staff imperceptibly defer to his authority without his ever invoking it, is ever the ablest and safest administrator. A department of State should be an arena for the mutual cultivation of courteous relations by the *employés*, and, under their influence, of a spirited discharge of duties to the public. Government is a system, and for its effective working all its constituents should be in mutual harmony. Such an orderly state of things may be somewhat difficult of accomplishment if a public office be reduced to the level of a parade-ground, upon which distinctions of grades in the official hierarchy are to be intruded, at each step, upon the active discharge of public business.

Under the public system prevailing in Great Britain, as we have traced it in our prior article, it is indispensable that the high posts in the permanent service of the nation should be left at the disposal of the Ministers of the Crown. A Cabinet is indebted for its existence to its supporters in Parliament; and it must have at its command the ways and means of requiting its supporters. The superior appointments under the Crown, the Under Secretaryships of State, the Commissionerships, and the posts defined by the 22 Vict. c. 26 as belonging to the first class of the Civil Service, are fair prizes for the lower class of politicians, who may be wanting in the capacity or the ambition which alone can force a way to the great ministerial posts and the supreme control of administration. If any of these appointments be won by a member of the permanent Civil Service, the promotion must mark the possession of transcendent merit, as in the case of Sir William Stephenson, Mr Farrer, and other dis-

tinguished Civil Servants, who have early singled themselves out in the great battle of life, and proved themselves to be gifted with such high ability that it makes them tower above their order.

A sufficient flow of promotion to satisfy every wish and to stimulate all the zeal of the Civil Service could be readily devised by the application to it of the system of tenure of Staff appointments which has been adopted for the army, coupled with a modification of the Superannuation Act of 1859.

Until the year 1858 Staff appointments in the Military Service were held for life. The stimulus given to the education of officers by the adoption of competitive examinations for commissions, and the establishment of the Staff College for the higher education of the soldiery, led to a change in the period of tenure of Staff appointments. The number of highly-educated officers in the army became so large, that, with a view to affording them in turn opportunities of higher work and pay than are afforded by regimental duty, the practice of life-tenure of Staff appointments was determined ; and it was laid down as a law that such appointments should be held for a period of five years only, and that the holder, on expiry of his five years of service on the Staff, should revert to regimental duty and pay until an opportunity should offer for his translation to a Staff appointment of a higher grade than that of the one which he previously held.

The number of *employés* of high educational attainments and capacity in the Civil Service of the Crown is now so large that the application of a five-years' tenure of superior appointments appears an equal necessity in the Civil as in the Military Service of the nation. Corruption underlies stagnation. Under our present system of life-billets, which is a relic of the obsolete system of places created by patronage, there would appear to be little or no promotion in the imperial service, except under periodical reorganisations of departments, and the enforced retirement of the seniors by abolition of office, which is a very expensive mode of relieving the service of the aged and infirm. In the Indian Civil Service, the craving to return home acts as a strong incentive to retirement at the earliest moment that his pension is within the reach of the *employé*, and thus creates an ever-ceaseless flow of promotion. No inducement of the kind operates in the case of the Civil Service in this country ; and, as retirement is not compulsory at any prescribed age, an official, who has long risen to be the head of a department, may subside in harness from senility into the grave.

The provisions of the Superannuation Act of 1859 accord a recognition to different grades in the Civil Service by the award to them of extra years in addition to the service which may have



been given by the retiring official in the computation of his superannuation allowance. A pension is calculated at one-sixtieth of the pay of the post for each year of service ; and the maximum is limited to forty-sixtieths of such pay. Under Treasury interpretation of the provisions of this statute, a Civil Servant of the First class is entitled to the addition to his service of an extra period ranging from ten to twenty years ; a Civil Servant of the Second class to the addition of a period of seven years ; and a Civil Servant of the Third class to the addition of a period of five years.

The extension of this principle more generally to the Civil Service, if coupled with the abolition of the limit of forty-sixtieths in the award of a pension, would lead to a freer flow of promotion, and, if applied to Staff appointments under the condition of a five-years' tenure, would compensate the holder for the abridged enjoyment of his post. Thus, if £800 a year were rated as the *maximum* salary of the Civil Service, and every appointment entitled to a higher rate of pay were made a Staff appointment tenable for a period of five years only, but entitled to reckon seven and a half years for each such quinquennial period of service in the computation of the superannuation allowance of the official, a Civil Servant, who had given a service of thirty years in the lower grade and one of two quinquennial periods on the Staff, would reckon forty-five years towards pension, and be entitled to a retiring allowance of forty-five sixtieths of his pay of £800 a year, or to a total pension of £600 a year.

Having had the advantage of an official training and discipline, he would return to social life with the advantage, in addition to his pension, of having held a high position in the public service, and thus acquired a standing in the world. His age would probably be sixty, and he would consequently be at a time of life when he would be at the maturity of his powers, and qualified by training, position, and years to assume the management of private associations, and accept higher individual responsibilities and their advantages than he could ever hope to attain in the service of the public. Every inducement would thus be offered to him to retire, without retirement being made compulsory, at the age of sixty. He would be in receipt of the pension of a general officer of the scientific corps, he would have attained an official position corresponding to the military rank of a person who had entered the Military Service of the Crown, and his service would have been commensurate with that usually given in the scientific corps for the attainment of the rank and pension of a general officer.

It would appear that a flow of promotion that should satisfy the just expectations of persons who have won careers in the Civil Service as the rewards of competitive success under tests applied by the

State, can only be created by the assimilation of careers and prospects in the Civil to the careers and prospects in the Military Service of the nation. It is obvious that such a flow of promotion could be most easily effected by the establishment of clear hierarchies, in imitation of the Indian system, for the several lines of public administration, such as a fiscal hierarchy for all the departments of public revenue under the Treasury, a hierarchy for internal administration under the Home Department, a combined hierarchy for warlike administration by land and sea, a general hierarchy under the Department of the Privy Council for all other sections of public business, with the exception of the General Post-Office, which, being an institution of public utility rather than of revenue or State administration, may claim an administrative hierarchy of its own devising, and of the Foreign Office, which is but little more than a Record Office for our Diplomatic and Consular Services, and has been already converted into the headquarters of these services. The days of the Colonial Office are probably numbered. The confederation of our South African dependencies may possibly determine the existence of a separate Colonial Department of State; and, as history repeats itself, under a revival of the Order in Council of the 21st December 1675, the remnant of our Colonial administration may revert ere long to the immediate discharge of the department of the Privy Council.

The adoption of such a system of administrative hierarchies for the several lines of public business would further the views of some eminent members of the Civil Service who advocate a priority of claim on the part of their sons for admission into that particular department of public administration in which the father may have had a distinguished career. Their views, too, might further be met by the application to admissions of a department of the German system, under which a cadet, after having passed his examination and won his commission, is required to obtain his acceptance by the commanding officer of the corps which he wishes to join into its brotherhood of officers. The candidate for an official career would thus be enabled to elect, in the first instance, the line of public administration in which he would wish to serve. Having made his selection, he would present himself at any competitive examination that was announced for appointments in that particular hierarchy of State administration; and, having passed successfully, he would approach the chief of any particular department of that hierarchy, which he might be anxious of joining, to accept him in his office, and obtain the latter's acquiescence, before making his final election of his department.

The formation of such a system of administrative hierarchies

would, too, materially facilitate the application of the principle of rendering subordinate officials interchangeable. The initial salary and the rate of pay during the first ten years of service would be about the same in all the departments that would constitute each administrative hierarchy. A transfer of subordinate *employés* from one department to another could, consequently, be easily effected during the first decade of service, and would answer every object in view of economising the time of *employés*, as well as of affording them opportunities of acquiring experience.

A period of twenty years has now elapsed since the reconstitution of the Civil Service of the Crown under the historic Order in Council of 21st May 1855. The *employés* in our public departments who survive to the present time from a date prior to the reconstitution of the public service, appear to be the main obstacles to an effective reorganisation of public administration on a sound basis, and the creation of an orderly career for subordinate public officials. Advanced by length of service to the chief posts in the several departments, or disappointed of such advancement and left in humbler stations, with salaries increased by length of service to rates of pay possibly too high for the class of work performed by the holders, it becomes an economic question, though one easy of solution, whether a saving would not ensue to the public exchequer by the award of liberal rates of superannuation allowance to such *employés* of long standing at this period to induce them to retire from the public service.

A step of this kind would materially facilitate the carrying out of the reorganisation of the imperial Civil Service, which the Government has announced that it has in contemplation. The measure is one of practical statesmanship, one that the nation will see carried out with every sense of satisfaction. An enormous annual expenditure upon the administrative staff of a department, an expenditure obviously in excess of the legitimate cost of the conduct of public business, is a waste of the money of taxpayers, and one to which they may reasonably take exception. The gratitude of the country, as well as of the Civil Service, and the recognition of history will be the recompense of the Minister who can command the requisite energy and capacity to deal practically with this great question of State. The nation, now that its attention has been drawn to the subject by the agitation within the Civil Service, the discussions in Parliament, and the reports of the Inquiry Commission of 1875, asks—

τίς δαὶ θεός

Πολιοῦχος ἔσται; τῷ ξανοῦμεν τὸν πέπλον;

Sir Stafford Northcote has had a long and a practical experience of



the working of administration, and earned universal consideration and the gratitude of the community by the high ability and conscientiousness with which, in conjunction with Sir Charles Trevelyan, he broke down the old barriers that hemmed in the service of the Crown, and threw public employment open to the nation. Lord Hampton has had the supreme administration of the three most responsible departments of the State, and, having given sterling evidence of the ability of his stewardship of each, in the high degree of efficiency to which his administration succeeded in raising each of the great departments placed in turn under his direction, his acceptance of the post of First Civil Service Commissioner justifies every hope of his equally successful reorganisation of public administration. In addition to such a title to public confidence, Lord Hampton appears to have possessed the singular felicity of being able to win the personal loyalty of the staff of each department over which he has presided, and his acceptance of the duty of the reorganisation of the Civil Service is a guarantee to the Service and to the country that the success which has attended each stage of his illustrious career will receive a crowning finish in the formation of an efficient and well-knit system of conduct of public business.

But for an effective reorganisation of our public departments something more is needed than the simple adoption of the recommendations made by Mr Playfair's Commission after a very desultory inquiry into the circumstances of our public administration. The appointment, perhaps, of a Royal Commission to report fully to the Estates upon the present and the future of the Civil Service of the Crown would be the most effective step towards dealing in a practical and a vigorous manner with so momentous a question, a question that touches the pockets of the nation as well as affecting the future conduct of its business. It is time that a consolidated and clearly-defined system of public administration should be given to the country; a system that should offer careers to such units of the community as may aspire to the privilege of serving the country, and render that service an object of ambition to the most gifted of the youth of the nation.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

## THEOLOGY.

THERE is happily some slight evidence of progress in the theological literature of this quarter. While most of the works submitted to us for an opinion betray on their very surface a thoroughly partisan character, two, though tending in opposite directions, are written in the serene, critical spirit to which alone the mysteries of the past can be disclosed. These two works are Sir Richard Hanson's "Paul and the Primitive Church,"<sup>1</sup> and Mr Sanday's "The Gospels in the Second Century." Sir R. Hanson's former work, "The Jesus of History," showed a caution and sobriety too often wanting in those who approach this great subject. At the same time, there was a certain crudeness in his mode of treatment which reminded students of the history of theology of those German rationalists who preceded Schleiermacher. If we may adopt the famous distinction between *Vernunft* and *Verstand*, the "reason" and the "understanding," Sir R. Hanson was and is on the side of the "understanding." Of the force of ideas in moulding history he had then no conception, and if we may judge from the present volume, he has not yet risen to a higher mental position. We must, at the very outset, protest against the coarse attempt to persuade the reader "that the Christian legend has been unjust to Mary in describing her first child as having been born before marriage, or under circumstances which in any way impeached her chastity" (p. 37). It would really almost seem as if Sir R. Hanson had never read the most elementary works on the growth and meaning of myths. Certainly the experience we have had of late years of the way in which the legal mind regards the problems of Biblical criticism is not calculated to reassure us as to the boasted capacities of English intellect for the scientific treatment of history. We now proceed to give some account of this work, which, whatever be its faults, will serve to break up fresh ground, and to encourage independent inquiry.

We learn from the preface that the author is almost altogether outside the great movement of Continental criticism. Among the modern English works to which he is indebted, he mentions those of Professor Jowett, Dean Stanley, and Messrs Conybeare and Howson. Those who know the cautious and even sceptical tone of the two former writers will not estimate the stimulus he has derived from

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<sup>1</sup> "The Apostle Paul and the Preaching of Christianity in the Primitive Church." By Sir Richard Davis Hanson, Chief Justice of South Australia. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

their works very highly. Of Continental critics, he mentions with high praise M. Renan. "I have often felt," says he, "how often he has succeeded in placing in a clear light the nature of the questions raised by the history, and how far he has gone in furnishing the materials upon which the answer depends." He refers to "the late F. C. Baur and his school," but is apparently unacquainted with their works; indeed, it would even seem that he is not a reader of German. This is a very serious fault. Unless English critics will condescend to take notice of what has been written before, they will inevitably share the fate of all sciolists—rapid oblivion. We are not disposed to be hard upon the author for his meagre treatment of preliminary critical questions, as he concedes two of the main points, viz., the spuriousness of the so-called Pastoral Epistles, and that the Acts of the Apostles is written in the interests of Paul. It is not, however, quite clear on what ground he attaches so much weight in the sequel to certain parts of the narrative of the Acts. Chapters I. and II. are introductory, and need no detailed consideration. But we are surprised to observe (p. 55, foll.) a serious attempt to revive the notion that Jesus did not really die on the cross, but merely fell into a trance. The author's own contribution to this theory, viz., that the Apostles might have regarded such an escape as miraculous, is not worth much, and he thinks the supposition still an open one, "that the belief of the Apostles was founded upon an actual interview with the resuscitated Jesus in Galilee," &c. (p. 58). He adds, "That something occurred to produce the belief [in the Resurrection] is unquestionable, but the narratives we possess do not enable us to say positively what that something was." The author does not seem to see what is to be said for the Vision-hypothesis, which is now generally accepted among good German critics. Probably he has not re-examined the subject since his former work. This is much to be regretted, as no critic ought to mind confessing a change of opinion. One of the most crucial tests of a capacity for high critical questions is the treatment of the Conversion of Paul. Our author arrives at this point in his third chapter. We cannot say that he has passed the test successfully. He thinks that this sudden change in Paul's convictions was produced by a vision, and that this vision "was connected, either as cause or consequence, with some attack of illness" (p. 125). No psychological explanation is even attempted; nor could it well be, since Sir R. Hanson is of opinion that the doctrine of Paul was originally the same as that of the Jerusalem Church (p. 133). Yet how can Paul have believed himself to have seen the glorified appearance of Jesus had he not already been prepared on theological grounds to accept the Crucified One as the Messiah? The fact that the Epistles to the Thessalonians do not exhibit the especially Pauline doctrines does not prove that these doctrines were developed later (against p. 200, foll.) A characteristic specimen of the author's treatment of the sources will be found in the chapter on the Council at Jerusalem. He accepts the account in Acts as probably accurate in substance.



"We must attribute," says he, "to Paul the deliberate—or perhaps not the deliberate, for he is writing under the influence of strong feelings of anger, which might exclude deliberation—but the actual suppression of facts, which, in the interests of truth, it was his duty to describe" (p. 158).

"It is difficult to assign a motive for the conduct of Barnabas and Paul . . . in concealing the fact that Titus was not circumcised. . . . Barnabas and Paul could not but feel that they had bound themselves in the estimation of the brethren by their simulation, and must have been annoyed by its exposure" (p. 165). \*

Similar deductions from Paul's statements are constantly made on the ground of his feelings or interested motives. As the author remarks—

"A man who can term his adversaries dogs, hypocrites, evil-workers, false apostles, deacons of Satan—can accuse them of making a god of their belly, and glorying in their shame—and can curse them only because their views of the obligations of the law differed from his own—is obviously not a man whose estimate we can accept in judging of their motives or conduct. This statement of his own proceedings and feelings must also be subject to a corresponding doubt" (p. 431).

A work of this sort is not likely to be popular, but it will serve as a useful corrective to the more sympathetic reconstructions of the German schools. But the deficiency we noticed at the head of this article is its condemnation to the historian.

Before parting from Sir R. Hanson, let us notice an incidental reference in his book (p. 402) to Mr Sanday's "Authorship, &c., of the Fourth Gospel." He remarks that experience of political work in India would soon make Mr Sanday feel that the story of the trial of Jesus "was neither consistent nor intelligible; and further, that the circumstance that it was 'rich in details,' and in 'the finest shades of characteristics,' would diminish, instead of augmenting, its authority." This was worth saying, though Sir R. Hanson's own reconstructions of history seem to us often to justify the description given by Mr Sanday of one of them as an "arbitrary caprice." We are glad to see that in his new work on "The Gospels in the Second Century,"<sup>2</sup> Mr Sanday shows some incipient distrust of this argument from detail (see p. 347). We hope this seed of doubt will grow. It is an argument which would convert romance into history. This present work professes to be an examination of the critical part of "Supernatural Religion," and is stated to have been written at the request, as it is now published at the expense, of the Christian Evidence Society. The author, however, with a manliness which does him credit, stipulated for entire freedom in the expression of his opinions. That the work has gained greatly by this independence cannot be doubted. A mind open to conviction shines through Mr Sanday's critical discussions; and even his limitations are confessed

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<sup>2</sup> "The Gospels in the Second Century: an Examination of the Critical Part of a Work entitled 'Supernatural Religion.'" By W. Sanday, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1876.

with a candour and modesty only too rare among us. Many of the things said in the introduction are new and perhaps unwelcome, truths to both orthodox and rationalists alike. The connection of politics and theology, the contagious influence of party-spirit, are no doubt among the chief sources of the present low condition at once of politics and of theology. The necessity of a severe preliminary training for those who would write on theological criticism seems to be as yet unsuspected by the vast majority of theological writers and readers, though we fear that Mr Sanday himself has not an adequate idea—certainly the Cambridge professors, whom he so much admires, have not an idea—of the comprehensiveness of the training which the criticism of an ancient religion demands. With this remark we pass at once to the critical portion of the work, which is only secondarily an answer to “Supernatural Religion,” and has an independent value of its own.

After an important chapter on the characteristics of early quotations generally, Mr Sanday examines the early Christian writers in order, with the view of ascertaining their knowledge or ignorance of our or of any similar Gospels. Into these chapters, which are the germs of so many small monographs, we cannot, at such short notice, enter, merely pointing out those on Justin Martyr, the Clementine Homilies, and Marcion as specially thorough. Mr Sanday leans to the hypothesis that Justin used a Harmony. Chapter XIII. surveys the evidence for the state of the canon in the last quarter of the second century. Perhaps the most interesting passage in it is where the author sums up the evidence from textual criticism against the Tübingen theory, or any theory of a late origin of the Gospels—

“To bring the text into the state in which it is found in the writings of Tertullian, a century is not at all too long a period to allow. . . . If the whole of the Christian literature for the first three quarters of the second century could be blotted out, and Irenæus and Tertullian alone remained, as well as the later manuscripts with which to compare them, there would still be ample evidence that the latest of our Gospels cannot overstep the bounds of the first century” (p. 343. Compare the argument p. 231 for an early date of Luke).

Having within approximate limits established the date of the Gospels, Mr Sanday passes to the evidence derivable from early canonical authority. In the last quarter of the second century, and very probably before, the Gospels were regarded with the same reverence as the canonical scriptures of the Old Testament.

More than this cannot be expected of external evidence. The works of the early Fathers are not complete, and their evidence as to the date and authorship of the Gospels must necessarily be inconclusive. But the strongest argument for the historical character of the Gospels is that which they bear to themselves. The non-miraculous portions of the narrative “carry their truth stamped upon their face, and that truth is reflected back upon the miracles” (p. 348). It is needless to proceed further. Broadly speaking, Mr Sanday isolates the Christian records (see, however, p. 221); the author of

"Supernatural Religion" takes them in connection with their age. Mr Sanday is satisfied with having proved that the Gospels may have been written early; the anonymous writer he criticises demands for an extraordinary belief an evidence trustworthy at all points. The real kernel of the argument of the latter lies in a single sentence—

"The world is full of illustrations of the rapid growth of legendary matter, and it would indeed have been little short of miraculous had these narratives been exceptions to the general rule, written as they were under the strongest religious excitement, at a time 'when almost every ordinary incident became a miracle,' and in that 'mythic period in which reality melted into fable, and invention unconsciously trespassed on the province of history,'" (p. 482).

This position is not touched by a line of Mr Sanday's "examination." He has shown (as Dr Lightfoot has done before) that the anonymous writer is too forensic in his rules of evidence, and (as we have ourselves pointed out) that he has a strong negative bias. That writer cannot fail to profit greatly by the criticism of Mr Sanday, who has tacitly given him a lesson in that grave courtesy and forbearance which mark the scholar as opposed to the partisan. But Mr Sanday's criticism, keen and able as it is, has not seriously impaired the value of "Supernatural Religion" as a contribution to semi-popular theology. Certainly any deflection from strict impartiality is quite involuntary on his part. But that he has a pretty strong bias in the opposite direction to the anonymous writer cannot for a moment be doubted by readers of either of his two volumes. This appears not only in his conclusions—*e.g.*, he assigns the romantic and mystic Fourth Gospel to a disciple of Jesus and an ex-fisherman of Galilee—but in his insistence on the necessity of beginning the work of criticism in England *de novo*. Even Dr Kuenen, the ripest and most cautious of living Biblical critics, does not find grace in his eyes. He, forsooth! is a pioneer; so "instead of accepting the first crude results (!), let us wait until they are matured by time" (p. 10). Really Mr Sanday and the author of "Supernatural Religion" are both a little deficient in their knowledge of Continental criticism. Whatever Dr Kuenen may be, he is certainly not a pioneer. There is a difference, too, between revision and revolution. If each generation begins the work of criticism again, how are the higher tasks which await us to be accomplished? Mr Sanday's own point of view is that of Bishop Butler, "Probability is the very guide of life;" and with another Bishop (whose apology, is it not written in the chronicles of Browning?) he exclaims to free-thinkers of Christian origin—

"Where's  
The gain? how can we guard our unbelief?  
Just when we are safest there's a sunset-touch;

All we have gained then by our unbelief  
Is a life of doubt diversified by faith  
For one of faith diversified by doubt;



or, in his own well-weighed words—

“If we abandon these Macedonian methods for unloosing the Gordian knot of things, and keep to the slow and laborious way of gradual intuition, then I think it will be clear that all opinions must be held on the most provisional tenure” (p. 355).

And again—

“Beliefs which issue in that peculiarly fine and chastened and tender spirit which is the proper note of Christianity, cannot, under any circumstances, be dismissed as ‘delusion’” (p. 357).

There is a morbid delicacy about this frame of mind which reminds us of some of the eminent German theologians, whose work has so quickly melted away. We are, of course, at one with Mr Sanday in spirit. He wishes, and so do we, to retain for the race the best elements of the Christian character, but he forgets that fidelity to clear truths is the highest of virtues in a transitional time like the present. His theology is that of a quiet Anglican parsonage, not fit for the stormy weather outside; but his criticism, within a comparatively narrow range, is genuinely scientific, and we wish there were many like him, except in his paralysing provisionality. But will the Christian Evidence Society say Amen?

It is a noteworthy phenomenon that English conservative critics are beginning to study the works of their opponents in a more appreciative way. They are already insensibly becoming imbued with the critical, rationalistic spirit, and have begun to make concessions which necessitate a complete revision of the system of orthodoxy. The treatment of the Book of Daniel by Mr Fuller in the “Speaker’s Commentary”<sup>3</sup> shows a thoroughness of research which deserves all praise, though the embarrassment of the commentator is very obvious. It sounds rather strangely, when an official theologian proclaims that “in its present form the book possesses peculiarities of an internal character which seem to suggest a certain extraneous aid,” though, the writer hastens to add, “perfectly compatible with the recognition of its unity and authority” (p. 229). Thus it is that rationalistic considerations are insinuated in a work enjoying the special patronage of bishops and doctors of divinity.

The work of a kindred spirit is “Studies Biblical and Oriental,” by the Rev. W. Turner,<sup>4</sup> in which the results of cuneiform researches are applied with some success to the illustration of the Old Testament. The author (a Scotchman) is mildly orthodox, and believes in the historical character of the hero, Nimrod. His “Studies” on such subjects as Assyrian researches, Nimrod, invasions of the Land of Israel, Judas Iscariot, are in fact actual or potential review articles, and make no pretence to originality. We are glad of his aid in exposing the misrepresentations of Dr Kay on the subject of the decipherment

<sup>3</sup> “The Holy Bible,” &c. Edited by F. C. Cook, M.A., Dean of Exeter. Vol. VI. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets. London: John Murray. 1876.

<sup>4</sup> “Studies Biblical and Oriental.” By Rev. William Turner. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1876.

of Assyrian inscriptions, which we commented on at some length in our notice of the last volume but one of the "Speaker's Commentary." Mr Turner, however, is himself deficient in intellectual veracity, or else has lived among very disagreeable people; for he assumes that to "refuse the divine authority of the Bible," is to be "dead to its spiritual excellency," and that the historical books of the Old Testament, even when based on the Jewish chronicles, are still to "some minds" more or less "hazy, uncertain, mythical." He himself is an optimist, for he has evidently no suspicion that Assyrian researches may turn, or even have already turned, against the historical accuracy of parts of the Old Testament. Still, jesting apart, there are no two recent orthodox critics who have taken such pains to acquaint themselves with the facts of Assyriology as Messrs Fuller and Turner. The latter has also a well-timed sceptical examination of Brugsch Bey's highly ingenious, though as yet not proven hypothesis, that the Israelites crossed, not the Red Sea, but the Sirbonian Lake,

"Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk."

Dr Inman's pathetic preface would of itself disarm criticism. But his work on "Ancient Faiths and Modern"<sup>5</sup> really contains a number of accurate and important facts, calculated to lead the reader to a more historical estimate of Christianity. We are no admirers of his former work on "Ancient Faiths Embodied in Ancient Names," in which he commits as many acts of treason against philology as there are pages in the book. The present work is, happily, not based on names, but on published collections of myths and legends, and on translations of sacred books, which can be verified. Of critical tact, indeed, there is little or no display; but the argument, though quite in the rough, is effective. Christianity is not an unique religion, but rooted in nature-worship, and its sacred books are a medley of "gold, silver, precious stones, hay, stubble." There still, however, remains the question, What is it that gives the Biblical literature and the Biblical religion its strange fascination to children of the West? Granted that it has grown up naturally, granted that it is equalled or excelled in many points by other religions, is there not an undefined something which justifies its claim to be the religion of the highest races of the world, so long, that is, as they need a religion? And is this undefined something really undefinable? Dr Inman appears to deny this stamp of superiority, but he writes in the spirit of the advocate, and has no true sympathy with the religious spirit in any of its manifestations. His own sketch of a religion of the future, on p. 473, is of the most unidealistic character.

The appendix contains a letter by Mr G. St Clair on the origin of the Sabbath, followed by the remarks of the author. Mr St

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<sup>5</sup> "Ancient Faiths and Modern : a Dissertation upon Worships, Legends, and Divinities, showing their relation to Religious Customs as they now exist." By Thomas Inman, M.D. New York : J. W. Bouton ; London : Quaritch. 1876.

Clair should have referred to Mr G. Smith's "Annals of Assurbanipal," where he would have found full particulars as to the Assyrian Sabbath. *Suum cuique*. But it is going too far to infer with Dr Inman that the Sabbath was borrowed by the Jews from Babylonia in the time of the second Isaiah. What becomes of the Decalogue? Did the Hebrews bring no religious forms with them from their early Mesopotamian home?

It is a pity that Mr Samuel Sharpe<sup>6</sup> did not wait for Mr E. H. Palmer's promised publication of the Sinaitic inscriptions before publishing his own ingenious, but most questionable, translation of them. No scholar can for a moment accept the inscriptions as read by Mr Sharpe as either "Biblical Hebrew or Chaldee." From the respected author's "History of the Hebrew Nation and its Literature" there is much stimulus to be gained in spite of its extreme arbitrariness; from the work before us, nothing, except amusement at the author's naïve notions of philology.

Of a very different order of scholarship are the two next works before us — Mr Bensly's edition of the missing fragment of the Fourth Book of Ezra,<sup>7</sup> and Dr Ziegler's, of some fragments of the "Itala" or early Latin version of the Bible.<sup>8</sup> By the former it has once more been shown that the love of unremunerative study is even now far from extinct in the universities, and we congratulate the syndics of the University Press, and still more the accomplished scholar who has edited this valuable document. The strange want of coherence between the 35th and 36th verse of the 7th chapter of IV. Ezra is still a stumbling-block to readers of the English Bible. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Ockley published a translation of the Arabic version, which contains a long passage between the verses in question, and thus restores the connection. In the present century the texts of various versions have been published, all of which supply the hiatus in much the same way. But there was as yet no diplomatic evidence for the existence of the passage in the oldest and best version—viz., the Latin. Yet all the while the Library of Amiens contained the very manuscript which was wanting, and Mr Bensly, sub-librarian of the Cambridge University Library, was fortunate enough to be the first to bring this interesting relic to light. This he has now edited with true scholarly completeness. Nor is less praise due to Dr Ziegler. The importance of textual criticism of the New Testament is only beginning to be adequately seen. The question of the date of the Gospels, as Mr

<sup>6</sup> "Hebrew Inscriptions from the Valleys between Egypt and Mount Sinai, in their Original Characters, with Translations and an Alphabet." By Samuel Sharpe. With Twenty Plates. London: J. R. Smith. 1875.

<sup>7</sup> "The Missing Fragment of the Latin Translation of the Fourth Book of Ezra." Discovered and Edited by Robert L. Bensly, M.A. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1875.

<sup>8</sup> "Italafragmente der paulinischen Briefe nebst Bruchstücken einer vorhieronymianischen Uebersetzung des ersten Johannesbriefes. . . ." Von L. Ziegler. Marburg: Elwert. 1876.



Sanday has shown, is affected by the phenomena of the manuscripts. And the Itala version, which reaches back into the second century, is a valuable addition to the critical apparatus. It has also a philological value as a monument of the popular Latin speech.

Herr Landau's<sup>9</sup> small work on the idea of God contains a refutation (?) of the current scientific objections to Theism, and counter-arguments without any pretence of originality. Professor Upton's<sup>10</sup> eloquent plea for "a free and scientific theology" deserves attention, though the positiveness of his Theism will repel many who would on critical and historical grounds gladly see a revival of theological studies. Two excellent translations demand our heartiest welcome. Ewald's work on the prophets<sup>11</sup> was first published thirty-seven years ago, when it created an epoch in Biblical exegesis. Its merits are recognised on all hands, and both orthodox and rationalists have, willingly or unwillingly, been influenced by it. The introduction on prophecy and the prophets is decidedly the most suggestive work on the subject which has yet appeared; and we say this with a full consciousness that there are points in which it is excelled by the more elaborate popular work of Dr Kuenen on prophecy, which has just appeared in Dutch, and ought to be translated. What constitutes the charm of Ewald is his fire. He sympathises with the prophets, as no other man in our time has done; "himself a prophet of the past (*ein rückschauender prophet*), with the Oriental gift of tongues," as Hase, a master of characteristics, has well styled him. The present volume contains the writings of Joel (or rather Yoel), Amos, Hosea, and one of the pseudo-Zechariahs (Zech. ix.-xi.) The stylistic peculiarities of Ewald's version of the prophets are trying even to a German; they are faithfully reproduced in the English. If the reader is often disturbed by them, let him remember that the smoothness of the ordinary versions is dearly purchased at the expense of fidelity. The commentary is also more faithful than elegant, but will be perfectly intelligible if the reader will brace himself for its perusal. "The Bible for Young People,"<sup>12</sup> from the Dutch of Dr Oort, has now reached a second volume. We have already characterised it sufficiently. Though unsuited, as we think, for children, it is better than any commentary for school-teachers. But they must bring a sympathetic spirit with them. A good specimen of the work is the chapter on Deborah and Barak. The picturesque details of the Song (Judges v.) and the accompanying history have scarcely been drawn out so fully and accurately before.

<sup>9</sup> "Der Gottesbegriff und das geistige Princip, oder die Philosophie und die Religion der Zukunft." Von L. K. Landau. Leipzig: Koschny. 1876.

<sup>10</sup> "Free Teaching and Free Learning in Theology; or, The Place of a Science of Theology amongst University Studies." Inaugural Address by C. B. Upton, B.A., B.Sc. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

<sup>11</sup> "Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament, by the late Dr G. H. A. von Ewald." Translated by J. F. Smith. Vol. I. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> "The Bible for Young People." Vol. II. From Moses to David. Prepared by Dr H. Oort. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

Mr Matthew Arnold has reissued his revision<sup>13</sup> of the Authorised Version of Isaiah xl.-lxvi., with the addition of the other prophecies written during or after the Exile, but included in the Book of Isaiah. The Introduction is also reprinted, with all its curious assumptions of a scholarship which, our readers need hardly be told, is not Mr Matthew Arnold's. The diction of the translation and notes is as choice as might be expected from that master of graceful English; but who will be the better for so unsatisfactory a translation? An unfavourable contrast to the "Bible for Young People" is a modernised version of the Parables,<sup>14</sup> which comes to us from America. Dr Jex-Blake<sup>15</sup> keeps up the tradition of Rugby by the high-toned, broad Christianity of his sermons. They are illuminated by real imaginative power. Dr Beard has now completed the translation of Bouzique's<sup>16</sup> "History of Christianity." Those who can endure 300 pages of historical presents will find much useful information and a healthy Protestant spirit. The admonition to free-thinkers in France to separate formally from Catholicism is well-timed: free-thinkers in England might also take it to heart with advantage. Ordinary readers, however, will perhaps find Lamson's Church History<sup>17</sup> more readable, though it only covers the first three centuries. We have also received Mr Scudamore's "Notitia Ecclesiastica,"<sup>18</sup> in which the history and meaning of the Anglican Communion-service is pursued through 1053 large octavo pages, not forgetting the mystic significance of the cope; Mr Blunt's "Annotated Book of Common Prayer,"<sup>19</sup> in a cheap and compendious form—a book of which it is impossible to speak favourably, except for lovers of the medieval mysticism in which the facts of history are imbedded; Dr Henke's "Lectures on Liturgies,"<sup>20</sup> which rival Mr Scudamore's "Notitia" in bulk and learning; two Prize Essays by Messrs Pebody and Kenny against the continued use of the Athanasian Creed in church,<sup>21</sup> and a Correspondence between Lord

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<sup>13</sup> "Isaiah xl.-lxvi., with the Shorter Prophecies allied to it." Arranged and edited with notes by Matthew Arnold. London: Macmillan & Co. 1875.

<sup>14</sup> "Stories from the Lips of the Teacher." Retold by a Disciple. New York: Putman. London: Sampson Low. 1875.

<sup>15</sup> "Life in Faith." Sermons preached at Cheltenham and Rugby. By T. W. Jex-Blake, D.D. London: John Murray. 1876.

<sup>16</sup> "The History of Christianity." By E. K. Bouzique, D.D. Vol. III. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

<sup>17</sup> "The Church of the First Three Centuries." By Alvan Lamson, D.D. Edited by Henry Terson, M.A. London: British and Foreign Unitarian Association. 1875.

<sup>18</sup> "Notitia Ecclesiastica: a Commentary, &c., on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion." By W. E. Scudamore, M.A. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. In Two Parts. London: Rivingtons. 1876.

<sup>19</sup> "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer." By the Rev. J. H. Blunt, M.A., F.S.A. Compendious Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1876.

<sup>20</sup> "Dr E. L. Henke's nachgelassene Vorlesungen über Liturgik und Homiletik." Halle: Lippert. 1876.

<sup>21</sup> "Two Prize Essays on the Disuse of the Athanasian Creed in the Services [Vol. CV. No. CCVIII.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. XLIX. No. II. 2 K

Redesdale and Cardinal Manning on the right of the Catholic Church to administer the Communion in one kind.<sup>22</sup> Among Mr Scott's tracts, we would recommend the reprint of Hume's "Dialogues on Natural Religion."<sup>23</sup>

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## PHILOSOPHY.

PROFESSOR JOWETT'S "Dialogues of Plato" have reached, as they deserved, a second edition.<sup>1</sup> The volumes as they now appear include "innumerable alterations" on the text of the translation, and numerous additions have been made to the introductions to the several dialogues. As a translation of the text, these volumes fall outside our province. Scholarship, we fancy, might still object, on the ground of grammatical exactness, to Professor Jowett's rendering of some passages which we had marked; and it may be doubted whether, in some instances, the deep simplicity of Plato is not lost in a fanciful departure from the Greek equivalent. But however much room may be left for criticism on single points and isolated dialogues, it would be impossible to over-estimate the work of the translator taken as a whole. The difficulties in translating Plato will be readily allowed by all who have ever attempted to turn a few pages of the great idealist into ordinary English; and most students will sympathise with the Master of Balliol in his statement of the obstacles which he has had to face. The constant tautology of Greek with "the nice sense of tautology which characterises all modern languages," the "half personifications which pervade a Greek sentence," the necessity of finding modern equivalents for ancient phrases—these have proved real stumbling-blocks to more men than Professor Jowett. We do not say that he has yet thoroughly overcome them; but we do think that he has truly *translated* Plato into English thought and English idiom, by giving that real equivalent which is not generally found in an exact and formal rendering of words and phrases, and by supplying a genuine English Plato, which will continue to live as a work of literary value, and not, like the

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of the Church of England." By C. Pebody and C. S. Kenny, LL.B. London: Williams & Norgate. 1875.

<sup>22</sup> "The Infallible Church," &c. Correspondence between Lord Redesdale and Cardinal Manning in the *Daily Telegraph*. London: Rivingtons. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> "Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion." By David Hume, Esq. London: Thomas Scott, 11 The Terrace, Upper Norwood.

<sup>1</sup> "The Dialogues of Plato." Translated into English with Analyses and Introductions. By B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, Doctor in Theology of the University of Leyden. In Five Vols. Second Edition. Revised and corrected throughout, with additions and an index of subjects and proper names. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1875.



admirable but pedantic work of Taylor, as a mere "find" for bibliomaniacs.

The introductions to the dialogues will constitute to many readers the most important portion of Professor Jowett's work. The Professor's antithetic sentences adapt themselves naturally to the dialectical discussions of the friends of Socrates. The references which the new edition contains to modern philosophy and modern ideas communicate fresh interest to Plato's words. It is so in particular with the new remarks appended to the *Sophist*, *Theaetetus*, and *Philebus*. In connection with the first of these three dialogues, Professor Jowett has considered at some length the light thrown by Hegelian logic on the relation of being and non-being; and though perhaps his discussion of the Hegelian identity of opposites will be regarded by genuine followers of Hegel as somewhat exoteric, it still may claim to be a useful and intelligible introduction to severer expositions of Hegelian thought. More valuable than this somewhat aimless commentary on the *Sophist* is the critique of modern sensationalism appended to the *Theaetetus*. Yet here also there are marks of insufficiency, arising, doubtless, from the difficulty of treating with any fulness such a subject within the limits of a dozen pages. The estimate of Utilitarianism which prefaces the *Philebus* is perhaps the most vigorous amongst the three discussions we have named. But it is a literary rather than a philosophical treatment of the problem. How far, for example, can it be received as an objection to Utilitarianism that "we feel the importance of retaining the received distinctions of morality"? Shorter additions, to which we might have referred, concern the social reformer, philologist, or theologian rather than the student of philosophy. Such are the discussions on the subject of Communism and Marriage, which are contained within the introduction to the *Republic*; the attack on the "ten thousand reviewers" in the preface to the *Phædrus*; the dissertation on the origin of language which precedes the *Cratylus*; and the thoughts on Immortality which are suggested by the *Phædo*. It is still the contributor to "Essays and Reviews" who writes—"To beings constituted as we are, the monotony of singing psalms would be as great an infliction as the pains of hell, and might be even pleasantly interrupted by them."

The great defect, to our mind, in these volumes is the absence of any general introduction to the Platonic Dialogues as one connected whole. What will the average reader make out of the volumes as he threads his way from the *Euthydemus* to the *Laws*? Professor Jowett's method is, it must be granted, thoroughly Platonic. But in a work intended for a wide-reading English public, Plato should not be introduced in this hard and rigid manner. What is wanted is a general introduction to the philosophy of Plato; and we trust Professor Jowett will supply it in the next edition of his work. We should also wish that he would borrow a hint from his "Father Parmenides," and state at greater length his views upon the place and authenticity of certain dialogues. The fact that "it is better

to resign ourselves to the feeling of a great work than to linger among critical uncertainties" is no reason for leaving such questions in the way Professor Jowett does.

"Fragments on Ethical Subjects" is the title of a work which shows that Professor Jowett's admiration for Mr Grote is at least more reverent than the zeal with which some of Grote's followers now build his sepulchre.<sup>2</sup> The numerous students of Greek history and thought, who viewed Grote with no less gratitude and awe than Socrates seems to have felt towards the great Parmenides, cannot but regret the publication of these fragments. The better papers contain nothing which, in the case of an inferior man, would have justified their publication; and the paper on the Ethics, and that on the Politics of Aristotle, were evidently never meant to see the light. How the editor can have been led to suppose that "they are the fruit of long and laborious study, and, so far as they extend, embody the writer's matured views upon the Ethics and the Politics," we cannot comprehend. Passage after passage shows the earlier fragment to be the work of a beginner in the study of the Ethics. On no other theory can we understand his interpretation of *φυσικός* as "natural man" (p. 132), his explanation of *φύσει ἡδέα* as pleasant "to our nature" (p. 147), his inability to comprehend the nature of *φρόνησις*, and in general the inadequacy of his conception of Aristotle's theory of Virtue. The paper on "The Politics of Aristotle" is much better, so far as it goes; but it is an entire misnomer to entitle it "The Politics of Aristotle;" it deals only with Aristotle's theory of education as contained within the two last books of the Politics.

The earlier essays in the volume considerably relieve the two Aristotelian studies we have named. They display at least that practical clear-sightedness with which Grote's name is now identified. The distinction which they draw between the form and matter of moral sentiment is one which applies with special advantage to a Utilitarian theory of Ethics. Ethical sentiment, explains the writer, "is a sentiment of *regulated social reciprocity*, as between the agent and the society amongst whom he lives—such-and-such behaviour to be rendered on his part, such-and-such sentiment to be rendered in requital on theirs." This is the invariable form, and so far the process of association by which the moral sentiments are formed is universal and uniform; in regard to the matter, it is to a high degree irregular and erroneous. "There are thus," the second essay points out, "two distinct points of view from which morality must be looked at—as it concerns the individual agent, and as it concerns the observing and judging public." The fourth essay, "The Idea of Ethical Philosophy," is, as the editor remarks, the fullest of the series. It concentrates and develops the conclusions of the former essays, and, in particular, supplies an interesting sketch of the growth of ethical ideas in the child. Grote's reputation is too firmly estab-

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<sup>2</sup> "Fragments on Ethical Subjects." By the late George Grote, F.R.S. Being a selection from his posthumous papers. London: Murray. 1876. \*

lished to be shaken by the incomplete essays which have been collected in this volume; but we trust the editor will publish no more posthumous papers of Mr Grote except he has satisfied himself that they are such as Grote himself would have given to the world.

Professor Bain appears to more advantage as an author than as an editor.<sup>3</sup> The third edition of his "Emotions and the Will" contains a number of additions which will well repay perusal at the hands of his admirers. The labours of sympathisers, such as Mr Sully, and the criticisms of opponents, like Mr Sidgwick, have alike been incorporated in the work; while generally the conclusions of the first edition have been further developed and established. Professor Bain has profited by the criticisms of Mr Herbert Spencer and other thinkers, so far as to introduce to some degree *development* as a means towards a classification of the emotions, and in one of the new chapters deals with the question of "Evolution as applied to Mind." He examines the ground of the assumption with great fairness, and fully recognises the want of clear cases of development, but is "not deterred from entertaining the principle as both probable in itself, and as facilitating our study of the mental constitution." Still it may be questioned whether Mr Bain has yet arrived at that "natural history" of the feelings which he proposed as his object at the first appearance of his work. However excellent the account of each separate class of emotions may be considered, there is still confessedly a want of unity in the classification regarded as a whole. We do not, in particular, see how, if "in all matters of art the interest of personality exceeds every other, and the supreme charm of the curved outline is relative to the human form as adapted for love," the æsthetic emotions should occupy almost the last place in the development of feeling.

The ethics of Utility receive numerous additions in the course of the discussion. The chief of these is undoubtedly the attempt which Professor Bain has made to construct a method for measuring pleasures and pains, and so create a truly quantitative science of the emotions. Another note which will be read with interest, and perhaps with some surprise, is that in which he maintains the existence of disinterested impulses, "which positively detract from our happiness," and grants, in opposition to Mill, that there is an "exceptional corner where motive and happiness come into conflict." The existence of these impulses does not, however, the author holds, invalidate the determinist theory of will; and in the second division of his work he maintains this view against the recent criticisms of Mr Sidgwick. He refuses to allow Mr Sidgwick's distinction between the determination of our ordinary actions and the consciousness of freedom involved in "alteration of the character." "I cannot," he says, "discern the distinction between making a resolve to conquer a habit and making a resolve to emigrate or become a Freemason."

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<sup>3</sup> "The Emotions and the Will." By Alexander Bain, LL.D., Professor of Logic in the University of Aberdeen. Third Edition. London: Longmans. 1875.



"Every act," he asserts, "that follows upon the prompting of a painful or a pleasurable state, is all that can be meant by moral agency: the tiger chasing and devouring its prey is a moral agent." These and other sections form interesting additions; but being mere additions, they increase, it must be added, that diffuseness to which attention was directed in the pages of this *Review* on the first appearance of the work in 1859, and which still forms the striking blemish of the work.

Philosophy advances by antagonism; and Mr Kirkman's "Philosophy without Assumptions" will supply Professor Bain and other thinkers with many a nut to crack.<sup>4</sup> "The Bombardment of Bigwordedness" might have been the alternative title of the book. Mr Kirkman is indignant at "questions about abstract words such as X-ness, Y-ity, Z-ation;" he is wild at Kant with his "generals and abstracts in *-ung* and *-niss* and *-heit* and *-keit*;" he is particularly provoked at "Evolutionists with their grand Sticktogetherations of Sticktogethernesses, or 'Integrations of Coherences;'" and grows merry with a Topsy over 'specs she was differentiated. These, however, are only the side-sallies of the book, though their brilliant flashes rather tend to divert attention from weightier attacks.

The real object Mr Kirkman puts before himself is neither light nor insignificant. He has attempted, as the title he has chosen for his work implies, to make a beginning of philosophy without unproved assumptions. "I am" is the simple proposition which he finds complies with this condition; for no one "can inform me that I am assuming my 'I am'" without conceding and affirming my being and thinking." This is the first position of the work: its second question is, How can I find without assumption any other thing or being beside my thinking self? This Mr Kirkman finds in "related and well-recorded will-force" (what might a second Mr Kirkman not say to this combination of words?); he infers, in short, that the contemporaneous correlative to my acting will-force is another acting force not my own. "All my clear conceptions of force are either memories or imagined multiples of will-force expended;" it was thus we originally learned distance in the nursery. It is easy to see the tendency of such a theory. Mr Kirkman "glories in believing that all these forces are manifestations of the conscious present working will of God:" "F-o-r-c-e," as he expresses himself, "spells will." But, it need hardly be added, Mr Kirkman is no bigot in religious matters. "It is not the spirit of doubt, as we bishops and parsons sing," he says, "which hinders the progress of truth and religion, but the spirit of assumption. Atheism is the shadow of Sacerdotalism." The space at our command has allowed us to give only the merest indications of the discussions in Mr Kirkman's work. But the points we have mentioned should be sufficient to show that "Philosophy without Assumptions" is a work of much freshness and con-

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<sup>4</sup> "Philosophy without Assumptions." By T. P. Kirkman, M.A., F.R.S., Rector of Croft, near Warrington. London: Longmans. 1876.

siderable power. We should, however, have preferred it free from those scurrilities and pleasantries which put ridicule in place of argument. Nothing is gained by such a course; for, as the author has himself remarked (p. 38), "it is in moments of calm deliberation, not of sudden excitement, that Science finds her truth."

Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie's "New Theory of History" will excite the indignation of the last-named writer.<sup>5</sup> Mr Glennie, like Don Juan, is not to be "snuffed out by an article;" and he has written a reply to the various criticisms on his "Pilgrim Memories." To this he adds a statement of his new theory of history as a general law of human development. "As such a law, it is thus formulated: Thought, in its differentiating and integrating activity, advances, under physical and social conditions, from the conception of one-sided determination, through the differentiation of subjective and objective, to the conception of mutual determination." Those who can comprehend this formula will read with profit Mr Glennie's sprightly work.

Professor Volkmann's systematic and exhaustive "Manual of Psychology" bears witness to the continued popularity of Herbart's system in Bohemia.<sup>6</sup> Psychology Volkmann regards not as a theory of mental faculties, nor as a genetic history of the development of mind, but as a science of the general laws which regulate the mutual play and interaction of our conceptions or ideas (*Vorstellungen*). It is round these ideas (in Locke's sense) that all the problems of psychology revolve; and the distinctive object of Professor Volkmann's work is to show the coincidence between the metaphysical and physiological difficulties of these problems. Just, he explains, as metaphysically the presentations or conceptions require a single simple vehicle to bear them, while this vehicle, to explain the origin and action of these ideas, must be conceived of not as simple but as in connection with other simple substances; so, physiologically, the centripetal and centrifugal processes of sensation and of movement require to be co-ordinated in a centralising force, which, however, can neither be diffused throughout the brain, nor, on the other hand, confined to any special part of it. The soul, therefore, must be defined as the "simple vehicle of all ideas thought in connection with other simple beings;" the centralising force must be regarded as located, not in a central apparatus or organ, but in a point of unity. In the centre of the nervous action we come to recognise that *point* in which we have to place the simple vehicle of ideas: and the physiological conclusion thus falls in with the metaphysical. Volkmann is therefore equally removed from the position of the dualist, the materialist, and the spiritualist—three theories of mind which he discusses with

<sup>5</sup> "The New Theory of History, and the Critics of 'Pilgrim-Memories.'" By J. S. Stuart-Glennie, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London: Longmans. 1876.

<sup>6</sup> "Lehrbuch der Psychologie vom Standpunkte des Realismus und nach genetischer Methode." Von Ph. Dr. Wilhelm Volkmann Ritter von Volkmar, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Prag. Des Grundrisses der Psychologie zweite sehr vermehrte Auflage. 2 Bde. Cöthen. 1875-76.

much ability and learning; "the psychology of realism posits spirit (*Geist*) as a simple being, resolves body into a system of equally simple beings, and allows spirit to become soul through its union with the body, while it bases the unity of the law of its activity on the opposition of the beings."

The width of view which Herbart's "Realism" thus provides for Volkmann's work is only equalled by the comprehensiveness of the structure which succeeds. The special senses are considered in detail, and in relation to each other; while separate chapters deal with instinct and the origin of speech. The conception of the soul which has been reached, implicitly involves the existence of ideas. Ideas, in fact, are simply the acts of the soul's self-preservation. The thought of the connection of the soul with other simple beings necessarily leads to the thought of the origin of ideas as internal states within the soul. The chief problem of psychology is therefore to discover the laws of interaction between these ideas. Of all these laws, the principal is this—simultaneous ideas merge together. But when the ideas are opposed, they arrest each other according to the measure of their opposition—"They remove from action so much of the act conceiving them as withstands combination, and then unite the remnant in one collective act;" and the "sum of the arrest" may cause one idea to pass entirely out of consciousness. This play of mutually-arresting conceptions is applied to explain the phenomena of sleep and dreams; and the first volume closes with some interesting sections on memory and imagination.

The second volume of Volkmann's treatise is more comprehensive even than the first; it becomes, in fact, an introduction to metaphysics, logic, and ethics. Our mental images present themselves beside and after one another, and thus involve an inquiry into the character and origin of space and time. Ideas with necessity and universality are thoughts, and thought presents itself in three grades—the notion, judgment, and reasoning. Feeling and desire form another division of psychology, and these in turn lead to will and moral action. But no indications of the methods and results of these two volumes will succeed in giving any real impression of the ability and knowledge which our Prague professor has brought to bear upon the several questions of psychology. The distinctive value of his work, in fact, lies not so much in his dogmatic statements, which seldom advance beyond the views of Herbart, as in the vast amount of historical knowledge with which he illustrates the several sections. Volkmann, in short, has done for psychology what Ueberweg did for logic; he has written, that is to say, a clear and exhaustive exposition of the subject, backed up by a full account of the history of each conception. No better manual, so far as we are aware, exists, and we hope some disinterested Englishman will before long present us with a translation of Professor Volkmann's work.

Professor Kym's "Metaphysical Investigations" is a work of so varied contents that it is difficult to do more than indicate the general



tendencies of the papers it includes.<sup>7</sup> Even this, however, is no easy task, because many of the essays, while professedly anti-Hegelian in purpose, are coloured throughout by Hegelian ideas. Thus the chapters in which Kym discusses Trendelenburg and Kuno Fischer tend to be somewhat tedious and unsatisfactory; and this also is the case with his examination of "Hegel's Dialectic in its Application to the History of Philosophy." It may be that the "pure thought" of Hegel cannot be conceived without the help of intuition; it may be that the conceptions of early Greek philosophy do not correspond *exactly* to the categories of Hegelian logic; but the intuition of movement, in which Kym makes thought realise itself, is, the Hegelian might reasonably retort, itself a product of pure thought; and the historical succession of the categories, while corresponding, will not, on the other hand, be *identical* with the logical evolution. But if the destructive side of Kym's work strikes us as one-sided and inadequate, this is not the case with those discussions in which he leaves the thankless work of controversy and proceeds to more or less independent speculations of his own. Students of Aristotle will read with interest the chapter on the Theology of the Stagyrte, and will appreciate the lessons which the writer draws from it for Christian dogma. The ablest essay is that dealing with free-will. Treading closely, though it would appear unconsciously, in the footsteps of Hegel, Kym shows that all consciousness involves freedom, and that in place of the ordinary position, which maintains that freedom rests on consciousness, the true solution of the free-will problem lies in seeing that consciousness itself involves and presupposes freedom; so that the question, Am I free to will? passes into the other question, Am I free to know? Hardly less interesting and instructive than this is the last discussion in the work, that on Plato and Spinoza, as representatives of the great contrast of philosophy between Idealism on the one hand and Realism on the other. With much real power, the writer shows the inconsistencies involved in the Darwinian denial of final causes—since it is only through them that Darwin can explain that progress from lower to higher species which his theory involves—and indicates the path towards a true conception of the world in Spinoza's substance deepened and controlled by Plato's idea. Professor Kym's work is a most valuable contribution to the higher atmosphere of philosophy, and will well repay attentive study.

"The Dream-Imagination" is the somewhat untranslatable title which Dr Volkelt gives to an interesting treatise on a series of phenomena which have never met in England with the attention they deserve.<sup>8</sup> The title, however, has the merit of summing up the theory which the book proposes. Dreams, while originating in bodily sensations, are not the results of association. It is not the *idea* caused by a physical impression which calls up another idea to

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<sup>7</sup> "Metaphysische Untersuchungen." Von Dr A. L. Kym, Ord. Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Zürich. München. 1875.

<sup>8</sup> "Die Traum-Phantasie." Von Dr Johannes Volkelt. Stuttgart. 1875.

form the dream; the dream-imagination at once in one act *symbolises* the physical affection to the vision of the sleeper. In a lively chapter Dr Volkelt shows how, for example, the sensation of the teeth will be symbolised by two rows of blondes, the respiration of the breast by ocean waves, the movement of the heart by cities and streets. The dream, then, is a symbolic presentation of the body; but this symbolism is as immediate as that through which Indian speculative-ness expressed itself in subterranean dwellings, or that by which the slowly-aspiring spirit of the Egyptians revealed itself in gradually-rising pyramids. This dream-centre further acts unconsciously; it is "the Unconscious," which explains the fact that we for the time assign a real existence to merely subjective phenomena; "the whole dream-creating process goes on in the night of the Unconscious." Sleep is, in fact, the dissolution of that opposition of subject and object in which our waking hours consist; and it is therefore in the "indifference" of subject and object, in an unconscious state, that dream-fancy shows itself. Whatever may be thought of Volkelt's theory, the book itself is interesting throughout, and offers quite a mine of facts, derived at once from personal experience and the communications of others, to any who may be studying the subject.

The "Ethical Problem," by Professor Huber, is a work of peculiar interest at the present moment, when science is claiming to discuss the conceptions of morality, and translate ethics into physics.<sup>9</sup> It is not, however, exactly as an opponent of science that Huber writes; the very object of his pamphlet is to show the fundamental coincidence of the two. He finds no difficulty in believing that "the laws which condition and govern the moral world act as great cosmic and organic forces before they appear as conscious duties." Still, he maintains, the philosophy of ethics is not merely a philosophy of nature. Nature knows no distinction between good and bad, and contains nothing of that freedom which forms the very essence of ethics. Professor Huber has said nothing very new; but both in his answer to the question which we have mentioned, and in his treatment of the other question he discusses—viz., whether there be a universally valid moral law—he gives an instructive view, if not a final solution, of questions calling for an answer at the present time.

Dr Edward von Hartmann continues to maintain the literary activity for which he is remarkable.<sup>10</sup> He is publishing in parts a series of popular "Studies and Essays;" and in the first number, besides a sensible paper on "Scientific Controversy" and an appreciative estimate of "Leibnitz as Practical Optimist," gives an interesting sketch of his own career. Those who are acquainted with the "pessimist" conclusions of the "philosophy of the Unconscious" will read with interest of Hartmann's "loving wife" and "blooming child," who "is just at the age to make experiments upon the connection of

<sup>9</sup> "Die Ethische Frage." Von Johannes Huber. München. 1875.

<sup>10</sup> "Gesammelte Studien und Aufsätze gemeinverständlichen Inhalts." Von Eduard von Hartmann. Erste Lieferung. Berlin. 1876.

verbs and substantives, and has already advanced to Fichte's 'I,' but, like Fichte, still combines it with the third person of the verb."

Herr Kirchmann and the "Philosophical Library" supply another sample of their indefatigable industry in a translation of "Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics."<sup>11</sup> As a cheap form of a great work it will be very useful; but it frequently misinterprets Aristotle, as, for example, in Ethic VI. 8 (p. 127), where τὸ μέντοι εἶναι οὐ τὸ αὐτὸν αὐτῶν does not mean "*aber sie sind deshalb nicht ein und dasselbe;*" and the preface which precedes the translation seems to us to give a very insufficient estimate of the place of Aristotle's Ethics in the history of thought.

Dr Wollny's "Freedom and Character," which follows closely in the lines of Dr Dühring, contains little new on the subject of free-will;<sup>12</sup> but its examination of Schopenhauer's theory of the unalterability of character may be read with interest; and it shows in a clear and straightforward manner how a determined freedom of the will supplies an adequate basis for morality and human progress.

Professor Ludwig's "Philosophic and Religious Conceptions of the Veda" gives an instructive summary of the leading ideas in these Sanskrit hymns,<sup>13</sup> but derives its value more from the circumstances under which it was originally written than from the actual information it conveys. It contains, we may remark, an enthusiastic notice of Professor Max Müller's work in Sanskrit literature.

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## POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

THE facts attending the purchase of the Suez Canal shares are now pretty familiar to the public, so far as it has been possible to extract a confession of them from the Government, or to fill out the story with the help of the desultory scraps supplied by the energetic competition of "special correspondents." The number of questions which Mr Gladstone put to the Government on the occasion of the debate, and which he subsequently formulated in a numerically arranged list, are sufficient of themselves to show that the purchase has many sides to it, which the British public, in its hilarious enthusiasm at the magnificence of the stroke, have wholly ignored, or, it may be, were and are incapable of appreciating. The

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<sup>11</sup> "Des Aristoteles Nikomachische Ethik." Uebersetzt und erläutert von J. H. v. Kirchmann. Leipzig. 1876.

<sup>12</sup> "Ueber Freiheit und Character." Von Franz Wollny, Dr Phil. Leipzig. 1876.

<sup>13</sup> "Die philosophischen und religiösen Anschauungen des Veda in ihrer Entwicklung." Gratulationsschrift zur Eröffnungsfeier der K.K. Universität in Czernowitz. Von Alfred Ludwig, Ord. Professor an der Universität Prag. Prag. 1875.



publication in a pamphlet form of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech,<sup>1</sup> and the extra-parliamentary comments on the legal aspects of the purchase by Professor Sheldon Amos,<sup>2</sup> and on some more general aspects of it by Mr Robert M. Heron,<sup>3</sup> suggest that the topic is not yet by any means exhausted, and that the purchase itself can only be the first step in a course of diplomatic arrangements and negotiations which may involve consequences at present wholly incalculable. One main point made in the recent debate was, that England, by becoming a shareholder in the concern, was likely to be less, and not more, able than any other independent power to resist attempts on the part of other powers to interfere with the free use of the Canal. England must be smitten with the paralysis incident to the position of having an interest different from, or rather at variance with, that of every other power. Thus the representations of England, so far as they rest on purely moral grounds, must be weaker, because more suspected, than those of any other power. As to the direct influence of England on the operations of the Company, it is of course likely to be considerable, though the exact measure of it seems in the highest degree doubtful; and some deduction from the value of England's position in this respect must be made in consequence of the fact that the jurisdiction in respect of the Canal will lie either in a Turkish or a French court, and not in an English or international one. In time of an European war, the Canal must be either absolutely neutralised or destroyed. In either case, England gains nothing by her part ownership. In case of an Indian war or insurrection, England acquires no right of carrying ships of war and transports through the Canal which she would not have independent of her commercial interest; and it remains yet to be seen how far the doctrine of the neutrality of the Canal will admit such a belligerent use of it in any case. Professor Sheldon Amos has drawn attention to the general problems attaching to national proprietorships in foreign commercial enterprises, and he shows that, keeping in mind the most familiar principles of international law, nothing can facilitate the solution of these problems but carefully-drawn conventions. The only really valuable right England would seem to have acquired is that of directly or indirectly securing that enough capital is expended on the Canal to make it servicable for communication, in peace and in war, with her Indian possessions. All other apparent advantages are either hampered by possibilities of new international complications, or involve loss and not gain, or are merely high-sounding and delusory.

Mr Lindsay's "*History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Com-*

<sup>1</sup> "Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on moving the Vote for the Purchase of the Khedive's Shares in the Suez Canal, 14th February 1876." London: Murray. 1876.

<sup>2</sup> "The Purchase of the Suez Canal Shares and International Law." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: Ridgway. 1876.

<sup>3</sup> "Suez Canal Question." By Robert M. Heron. London: Hatchard. 1875.

merce"<sup>4</sup> combines the interest due to very curious historical research with that due to a practical investigation of facts of momentous importance in modern life. Mr Lindsay treats his subject as it has been presented in all ages and in all countries, and he pays especial attention to the vagaries of shipbuilding, which, though as yet they have had no following, may possibly contain within themselves the germs of important and lasting changes. Such were the enterprises which resulted in the building of the *Great Eastern*, the *Bessemer*, and the *Castalia*, of each of which a detailed account is given. The subject, indeed, reaches far and deep into the region of general history and politics. For instance, several pages of the fourth volume are occupied with an inquiry into the history of the application of steam to the trade with India, both overland and by the Cape of Good Hope. Mr Lindsay says that the first authentic record of any journey from India to Great Britain by the Isthmus of Suez, with the object of ascertaining whether that route could be renewed as a pathway of commerce, or, if not, for the transmission of despatches, was that of a passage made in 1819 by Sir Miles Nightingall, then Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, who, on relinquishing that command, returned to England *via* the Red Sea, accompanied by Lady Nightingall. The first steamer to India by the Cape was the *Enterprise*, which sailed in 1825. A very interesting account is given, accompanied by a map, of the history of the Suez Canal project in ancient and modern times.

Mr Frederick Martin has written a thoroughly good book on the "History of Lloyd's, and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain."<sup>5</sup> It treats every side of the subject in its earliest and its most mature forms, and abounds in historical details, which display a large amount of patient and laborious research. Thus the early history of Lombard Street, first occupied by the Lombards flying from the victories of Frederick II. in Italy in the reign of our Henry III., occupies one interesting chapter; the history of "Lloyd's News" and "Lloyd's Coffee-House" another; the history of Mr Lloyd himself another. Mr Lloyd is first known as having a kind of house-of-call in Tower Street in 1688, which seems to have become the resort of persons connected with shipping. He subsequently removed farther westward, at the corner of Abchurch Lane and Lombard Street, and it was here he formed a distinct shipping connection. An advertisement in the *London Gazette* for 1692 is in the following terms:—"On Tuesday the 8th of November next, at Bennet's Coffee-house in Plimouth, will be exposed to sale by Inch of Candle, 3 Ships, with all their furniture. . . . The inventories thereof are to be seen at Lloyd's Coffee-house in Lombard Street, London." The history of marine insurance in Great Britain traces

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<sup>4</sup> "History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce." By W. S. Lindsay. In four volumes. Vols. III. and V. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1876.

<sup>5</sup> "The History of Lloyd's, and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain." By Frederick Martin. London: Macmillan. 1876.

back to the "Merchants of the Steelyard," who for more than five centuries, from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Elizabeth, had in their hands the greater part of the commerce of England. The account of Lloyd's "Registry of Shipping," of the "Classification of Vessels," and of the "Causes of Wrecks," will be found most carefully written.

Mr Holms has condensed his impeachment of the British army,<sup>6</sup> as at present constituted, into a very compact and readable treatise. It is certainly an attractive characteristic of his scheme of reorganisation that he neither requires (as many reformers do) more money nor more men than are required at present. He tests the inefficiency of the British army by reference to certain conditions which are now fulfilled in the armies of Russia, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Italy, and France. These are—(1) that half-trained troops are a mere deception; that (2) as three years are acknowledged to be the outside term required to make an efficient soldier, it is in the interest of the men and of the nation that, after such a period of service (except in the case of service in India or the colonies), men should retire from the ranks upon furlough; that (3) for each arm of the service it is essential that the periods of enlistment should be uniform; that (4) the age of recruits should not be less than twenty years; that (5) a system of small army corps, each complete in itself, is the most simple and economical organisation for any military force; that (6) well-defined responsibility, from the commander-in-chief to the subaltern, is essential; that (7) by means of autumn manœuvres, commanding officers should have an opportunity of testing their own skill. Mr Holms is of opinion that by the year 1880 all the chief European powers will, through compliance with those conditions, be vastly stronger than they were in 1870, whereas, unless immediate and thorough reforms are instituted, the British army promises to be very much weaker. Mr Holms's grounds of special complaint against the British army are, that it is enormously expensive; that the worst recruits are obtained by the worst possible system, as signified by the number of the desertions; and that the military system is, by its imposition of enforced celibacy for many years, grossly demoralising. "No better mode of corrupting a nation could be conceived than that which our military authorities now practise, by keeping a large number of young men for a long term of years living an idle and a vicious life. We see the result in that abominable organisation which has grown up among us during the past ten years under the fostering protection of the Contagious Diseases Acts." Mr Holms's remedies may be briefly described as an abandonment of the militia system, especially as a means of recruiting for the line, the militia itself being a remnant of feudalism, wholly unreliable for active service, and involving an increase of expense through a distribution of it into

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<sup>6</sup> "The British Army in 1875, with Suggestions on its Administration and Organisation." By John Holms, M.P. London: Longman. 1876.



two channels, as well as a mischievous competition; the substitution of a short-service system for the present system; and a considerable raising of the soldier's pay, by which a superior class of recruits may be secured and retained. Mr. Holms has already had an opportunity of bringing his proposals before the House of Commons, and it is to be hoped that the country will gradually awake to the importance of the subject.

The ecclesiastical judgments delivered of late years in the Court of Arches<sup>7</sup> are in themselves well worth republishing, as they supply a considerable part of the materials for ascertaining the legal position of the Established Church, its officers, and its members. They do not, however, contain the whole of those materials, nor, indeed, the most relevant part. The work of Sir R. Phillimore ought to have been completed by including the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which are of the more importance, as, on some very momentous occasions, Sir R. Phillimore and the Judicial Committee have not been of one mind. Sir R. Phillimore, however, on every occasion mentions at the outset of the report whether his judgment was appealed against, and what was the result of the appeal. It is unlucky that, owing to the date of publication, Sir R. Phillimore was unable to add to his judgments, in the case of *Jenkins v. Cook* and *Keet v. Smith*, that they were each upset by the Privy Council, and the rights of the laity vindicated in the one case, and the rights of Protestant dissenters in the other.

Mr Markby has published a Supplement to his "*Elements of Roman Law*,"<sup>8</sup> in which he discusses the three subjects of Ownership, Security, and Succession. He invites English students to divert towards Germany some of the attention which they have hitherto been accustomed to turn almost exclusively to France.

The Rev. Mr Prescott's pamphlet on the "*Burials Bill*"<sup>9</sup> has lost some of its point since the policy of proceeding by "resolution" instead of by bill has been adopted. But many of Mr Prescott's arguments are good against any form which the particular measure might take for conceding the use of the parish churchyards to Dissenters. Mr Prescott seems to think it wholly illogical in a Dissenter to care to use a churchyard if he cares nothing for the Church and for the Consecration Service; and he advocates the proposal, which was, in fact, Mr Talbot's amendment, that facilities be accorded for providing burial-grounds for Dissenters. But burial-grounds are expensive, like other land; and it has first to be shown why Dissenters and Churchmen alike should be called upon to pay for fresh land when unoccupied land costing nothing is already

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<sup>7</sup> "*The Principal Ecclesiastical Judgments delivered in the Court of Arches, 1867 to 1875.*" By the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore, D.C.L. Rivingtons: London. 1876.

<sup>8</sup> "*Supplement to the Elements of Law.*" By William Markby, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1875.

<sup>9</sup> "*Burials Bill; or, What will the Laity do?*" By the Rev. Thomas Prescott, M.A. London: John Hodges. 1875.

available. This argument is of course apart from that one to the effect that a Dissenter has as good a claim to be buried with his family as a Churchman, and it is a persecution for opinion to oblige him to be buried away from them, if his sentiments dispose him to it, merely because his religious opinions happen to undergo a change in the course of his life.

Mr Calvert's pamphlet on "Denominationalists and Secularists" <sup>10</sup> is an earnest appeal in favour of Voluntary Schools, which means a demand that the Education policy of the country shall be reversed in favour of Church of England schools. Mr Barber's pamphlet on the "Religious Difficulty and National Education" <sup>11</sup> still further advances Mr Calvert's argument by saying that the religious difficulty is a "mongrel." "It has a political father and a sectarian mother. Its sponsors are restless and ambitious politicians, pseudo-philanthropists, theoretical educationalists, and Secularists pure and simple—not numerous, but very zealous for the progress of their protege. Its infantile nourishment has been the sour-milk of political restlessness and sectarian controversy," &c.

Herr Gustav Rümelin, <sup>12</sup> the Chancellor of Tübingen University, republishes a number of addresses which it has, for some years past, been his duty to give, as Chancellor, on the general prize-day of the year. The subjects are freely chosen, and extend over a considerable width of topics, such as "Hegel," the "Sentiment of Right," the "Idea of a People," the relation of "Politics to Morals." A number of other essays on a variety of promiscuous subjects are included in the same volume. The writer apologises for the largeness of his topics, as contrasted with the space given to each, by saying that people nowadays prefer great books on little subjects to a compressed treatment of great questions.

In his "History of Society," <sup>13</sup> Dr J. J. Rossbach follows mostly the current philosophical idea of evolution from its earliest to its latest phases, in which natural laws, moral laws, freewill, property, and the State alternately or conjointly play their part. Dr J. J. Rossbach is of opinion that whereas private rights are now generally established on an equal basis, this is not the case with public and political rights. Both representation by wealth and by numbers are inadequate, and the true basis of representation is that of groups or classes of the population.

Dr Jur. Philipp Zorn's <sup>14</sup> "History of the Relation of Church and

<sup>10</sup> "Denominationalists and Secularists." By Frederick Calvert, Q.C. London: Ridgway. 1876.

<sup>11</sup> "The Religious Difficulty in National Education." By W. C. Barber, F.R.G.S. London: W. Stewart. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> "Roeden und Aufsätze." Von Gustav Rümelin. Tübingen. 1875.

<sup>13</sup> "Geschichte der Gesellschaft." Von Dr Johann Joseph Rossbach. VIII. Theil. Würzburg: Stuber. 1875.

<sup>14</sup> "Staat und Kirche in Norwegen bis zum Schlusse des Dreizehnten Jahrhunderts." Von Dr Jur. Philipp Zorn. München: Ackermann. 1875.

State in Norway up to the Thirteenth Century" is a piece of erudite and laborious research, presented in its original form to the juridical faculty of the University of Munich.

An historical account of all the circumstances which led up to the Geneva Convention of 1864 for the care of the wounded and the neutralisation of the medical staff and appurtenances, is extremely serviceable at the present moment, when the proposals of the Brussels Conference of 1874 on kindred subjects are still before the public. Dr Lueder<sup>15</sup> has prepared his work with great skill and labour, and he, in fact, succeeds in putting his reader in possession of all that has been done, of all that has not been done, and of all that ought to be done. The comparative tables at the end of the work will be found extremely useful. They represent in parallel columns the actual articles of the subsisting Convention of 1864, the additions to it in the later Convention of 1868, the proposals of the author in the course of the treatise, the Russian project presented to the Brussels Conference, and the final resolutions agreed to by that Conference. Certain other propositions at preliminary conferences at Berlin, Paris, and Würzburg are also included. The work, which, in respect of print and paper, appears in a luminous dress, will form a text-book on the subject on which it treats.

Dr Jur. Friedrich Schulin's<sup>16</sup> treatise on "Resolutive Conditions"—that is to say, conditions interposed in contracts, on the happening of which the obligation contracted for is at an end—will not command a large circle of readers in this country, though for this the possible readers are rather to be reproached than the accurate and erudite professor.

The practice of publishing a series of short tracts on important subjects, someway intermediate between the pamphlet and the book, having all the brevity and point of the one and the exhaustiveness of the other, is one much to be commended, and which is now supplying some very valuable series of treatises in Germany. Such series are the German "Controverted Questions of the Day,"<sup>17</sup> and the "Collection of Popular Scientific Treatises."<sup>18</sup> We have already had occasion to notice different numbers of these series. A good specimen of the material provided is supplied by Herr Carl Gareis' tract on "Errors Respecting the Struggle of Civilisation." It is mostly devoted to examining the current ideas on the relation of Church and State, regarded from a Prussian point of view, and contains a defence of the recent legislation in respect of the Roman

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<sup>15</sup> "Die Genfer Convention." Von Dr C. Lueder. Erlangen: Besold. 1876.

<sup>16</sup> "Ueber Resolutivbedingungen und Endtermine." Von Dr Jur. Friedrich Schulin. Marburg: Elvert. 1875.

<sup>17</sup> "Deutsche Zeit-und-Streit-Fragen. Irrlehren über den Culturkampf." Von Carl Gareis. Berlin: Carl Hebel. 1876.

<sup>18</sup> "Sammlung gemeinständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge." Heft 240: "Nacht und Morgen unter den Tropen." Von Dr Franz Engel. Heft 237: "Ueber die Landespferderzucht ein Regierungsbezirk Gumbinnen." Von J. P. Frenzel. Berlin: Carl Hebel. 1875.



Catholics. The writer skilfully distinguishes the various possible theories of the relation of the Church to the State, and defends the position that, while the civil authority cannot ignore the ecclesiastical, yet, in the last resort, it must control it. There is no doubt that the modern Prussian view is that upon which the prevalent Erastian attitude of the British Parliament to the Church of England is actually founded, though, owing to the more equal distribution of the Protestants and Catholics in Prussia than of any two corresponding religious organisations in this country, State interference with religion is more obviously active here than there.

An elegant, and yet none the less accurately descriptive, picture of the scenery in the region of the Cordillera mountains, is given by Dr Franz Engel; and a condensed history, well worth translating into English, of horse-breeding in Germany during the last hundred years, by Herr J. P. Frenzel. The writer earnestly recommends that the self-supporting system of horse-breeding pursued in Lithuania be extended, with Government aid, to other parts of the country.

Professor Paul de Lagarde's<sup>19</sup> essay on the "Present Situation of the Empire of Germany" is vigorous and original, and, being somewhat anti-Bismarckian, presents rather a refreshing contrast to the wearisome self-landation of the champions of German unity. The Professor takes an anxious, if not a desponding, view of the fortunes of Germany, and certainly criticises sharply enough every item of her recent policy. Even her military strength he evidently considers most precarious, inasmuch as a nation with no natural landmarks can never be permanently secured by merely military defences. The "State" and the impersonal Ministry have shrouded from view the monarchy, which is an inherent German notion, while the rage for a Parliamentary system is likely to impair the freedom of local centres, and generally to depress individual activity. The ecclesiastical legislation attributes far too much significance to either Catholic or Protestant beliefs, whereas the true legislation wanted is that which will free Christian thought and life in all its forms. The Professor has naturally much to say about the reform of German education, which must no longer rest upon the idea of preserving either unity or antiquarian models, but upon developing the notion of individual duty.

The vicissitudes of the "National Bank of Austria," through different commercial and legislative periods, are displayed with great clearness, and with the help of excellent tabular illustrations, in the work of Herr W. Ritter von Lucam.<sup>20</sup> We have also received the State Papers<sup>21</sup> published for the use of the Italian Parliament, from

<sup>19</sup> "Ueber die gegenwärtige Lage des Deutschen Reichs." Von Paul de Lagarde. Göttingen: Dieterich. 1876.

<sup>20</sup> "Die Oesterreichische Nationalbank während der Dauer des dritten Privilegiums." Von Wilhelm Ritter von Lucam. Wien: Manz. 1876.

<sup>21</sup> "Documenti a corredo della Esposizione Storica delle Vicende e degli Effetti del corso forzato in Italia." Roma. 1875.

which an exact survey of the paper money, and of the sorts in circulation throughout the country for the year 1874-75, may be seen almost at a glance.

The commercial crisis of 1873 dealt deeper wounds to Austria than to any other country. Herr Max Wirth,<sup>22</sup> who has long been studying the condition of Austria and Hungary, thinks that their recovery ought not to be left to the mere lapse of time—as it is called—but that the human processes hidden under that term should be able to be hastened by a wise application of the laws of political economy. As a foreigner, he takes no partisan's view, but aims solely at the cure of the malady under which the empire is suffering. He believes that, in the immediate future, the centre of the commerce of the world will be in the Mediterranean, and that Austria's first duty to herself is to be prepared to take her place in that centre. He discusses the philosophy of the crisis of 1873, the questions of banking and currency, of railways and other modes of communication, of finance and legislation, and trade in all its aspects—all in special reference to Austria. His fresh clear style renders the volume attractive, where the subject might seem necessarily to engender a somewhat heavy task for the reader.

Mr Reed<sup>23</sup> reprints his letters to the *Times* on Russia, with special reference to his own subject of iron-shipbuilding. He was invited to be present at the launching of the second of the circular ironclads being built by Russia for her defence in the south. Mr Reed foresaw from the first moment of applying himself to the design of ironclads, that, in building them, length simply involved weakness, and his teaching found an appreciative disciple in Admiral Popoff, who is eager to attribute to Mr Reed the credit of having originated the true principle for the construction of ironclads for shallow water. Though they are rather intended for stationary vessels, Mr Reed says that, after a thorough inspection of them, he would far rather go to sea in them than in an ordinary armour-plated vessel, while the complete uniformity of armour, and their greater invulnerability, render them inapproachable as coast-defences. *En passant*, Mr Reed gives interesting notices of the conditions, difficulties, and commodiousness of Russian railway travelling, and invites travellers to correct, as he has done, their impression of cold, cheerless bleakness in the Crimea, by a visit to the lovely region of Siradia, “a fair land with a genial clime, of vineyards and orchards teeming with abundance, and of overflowing kindness and hospitality.

In fifty-four pages Herr Lieutenant Hoffmeister,<sup>24</sup> of the Baden infantry, sketches European Russia geographically, as a military geographer and as a student of national customs. He looks upon

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<sup>22</sup> “Oesterreichs Wiedergeburt aus den Nachwehen der Krisis.” Von Max Wirth. Vienna: G. J. Manz. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> “Letters from Russia in 1875.” By G. J. Reed, C.B., M.P. London: John Murray. 1876.

<sup>24</sup> “Das Europäische Russland,” von Hoffmeister. Berlin: E. S. Mittler & Sohn. 1876.

the army in Russia as an invaluable school, spreading not only the rudiments of learning, but also a spirit of discipline and order, which is the more congenial to the people because of their fatalism, their uniformity of national characteristics, and their extreme passivity, as well as their instinctive love for all their superiors, which grows almost into worship for the Czar.

Mr Lewis Farley,<sup>25</sup> the well-known writer on Turkey, and well known as her apologist and advocate, now takes up his pen to call public attention to the oppression of the Christian subjects of the Turk. It is to be hoped that his readers will follow him in his new path, and, taking to heart the pressing nature of the crisis he describes, will do all they can to strengthen or create a popular English clamour for the influence of England to be used promptly and unmistakably on the side of justice and liberty. Many readers will be glad to find at the end of this volume reprinted the noble political testament of the late Fuad Pasha.

The languid interest which a small portion of the ordinary public take in the Herzegovinian troubles will be stimulated to a much higher degree where Mr Forsyth's compendious volume penetrates.<sup>26</sup> After digesting Gibbon, Ranke, and other writers, down to the two ladies of the present day who interest themselves so wisely for the Christian populations of the Danubian provinces of Turkey, Mr Forsyth sums up his own political conclusions to the effect that the continued possession of disaffected provinces must be a source of weakness rather than strength to the Porte; that their persistent efforts for freedom must ultimately succeed, and had better therefore be encouraged, in order that the time of trouble may be shortened; that the hollow promises of the Porte are meaningless and worthless; and that, finally, the best thing to be done is that the Great Powers—ignoring treaties, because necessity knows no law—should unite to guarantee the neutrality of these provinces, either separately or as one state. While this proposition is being considered, however, it is not improbable that another of these divisions of the ancient Empire of Servia will have wrested for itself a more independent position than that recommended by Mr Forsyth.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cory,<sup>27</sup> of the Bengal Staff Corps, who is attached to the staff of the new Viceroy of India, endeavours to convince the reading public that war is an essential preliminary to each successive step in civilisation, and that the greatness of the British Empire is dependent on its foreign possessions. While dissenting from both these propositions, it is possible still to agree in the practical conclusion he comes to, and which it is to be hoped he may be able to impress on Lord Lytton, should Lord Salisbury either go

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<sup>25</sup> "Turks and Christians." By J. Lewis Farley. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1876.

<sup>26</sup> "The Slavonic Provinces South of the Danube." By William Forsyth, Q.C., LL.D., M.P. London: John Murray. 1876.

<sup>27</sup> "Shadows of Coming Events; or, The Eastern Menace." By Lieut.-Colonel Arthur Cory. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.



out of office or allow the Viceroy to fulfil his proper functions. That conclusion is, that we must disregard the professions, and narrowly watch the acts, of Russia in Central Asia, and must guard against her near approach to our Indian Empire by every proper means; the first of all being to garrison Herat, and prepare to defend Affghanistan and the neighbouring states. The Hindu Koosh must be our ramparts, and not be suffered to fall a prey to a possibly future foe. Colonel Cory believes conscription to be necessary to keep up our home army, but as soon as it concerns the army he belongs to, he sees it faults.

Mr Wyllie<sup>28</sup> was the originator of the phrase "masterly inactivity," and he used it in anything but an ironical spirit to describe the policy of his "chief," Lord Lawrence, toward all possible appearances of future menace to our northern Indian frontiers. Dying while quite in early manhood, Mr Wyllie had made his mark on the world of Indian official life, and had only failed through a technical difficulty to make a place for himself in English public life. But unhappily his papers, republished in this volume, will scarcely do justice to his memory, because they were written with the ardent partisanship of a young man of no pretension to prescience, and a few years have sufficed so far to falsify his arguments and predictions, that his editor has found it necessary to append many notes in correction. Apart, however, from the question whether the result of the volume on the reader's mind is such as would be agreeable to Mr Wyllie's friends, there is much that is interesting, and even helpful, to the general inquirer into Indian affairs and public (Anglo-Indian) opinion. The account of the affairs of Affghanistan, which is the subject of the paper called "Masterly Inactivity," is extremely useful at the present moment to all who are becoming alive to the pressing nature of the questions of our relations with Affghanistan. Mr Wyllie was, as a follower of Lord Lawrence, warmly opposed to any plan for occupying Quettah or Herat; but just as Lord Lawrence found himself obliged to recommend to his successor a policy opposed to or divergent from his own, so his champion would probably, as Dr Hunter suggests, have found in the progress of material wealth in India, the extension of the railway system there, and the swift and steady advance of Russia on the Khanates, three cogent reasons for urging now what half a dozen years ago he deprecated. At any rate, India has lost a most faithful, enthusiastic, and efficient servant, and the best that can be hoped is, that his clear and vivid style may cause some of his information to penetrate the hard crust of immense ignorance which hardens the heart and blinds the eyes of most English people when India is the topic.

A thoughtful and suggestive volume of essays is contributed by

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<sup>28</sup> "Essays on the External Policy of India." By the late J. W. S. Wyllie, M.A., C.S.I. Edited by W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1875.

Mr J. P. Quincy, of which the first one, which gives the title to the whole, is on the "Protection of Majorities."<sup>29</sup> This essay, which is couched in the form of a dialogue, affords a very instructive view of political society in America, which seems to be overridden by "caucusses." The "Protection of the Majority" means the protection of the individual electors in a district against the tyranny of these self-elected bodies. The writer says, "While it is a matter of serious concern that so many men of high intelligence and steady character are virtually disfranchised by the caucus system, it is no less unfortunate that the great body of labouring men are nearly as powerless in the hands of the managers." The volume contains a happily-named article on the "Better Samaritan," in which the principles of modern philanthropy are placed in contrast with the more simple and crude goodness of the original Samaritan, who has earned so wide and favourable a repute.

The "Manual of the Constitution of the United States,"<sup>30</sup> by Dr Andrews, is a book of the greatest educational value. It is full of information on every part of the constitution, conveyed in a brief and effective way, and replete with illustrations of all sorts. It presents a complete picture of the formal working of the constitution in all its ramifications.

The history of a railway contains many histories in itself, and certainly Mr Frederick S. Williams in his "History of the Midland Railway"<sup>31</sup> has appreciated to the full the almost inexhaustible capacities of his subject. The work is accomplished in a very painstaking spirit, and will be interesting to very different classes of readers. The ordinary reader cannot but be pleased and refreshed by the exhilarating picture of the country and the towns passed through by the line, which is made all the more lifelike by the help of a large number of excellent engravings. The commercial speculator will be stimulated by the account of all the pecuniary and parliamentary troubles and risks which the projectors had to meet and get the better of. The philosopher cannot but be stirred to reflection on the social and economical influence of a great railway on almost every department of human life. The work is described by its author as being in turn "historical," "descriptive," and "administrative." The Midland Railway has cost £50,000,000 of money in its creation, and it brings in a revenue of £9,000,000 a year. Its history is traced back to a little meeting of coalmasters round the parlour-table of a village inn in Nottinghamshire on the 16th August 1832.

Towards the conclusion of a volume describing a holiday spent in

<sup>29</sup> "The Protection of Majorities; or, Considerations Relating to Electoral Reform." With other Papers. By Josiah Phillips Quincy. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

<sup>30</sup> "Manual of the Constitution of the United States." By T. W. Andrews, D.D., LL.D. New York: Wilson.

<sup>31</sup> "The Midland Railway: its Rise and Progress. A Narrative of Modern Enterprise." By Frederick S. Williams. London: Strahan.

the Yellowstone Region in the United States, Lord Dunraven<sup>32</sup> says, "I love a squirrel, he is such a jolly little beast, and so active withal. Always busy, always happy, and full of larks, he manages to instil into the everyday routine of his life any amount of fun and good-humour." This represents very fairly the impression one gets of the writer himself. He is thoroughly entertaining, and has a quick eye for all he comes across, and he is not devoted to hunting to any large extent beyond the limits of what is necessary for travellers through desert lands. "The Great Divide" is a colloquialism for the range which is the watershed of the great rivers of the United States. It includes the great "National Park," set aside by Congress as a popular possession, never to be acquired by individuals, because it contains the amazing canons, and waterfalls, and lakes, and trees, and geysers so recently made known to the world by Professor Hayden's account of the Government exploring party, and by Mr Evart's story of his thirty-five days' wanderings when he lost that party. Lord Dunraven has a genial gift for putting useful knowledge in among his fun, and his sympathetic interest in the so-called "Red Indians" makes what he has to say about their condition and prospects, and the best policy for Canada to pursue towards them, really valuable. He says that three principles should guide all who have to deal with them. To sell whisky to them should be made a criminal offence; their opinions and grievances about their lands must be considerately listened to, and a fair price given to them; justice should be unswervingly administered as between them and the whites, as it is among the whites themselves. He believes that if the Hudson's Bay Company's organisations were utilised, it would afford an easy road to proper relations with the Indians. The only great blot on Lord Dunraven's otherwise worthy book is the constant expression of his strange fancy that an oath is funny, and funny in proportion to its profanity and coarseness.

It is really a pity that morals are not taught in England to the children of the upper classes. This volume exhibits a young nobleman,<sup>33</sup> of the higher ranks, in a fair position in the army, and no doubt accustomed to, at least, good-humoured scorn of people who steal at home in England, as well as for thieves in India, deliberately going among a people thoroughly accustomed to all sorts of trade, going simply for the pleasure of shooting, and feeling himself at liberty to steal instead of buying food continually. For sportsmen who share such peculiar views of property, the book may have attractions.

Mr Lamond's work<sup>34</sup> on Arctic adventure contains the notes of five voyages of sport and discovery in the neighbourhood of Spitz-

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<sup>32</sup> "The Great Divide." By the Earl of Dunraven. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>33</sup> "Sport in Abyssinia." By the Earl of Mayo, Lieut. Grenadier Guards. London: Murray. 1876.

<sup>34</sup> "Yachting in the Arctic Seas." By James Lamont, F.G.S. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.



bergen and Nova Zembla. It is profusely illustrated with excellent drawings both of scenery and animals. The story is told with an amount of precision and detail which seems to carry its evidence of truthfulness with it, and contains much historical matter as well as scientific information.

Mr Robertson, "of Brighton," is best known to the public by his sermons and his letters as published in his biography. His secular addresses,<sup>35</sup> delivered from time to time to the working-men of Brighton, are less well known, though his more devoted admirers have always been well aware of the treasures which lay hid in them. The following passage, taken almost at random, exhibits the sort of thing which has endeared the name of Robertson to those who have wandered over the dark mountains of doubt and despair. "In the darkest hour through which a human soul can pass, whatever else is doubtful, this at least is certain. If there be no God and no future state, yet, even then, it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be chaste than licentious, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward." His lecture on the influence of poetry on the working classes exhibits him in his characteristic attitude of feeling intensely himself, and yet never losing sight of those whom he was addressing, nor failing to sympathise with them to the uttermost. He was true, just, and loving all at once, to an almost exaggerated extent. The result is, that his words seem almost to burn with emotion, and yet his intellect is never distracted or overborne. He had something of the combined fervour and philosophic depth of Fichte, and, curiously enough, like him, he had a lifelong ambition for military renown. The republication of these essays is a great boon.

Mr James Plate has written some shrewd and serviceable essays on "Business,"<sup>36</sup> in which a good deal of homely advice is contained on such matters as health, habits of observation, industry, benevolence, calculation, truthfulness, money, and the like.

Under a promising title, Miss Cobbe<sup>37</sup> republishes a selection of her papers contributed to the *Echo* newspaper before it passed into the hands of its present proprietor. There can be no doubt that the piquant quality of her writing did much to help the quick success and sustained popularity of the convenient little journal, and her choice of specimens for this volume has been a happy one. She says in her preface that writers for the press must feel the evanescence of their work almost painfully, and that a scheme for endowing it with some measure of durability is one full of temptation. Certainly some of these little essays—such as those on "Tarry-at-Home Husbands," on "Kisses and Caresses," on "Martyrs and

<sup>35</sup> "Lectures, Addresses, and other Literary Remains." By the late Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, M.A., of Brighton. A new edition. Henry S. King. 1876.

<sup>36</sup> "Business." By James Plate. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1875.

<sup>37</sup> "Re-Echoes." By Francis Power Cobbe. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1876.

Martyrdom," on "The Confessional in the Church of England," are well worthy, and are quite safe, to find a place on the ordinary shelf for light literature, to rest the tired brain by kindly, humorous chat on perennially interesting topics. Miss Cobbe has the rare gift of a serious wit, a power to see the fun or grotesqueness of a matter without losing sight, or letting her readers lose sight, of its grave importance, and even to entice the unwary into weighing questions which, when more seriously put before them, revolt or scare them.

A little handbook for teachers of geography, adapted to the requirements of the revised code,<sup>38</sup> appears to be a useful help to those who are not already familiar with the modes universally in use in Germany at least. It details the steps by which children are taught the use of maps through plans of their schoolrooms and its neighbourhood, and wisely suggests the narration of imaginative stories at frequently-recurring points in the course of instruction, such as shall tend to fix in the child's mind the salient points of recent lessons. Probably it would be found that, for children so young as to need the first lessons here described, the use of so many technical words would be a stumbling-block not to be surmounted in the time supposed to be occupied by the course. An intelligent teacher would, however, easily translate into simpler language the hints here given him in somewhat terse and technical forms.

The fourth volume of the letters of Herr Max Eyth<sup>39</sup> is as full of lively observations of men, manners, and the outward world as its preceding volumes. Herr Eyth and his brother are, or have been, respectively connected with some of the most interesting engineering works of recent days, and describe their personal experiences and their thoughts with considerable vivacity. The younger is dead, and this little volume is intended, in some measure, to serve as a memorial of one whose professional career was one of great promise. The whole is more a light volume of sketches of travel than valuable for technical readers.

Among the many collections of proverbs and folklore, not the least valuable are those of superstitious customs remaining or remembered among the people. Mr Thisleton Dyer has compiled a "Calendar of British Popular Customs,"<sup>40</sup> specially selecting those which illustrate the social and domestic manners of the people. The value of his work is greatly increased by two things—that he always names the author, and frequently gives the reference, on which he depends for information, and that a good index at the end gives to the book a usefulness as a work of reference which it must otherwise have failed to possess. The calendar form is a popular, but not a very common-sense, one to adopt for such publications.

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<sup>38</sup> "First Steps in Geography: a Manual of Oral Lessons on a New Plan." London: Dalby, Isbister, & Co. 1876.

<sup>39</sup> "Wanderbuch eines Ingenieurs." In Briefen von Max Eyth. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. London: Trübner. 1876.

<sup>40</sup> "British Popular Customs, Present and Past." By the Rev. T. F. Thisleton Dyer, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1876.

Mr Dyer leaves room for future labour in the same direction, inasmuch as he has been unable to find a topic for each day, and inasmuch as he sometimes cannot give even a reason founded on superstition for some customs. The book is one to be used by antiquarians much as a "Daily Bread" is by some Evangelicals, as affording an appropriate subject for each day's meditation.

The daughters of the late Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne intrusted Mr E. Barrington de Fonblanque<sup>41</sup> with the task of preparing a biography of their grandfather, the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, from such letters and documents, many of them of a very fragmentary nature, as had been preserved in the family. Lord Macaulay, in his essay on Clive, speaks of Burgoyne as a "man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, and an officer whose courage was never questioned, and whose skill was highly esteemed." Burgoyne was, indeed, as the relics collected by Mr Fonblanque sufficiently prove, deeply implicated in the military and political life of his times; and these times were those of the last half of last century up to 1792, including the era of the Seven Years' War, the American War of Independence, and the trial of Warren Hastings. All the leading men of the day, as Washington, North, Pitt, Burke, and Shelburne, figure in the correspondence, and indeed supply parts of it. The connecting links introduced by Mr Fonblanque are brief, and yet long enough to serve their purpose. The book will take its place as an important authority on the history of one of the most critical periods in England's and the world's history.

Mr Cooley<sup>42</sup> devotes the preface to his work on "Physical Geography" to protesting against the loose use of the term by many writers. He says that it is the department of science which embraces the course of physics reigning on the earth's surface, and of which, as it depends to some extent on the features of that surface, geography is a function. He protests against the division of physical and political geography, and against the inclusion of the distribution of plants and animals, which, he thinks, are entirely branches of natural history. He accordingly embraces in his scope of study a very large amount of varied but strictly defined matter; treats of the constitution of the earth, the sources of heat, the principles which regulate winds, monsoons, cyclones, waves, currents, and "congelation in fresh water and in the sea." His subject also extends to electricity, magnetism, light, and the aurora borealis. Mr Cooley, without expending much of his valuable space in personal controversy, to some extent assaults the very foundations on which modern geology, as presented by Sir Charles Lyell and his followers, is based. He says that geology may still have to be improved by change of first prin-

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<sup>41</sup> "Political and Military Episodes in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne." By Edward Barrington de Fonblanque. London: Macmillan. 1876.

<sup>42</sup> "Physical Geography; or, The Terraqueous Globe and its Phenomena." By William Desborough Cooley. London: Dulau & Co. 1876.



ciples; the doctrine of continual, slow, and imperceptible change, discrediting experience, conceals much fallacy. He holds that the true solution must be looked for, not in the uniformity of processes, but in the greatest variety both in respect of dynamic energy and period of evolution.

In Richard Proctor's<sup>43</sup> little work on the "Wages and Wants of Science-Workers" is a compendious description of the different schemes which have been suggested for encouraging and endowing research. Mr Proctor considers the subject in a very fair spirit, and on the whole, after admitting that he has undergone changes of opinion in the matter, sums up unfavourably to endowment. He says that he recognises the full weight of those considerations which have been urged in favour of wide schemes of endowment. But he holds that experience tells in the opposite direction. "Greedy hands were stretched out for the promised prizes. Jobbing began its accustomed work; and those who sought to check its progress were abused and vilified. If this happened when schemes for endowment were but mentioned, what evil consequences might not be looked for if those schemes succeeded?"

We are always glad to call attention to the successive editions of the "Statesman's Year-Book."<sup>44</sup> It is a most valuable work, and there are few books which would be more missed if it ceased to appear. A precious feature in it is that of the full references to authorities given at the close of the account of every country.

The "Parliamentary Buff-Book"<sup>45</sup> is an analysis of the divisions of the House of Commons, with a descending scale of attendances of members at divisions, and it includes a "list of members petitioned against." It is a useful book, and a copy of it ought to be presented to every member on his election.

Burke's "Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage"<sup>46</sup> and Debrett's "Illustrated Peerage,"<sup>47</sup> and "Baronetage and Knightage"<sup>48</sup> are books too well known to need description. Burke's "Dictionary" is a very curious collection and mixture of history, biography, and gossip, though the amount of trouble needed to ensure accuracy must be enormous. Debrett's "Peerage" and "Baronetage and Knightage" are far more handy and less expensive works. It need not be said that the epithet "illustrated" has reference not to personal likenesses

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<sup>43</sup> "Wages and Wants of Science-Workers." By Richard A. Proctor. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

<sup>44</sup> "The Statesman's Year-Book for 1876." By Frederick Martin. London: Macmillan. 1876.

<sup>45</sup> "Parliamentary Buff-Book. Session 1875." By Thomas Nicolls Roberts. London: Effingham Wilson. 1875.

<sup>46</sup> "A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire." By Sir Bernard Burke, C.B., LL.D. London: Harrison. 1876.

<sup>47</sup> "Debrett's Illustrated Peerage and Titles of Courtesy of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." London: Dean & Son. 1876.

<sup>48</sup> "Debrett's Illustrated Baronetage, with the Knightage of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." London: Dean & Son. 1876.

of the present holders, but to their coats of arms. So long as hereditary and other titles of honour exist, and are, in fact, part of the constitution, there will be a certain demand for such productions.

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## SCIENCE.

**I**T is a hopeful thing to meet with a book on science written by a woman.<sup>1</sup> If other fields are closed to women, the field of Nature at any rate is open: will not some of them show by their researches therein that the accusation of inexactness and powerlessness to draw logical conclusions is not wholly true?

The subject which Miss Buckley has chosen is a difficult one to deal with: to write a history of natural science without falling into errors in point of fact would require most extensive knowledge; and to combine the details of that history so as to present a living picture of the progress of science, would require the skill of an artist. To say that the authoress has not fully succeeded in avoiding errors in her statements of facts, nor in presenting such a sketch of scientific progress as shall enable the reader to grasp the central ideas of science, while at the same time learning so much of detailed facts as is necessary for understanding these ideas, is to bestow no great measure of blame.

Errors in point of fact are scattered throughout the book. Perhaps one of the most glaring is that committed in speaking of organic chemistry as the chemistry of living bodies. It is now universally admitted by chemists that "organic chemistry" is a misnomer, but that, if the name is to be retained, it must be used as synonymous with the "chemistry of the carbon compounds." The whole account of this branch of chemistry is exceedingly inaccurate. In her account of latent heat, the authoress falls into a mistake often committed by persons who do not themselves attach a definite meaning to their expressions. She speaks of degrees of heat: temperature is measured by degrees, but quantities of heat and temperature are very different things. The metal Iridium is said (p. 323) to have been discovered by means of spectrum-analysis; this must be a misprint for Indium. But it is easy to pick out faults in a book which deals with so many and so varied spheres of knowledge: these and other errors will most probably be rectified in future editions.

The book supplies a want felt in teaching science to the young—viz., the want of a clear, but not diffuse, account of the beginning and gradual development of the various branches of natural science. It will be well for the youthful readers of this book if they carefully

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<sup>1</sup> "A Short History of Natural Science, for the use of Schools and Young Persons." By Arabella Buckley. London: John Murray. 1876.

think over the words which the authoress has written, when, towards the close of her work, she is speaking of Darwin's great theory of Evolution, "The whole history of science teaches us that men, in all ages, have constantly taken false alarm when it has been shown that God's ways are not our ways, and that the universe is governed by far wider and more constant laws than we had imagined in our little minds."

In this short address,<sup>2</sup> there is presented an almost complete epitome of the method pursued by Science in her pursuit of truth; of the benefits to be gained from a study of science; of the way in which such a study should be conducted, and of the drawbacks to this study presented by the prevalent educational systems. Scientific method consists in observation of facts, in conducting experiments with a view to discover the connection between the observed facts, in framing hypotheses, and lastly, in testing these hypotheses by an appeal to facts. He who carries out such a method cannot but attain to clearness of thinking, truthfulness of expression, and breadth of knowledge. The study of Nature is only to be conducted—as Professor Cook insists—by the student himself boldly addressing questions to Nature, and learning to trust in her answers, and in his own power to decipher aright these answers. Hence it is that natural science cannot be made the subject of competitive examinations, at least not to the same extent as is done with languages.

The author advocates more especially the claims of chemistry and mineralogy as branches of a liberal education; he proves that the study of these sciences tends to give a habit of fixity of attention, teaches the student to weigh evidence and to draw just conclusions, and engenders truthfulness and self-reliance. Not the least valuable part of this most valuable address is that in which the author warns his hearers against making the study of science a mere exercise of memory, and tells teachers of science to "eschew *merely* memorised rules as they would deadly poison."

It is impossible in this notice to point out the many excellences of Professor Cook's address. Every one who cares for the advancement of science teaching, and who wishes to know in what way the study of science may be best conducted, should procure this little book.

One is apt to imagine that the blowpipe has become an antiquated instrument in chemical analysis. A glance at the book before us<sup>3</sup> may serve to show that this is not the case. We have here a manual of about 150 pages devoted entirely to a description of analytical methods which necessitate the use of the blowpipe. The reactions of the different metals and metallic oxides, including the rare metals, are

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<sup>2</sup> "Scientific Culture : an Address delivered July 7, 1875, at the opening of the Summer Courses of Instruction in Chemistry at Harvard University." By Josiah P. Cook, jun., Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard College. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1876.

<sup>3</sup> "Die Löthrohranalyse." Mit freier Benutzung von William Elderhorst's "Manual of Qualitative Blowpipe-Analysis." Bearbeitet von J. Landauer. Braunschweig : O. Haering & Co. 1876.



detailed, as are also the methods for detecting the more common acids by means of the blowpipe. Bunsen's flame-reactions are concisely described; and the book concludes with a series of most valuable tables for the guidance of the student. This book presents us with a very complete, clearly-written, and well-illustrated manual on the subject of blowpipe-analysis.

The author of this book<sup>4</sup> claims for himself the merit of advancing certain new views concerning the origin and development of the material universe. Accepting the law of gravitation as a sure foundation, he argues that there has been from the beginning a gradual but constant increase in the mass of all the bodies in the universe, caused by the accumulation on these bodies of what might be called cosmic particles, and that the temperature of these bodies has been and is gradually increasing. Some of these bodies, as the sun, have become so hot that they emit light; the others will attain to this stage at a future time. The whole of the water at present found on the earth is regarded, by the author of this work, as a product of chemical action which has taken place in past times between the gaseous and solid constituents of the earth.

Furthermore, the author imagines that as this globe became hotter, the materials of which it was composed entered into more complex forms of combination until life appeared; but that life is only an episode in the history of the earth, which must in its turn give place to higher forms of development, until finally the nebulous condition is reached.

In the second volume of his work the author attempts to trace the gradual development of various forms of life culminating in man; the close dependence of the so-called organic upon the inorganic realm of Nature is insisted upon; and, finally, the whole plan of this Cosmogony is traced backwards to the fundamental law of gravitation.

The views expressed in the second part of the work do not differ materially from those which are characteristic of the more advanced development school; it is in the first part that the author is at variance with the generally accepted theories of physical science.

The theory that heat—that is, a form of energy—is being gained by the universe, unless shown to rest upon the most solid grounds, must be dismissed, as being opposed to the widest generalisations of modern science. Our greatest naturalists, from their study of nature, have come to the conclusion that the energy of the universe is suffering a gradual process of dissipation—that the material universe may be compared to a clock which is slowly but surely running down; but this writer would have us believe that the clock is being wound up. Is the evidence sufficient to justify the conclusion? We think not. It is true that meteorites do continue to fall upon the surface of the earth, but the heat generated by this means must be extremely minute. A theory resembling in some

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<sup>4</sup> "Osiris. Weltgesetze in der Erdgeschichte." Von C. Radenhausen. Hamburg: Otto Meissner. 1875.

respects that of the writer has been proposed to account for the origin of the sun's heat, viz., that energy of position has been transformed into kinetic energy by the contraction of the parts of that body; but this theory is not opposed to the doctrine of the dissipation of energy. The fact that the earth's crust consists for the most part of burned or oxidised substances seems to be opposed to a theory which would have us believe that the whole of the water on the earth is the product of chemical action, because such action must have consisted mainly in deoxidation. If such processes have taken place on a scale sufficient to produce that quantity of water which is found on the earth, we should be compelled to imagine that at one time the earth consisted of an almost purely metallic mass, which was converted into oxides as the temperature increased.

From the vast variety of subjects treated of in the work before us, it becomes difficult to give a general idea of the method pursued by the author. After a short historical introduction, sketches are given of each of the more purely physical sciences, and an attempt is made to deduce general laws in each science. Some of these laws have not, according to the author, been before laid down, but those which he specially instances are merely old generalisations stated in a somewhat novel form.

The general tone of the book betrays on the part of the author a singular inability to appreciate the mysteries of Nature. He promises us a third volume, in which the facts of human life and of man's religion are to be traced backwards to the law of gravitation as to their fundamental basis!

While we wonder at the stores of knowledge which the writer of this book has amassed, and admire the talent which he displays in grouping together the different parts of this knowledge, we must dissent from many of the conclusions which he has, as we believe, deduced from insufficient data.

What associations gather round the name of Liebig! Whether we remember him as the accomplished lecturer, the enthusiastic student of Nature, the founder of a new branch of science, the central figure in a group of chemists who gathered to the laboratory of Giessen from all parts of the world, the popular author, or the man who successfully applied his scientific knowledge to the processes of manufacture and of everyday life—we must exclaim

*“Nihil quod non tetigit, nihil quod tetigit non ornavit.”*

Liebig's scientific work divides itself into three parts—that which was purely chemical, that which was physiological, and that which was connected with agriculture. To Liebig's investigations in pure chemistry we owe that branch of the science which is usually called Organic Chemistry. Nor only did this great master discover and investigate a vast number of organic compounds, nor only did he introduce methods of classification into this branch of science, but he also invented that process which has enabled chemists to carry out with accuracy and rapidity the analysis of organic bodies, and has

thus been one of the main helps in the wonderful advances which organic chemistry has made within the last quarter of a century. Although some of the conclusions which Liebig drew from the results of his work in agricultural and physiological chemistry have not met with general acceptance in later times, yet he must be regarded as the man who placed these branches of chemistry upon a strictly scientific basis, and who, by his laborious investigation of facts, laid the foundations of the superstructure which is now being reared. In the address of Dr v. Pettenkofer<sup>5</sup> we are presented with an exceedingly fresh and pleasing sketch of Liebig's scientific work; the man himself is placed before the reader—the man whose imagination was quick to generalise, but whose reason ever checked the results of his imagination; the man who, naturally impulsive, learned by experience to trust only in well-proved facts; the man whose rare powers of scientific work and of scientific exposition enabled him to found a school of chemistry which has included in its members almost every one of those whose names are to-day recognised as leaders in the science. Such a man was Liebig.

The students of the history of science must be thankful to Dr Pettenkofer for the manner in which he has accomplished his task of presenting a well-drawn picture of one of the greatest of the scientific men of the present century.

In his second address the author insists upon the importance of Hygiene as a branch of scientific medicine: he shows how much may be done in the way of preventing diseases by the application of a scientific knowledge of the conditions under which these diseases are propagated. Such knowledge is to be gained only by careful study and experimental research, not by mere empiricism. Dr Pettenkofer carefully points out the importance of resting a knowledge of Hygiene upon the basis of a wide scientific culture: he clearly states that without such culture it is impossible to gain anything like a complete knowledge of the special branch of science the study of which he is urging. In so many points is Hygiene connected with the sciences of physiology, chemistry, and physics, that a preliminary preparation in these is essential to the would-be student of the science of preserving health.

We have received two pamphlets dealing with matters connected with photography. In the first,<sup>6</sup> a new process for obtaining collodion positives directly in the camera is described; the second<sup>7</sup> contains several short papers on photographic subjects, and describes the methods for preparing a new kind of albumin paper and collodion. Neither calls for any special notice.

<sup>5</sup> "Populäre Vorträge." Von Dr Max v. Pettenkofer. Zum Gedächtniss des Dr Justus Freiherrn v. Liebig. Ueber Hygiene und ihre Stellung an den Hochschulen. Braunschweig: Fried. Vieweg & Sohn. 1876.

<sup>6</sup> "Ferrotypie." Düsseldorf: Ed. Liesegang.

<sup>7</sup> "Photographisches Archiv." Ueber die Erlangung brillanter Negative. Sechster Heft. Düsseldorf: Ed. Liesegang. Berlin: Th. Grieben. 1875.



In this pamphlet<sup>8</sup> an American invention is described, which professes to be possessed of many advantages as compared with the old magic-lantern, while it is less costly and less complicated than the oxyhydrogen lantern.

The quantity of coloured substance in a solution may be determined by a spectral-analytical measurement of the intensity of the residual light in a particular region of the absorption-spectrum of the solution under examination. On this basis the author of "*Die Quantitative Spectralanalyse*"<sup>9</sup> proceeds to describe a series of measurements of the decolorising power of animal char upon sugar solutions; of the absorption-spectra of many substances chiefly of animal origin; and to develop the methods for carrying out such researches and recording the results, by means principally of graphic representations. A quantitative application of spectrum-analysis has long been dreamed of; in this monograph we have the promise of the fulfilment of the dream. Dr Vierordt has set about the work in the most careful manner; he has determined the necessary data with the greatest exactitude; and although the method appears at present too difficult for technical application, yet these difficulties will doubtless be overcome, and we shall have another instance of the benefits which pure Science bestows upon Technology. Be the practical application of quantitative spectrum-analysis near at hand or distant, the fact remains that a step in advance has been made in the scientific history of the spectroscope—a history which is already perhaps as marvellous as any fairy-tale.

It is difficult to understand why such a book as this "*Year-Book*"<sup>10</sup> should be written. A tolerably fair account of some of the more important additions made to scientific knowledge throughout the past year is indeed presented to the reader; but the relation is too meagre and unconnected to be of service to the student, while it is not interesting enough to attract the general reader. One might pick up a considerable amount of information by glancing through the pages of this book; but the facts follow each other in such rapidity, that after reading a few pages the mind gets bewildered. The general public wants a clear, connected, untechnical account of the progress of scientific knowledge. Such an account can only be given by a man who is at once master of his subject and master of the art of exposition. The student requires a well-classified, carefully-digested register of the progress made in each branch of science. Such a register cannot be compiled by one man, however laborious. It must be the work of a number of men, chosen for their ability, and associated together in the fulfilment of their task. Although the progress of some of the sciences is recorded annually, we are not as

<sup>8</sup> "*Das Sciopticon.*" Düsseldorf: Ed. Liesegang.

<sup>9</sup> "*Die quantitative Spectralanalyse in ihrer Anwendung auf Physiologie, Physik, Chemie und Technologie.*" Von Karl Vierordt, Professor der Physiologie, &c., an der Universität Tübingen. Tübingen: H. Laupp. 1876.

<sup>10</sup> "*The Year-Book of Facts in Science and the Arts for 1875.*" Edited Charles W. Vincent. London: Ward, Lock, & Tyler. 1876.

yet possessed of a work such as that the outline of which we have sketched: Is it too much to hope that the want will be shortly supplied?

Among the works forming the International Scientific Library we have to notice an excellent little treatise by Professor Karl Fuchs on "Volcanoes and Earthquakes."<sup>11</sup> The author describes the nature of volcanoes, and the phenomena and products of their eruption, discusses at some length, and in a very sensible manner, the theory of their formation and activity, the phenomena and causes of earthquakes, mud-volcanoes, and geysers, and concludes his book with a general view of the distribution of volcanoes over the surface of the earth. The book is illustrated with a good many wood engravings, and with a map of the world showing the volcanic regions.

The progress of all sciences in these latter days has become so rapid, the number of investigators in every department so great, that it is almost, if not quite impossible, for any student to keep himself abreast even of the particular branch of knowledge to the cultivation of which he devotes himself. Hence it has become almost a matter of necessity to have periodical summaries of the literature of different departments of science; and although the work to be done in preparing such records may seem at the first glance to be of a more or less mechanical order, students ought to be only the more grateful to those who will undertake in their behalf the needful amount of wearisome labour. Hitherto we have had no attempt at a complete analysis of the geological literature of a year; but Mr Whitaker, a well-known member of the staff of the Geological Survey, has just published the first volume, containing nearly 400 pages, of a "Geological Record,"<sup>12</sup> which promises to be a most valuable aid to all students. It contains an analysis of the geological and mineralogical literature of the year 1874, classified under certain principal heads, the individual publications being then arranged in the alphabetical order of the authors' names. The work has evidently been most carefully done, and we must congratulate geologists upon having the prospect of so trustworthy a guide in future; the only part in which we can suggest any improvement being the section Palæontology, where we think some sort of natural-history classification ought to be adopted, in order to facilitate reference to the subjects recorded. With the hope that this may be effected in future years, we cordially recommend the work of Mr Whitaker and his *collaborateurs* to the notice of such of our readers as are interested in geology.

The excavations carried on in the cave known as the Kesslerloch,

<sup>11</sup> "Vulkane und Erdbeben." Von Karl Fuchs. Sm. 8vo. † Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1875.

<sup>12</sup> "The Geological Record for 1874: an Account of Works on Geology, Mineralogy, and Palæontology published during the Year." Edited by William Whitaker, B.A. 8vo. London: Taylor & Francis. 1875.

near Thayngen, in Switzerland, by M. Merk, brought to light a great number of traces of the existence of prehistoric man in this locality; and Mr Lee has rendered good service to the English student by publishing a translation of the excellent memoir in which M. Merk recorded his discoveries.<sup>13</sup> The fauna of the cave clearly shows its occupation to belong to the Reindeer Period, and is remarkably rich, nearly all the species found in the whole of the Belgian caves having been furnished by this single locality, whilst several which do not occur in the more northern district are found in the Swiss cave. The most numerous remains are those of the horse, reindeer, wolf, Arctic fox, Alpine hare, and ptarmigan. The only human bone found at Thayngen is the collar-bone of a young individual; but the works of man's hands in the shape of implements of stone and bone, and ornaments of bone, stone, and brown coal, were exceedingly abundant. The stone implements are all of palæolithic type, but those fabricated from the bones and horns of various animals are often elaborately worked and ornamented, reminding us of those from the South of France, so well described and figured in the "*Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*" of MM. Lartet and Christy, the publication of which has lately been completed by Professor Rupert Jones: Among other points in common between the Swiss and French relics, we have the occurrence of a good many engraved representations of animals. The figures found at Thayngen are chiefly of the horse and the reindeer; there is also an outline of the hinder-part of an animal resembling a pig, and a sculptured fragment representing the head of the musk sheep (*Ovibos moschatus*); outlines of a fox and a bear are open to some doubt as to their genuineness. Mr Lee's translation is furnished with a few notes and an appendix, and illustrated with impressions of the original plates.

The records of discovery in the inhospitable regions within the Arctic Circle, and the details of the extraordinary natural phenomena there witnessed, must always constitute a most interesting subject for the popular writer, and the interest attaching to such matters will certainly not be diminished in this country by the fact that we have at the moment an expedition engaged in seeking to enlarge the boundaries of our knowledge of the Arctic regions. Under these circumstances a book just published on the "*Arctic World*"<sup>14</sup> will no doubt find a great number of readers; and although we do not see that it differs materially in the nature and treatment of its contents from several of its predecessors in the same line, it may safely be recommended as furnishing a good sketch of the progress and results of Arctic research. We fancy that it is founded

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<sup>13</sup> "Excavations at the Kesslerloch, near Thayngen, Switzerland; a Cave of the Reindeer Period." By Conrad Merk. Translated by John Edward Lee. 8vo. London: Longmans. 1876.

<sup>14</sup> "The Arctic World; its Plants, Animals, and Natural Phenomena. With a Historical Sketch of Arctic Discovery." 4to. London: Nelson & Sons. 1876.



upon some of the French books, of which so many have been published by Figuier and others,—many of the best woodcuts contained in it are certainly from a French source. The author describes the general geographical facts relating to the Arctic regions and the physical phenomena displayed there, devoting of course a great deal of space to ice, icebergs, and glaciers, and to those more or less sensational narratives connected with ice-adventures. Under the head of the Polar Seas he gives an account of the animals more particularly belonging to them, especially the white bears, seals, walruses, and whales. Another chapter describes the flora and fauna of Polar lands, and others are devoted to the special description of Arctic countries and their human inhabitants. The concluding chapter contains a short historical sketch of the progress of Arctic discovery, which is brought down to the present date. The illustrations are numerous, and for the most part good. At page 98, however, we find a penguin figured instead of the great auk.

Dr Morse's "*First Book of Zoology*,"<sup>15</sup> although very limited in its purpose, seems to us to fulfil its author's intention very well, and we have no doubt it will be found exceedingly useful as a guide to beginners in the study of zoology. Dr Morse starts from the principle that it is above all things desirable in the case of a science like zoology that the student should acquire as early as possible a knowledge of the objects treated of; and hence he maintains that the first step to be taken by the young zoologist is the formation of a collection of the commoner forms of animals that can be obtained in the district in which he resides. In a series of chapters he first indicates the modes of collecting Mollusca, insects and other arthropods, and worms, and then, in a most painstaking manner, describes the structure of these animals, and the method by which the reader may be enabled to verify the various statements made by a personal examination of the things themselves. As a first guide to a practical knowledge of the structure of Mollusca and Arthropoda, we know of nothing better than this little book. The Vertebrata are treated more briefly, but sufficient information is given to indicate the general arrangement of the skeleton and the principles of the homology of its various parts. A good deal of information on the natural history of the animals treated of, and especially on the metamorphoses of insects, is given in different parts of the book, and the whole winds up with a brief outline of zoological classification. The instructiveness of the descriptions of structure is greatly increased by the very numerous illustrations, which, although simple outlines, are accurate and well executed. The one drawback of the book is, that as it was originally written for American readers, the animals selected for description are not always of a kind that are common on this side of the Atlantic; and we think also that the

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<sup>15</sup> "*First Book of Zoology*." By Edward S. Morse, Ph.D. Sm. 8vo. London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

author would have done wisely had he given the scientific names of the species.

We must confess to being considerably disappointed with Professor Van Beneden's treatise on "Animal Parasites,"<sup>16</sup> one of the most recent volumes of the International Science Series. As the learned Professor of Louvain is the originator of the idea of "commensalism," as distinguished from true "parasitism" in the zoological sense of the term, we expected him to be a clear expositor of the phenomena in question; but we find in several parts of his book indications that his ideas upon the matters with which he has to deal are rather confused, and he has introduced many things which really seem to have nothing to do with the subjects in hand, the introduction of which can only serve to produce obscurity. Thus amongst "commensals," or "messmates," as they are rather unfortunately called in the English translation before us, we find mention made of the beetle *Drilus*, the larva of which devours a snail, and then undergoes its transformations in the empty shell; the crab *Hypoconcha*, which conceals its soft carapace under the cast valve of a bivalve mollusc; and many other forms of animals to which commensalism cannot be ascribed. Further, the author places among commensals many species of unquestionable parasites, such as the *Entoconcha mirabilis*, discovered by Johannes Müller in a Mediterranean species of *Synapta*, and the *Peltogasters* and *Sacculinae*, which live upon the abdomen of decapod crustaceans, and derive nourishment from them, and which are here placed among "fixed messmates;" whilst the *Liriope*, which in its turn is parasitic upon *Peltogaster*, is arranged with the "free messmates." It is needless, however, to multiply examples. The first chapter on Parasites relates to those which are "free during their whole life," and which consequently cannot be regarded as parasites at all. The subjects here treated of are vampires, leeches (some of which, however, are true parasites, and not free livers), gnats, sandflies, the tsetse-fly, the *Tabani*, the bed-bug, the flea, and even the *Notonecta*; whilst these are mixed up most incongruously with many species which are truly parasitic, and some which are by no means free during their whole life. Among the parasites that are "free while young" we get the Bopyridæ, including the *Liriope* already described as a commensal. The last chapter relates to "parasites during their whole life," but we doubt whether any of the forms referred to strictly come under this category. In this chapter we have a very brief account of "insects which live as parasites on plants," in which we find the following philosophical statement—"Almost all the Hemiptera are among these; we have already mentioned them. The Hemiptera, which live on the sap of vegetables, are parasites in the same manner as those which live at the expense of animals. We ought not to make a difference between the manner of life of the

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<sup>16</sup> "Animal Parasites and Messmates." By P. J. Van Beneden. Sm. 8vo. London: H. S. King & Co. 1876.

bugs of plants and those of animals." Apart from the completely erroneous nature of the general statement with regard to the Hemiptera, when we consider the two examples here given, the Coccidæ and Aphides, we can see no reason why they should be called parasites simply because they suck the juices of plants, any more than the hosts of phytophagous insects which devour the leaves, and certainly not so much as those numerous species which reside as larvæ, and sometimes throughout their whole lives, except when migrating, within the organs of plants. But Professor Van Beneden's knowledge of entomology, like that of many distinguished naturalists, is of a very "shaky" description. Apart from this, the main fault of the book seems to arise from an attempt at great precision of classification of phenomena, as to the precise nature of which the author does not seem to have quite made up his own mind. The best parts are those relating to the internally-parasitic worms, as to the investigation of the history of which the author may say, *Cujus pars magna fui*. The illustrations are numerous and good. In concluding this notice, we would suggest to the publishers the necessity of getting their translations made by some one who knows something of the subjects treated of—the present book is defaced by innumerable errors of various kinds.

Dr Perceval Wright's popular Natural History of the Mammalia,<sup>17</sup> founded upon one of M. Louis Figuier's numerous works, furnishes a fair sketch of the department of zoology to which it relates, with perhaps a little too much tendency to dwell upon the more sensational matters which come within its scope, but without any of that pretension to be a profound scientific work which so often disgusts us in very inferior productions. The woodcut illustrations, which are numerous, and generally good, are chiefly from French originals. The book will be a most attractive present for young people.

Probably no book on Natural History has ever been so often reprinted as Gilbert White's charming book on Selborne. Nevertheless two editions, one of which is now before us, appeared within the last twelvemonth, and Professor Bell promises us still another, which we presume will become the classical one for all future time. With regard to the latest published edition,<sup>18</sup> with notes by Mr Frank Buckland, we must confess that, apart from the beautiful illustrations of scenery, its *raison d'être* is a mystery. The few additional letters are not of sufficient value to give it a new character, and besides, they might very well have waited to appear under the auspices of Professor Bell, and it would have been much better if the editor's notes had never appeared at all, at least in connection with White's "Selborne." His notes appear to be for the most part extracts from

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<sup>17</sup> Mammalia : their Various Forms and Habits, popularly Illustrated by Typical Species." Adapted from the text of Louis Figuier. By E. Perceval Wright, M.D. Sm. 8vo. London : Cassell. 1876.

<sup>18</sup> "Natural History and Antiquities of Selborne." By Gilbert White. With Notes by Frank Buckland, a Chapter on Antiquities by Lord Selborne, and new Letters. 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co. 1875.



his own and other people's articles in *Land and Water* and elsewhere, with a sprinkling of information on the habits of birds derived from a London birdcatcher (which may have been published elsewhere, for anything we know to the contrary), heaped together with references to pages in the text of White's book, on which we frequently search in vain for anything to justify the insertion of such notes. The ingenuity with which some of these notes are twisted in is really surprising. Thus White, in referring to the former presence of red deer in his district, notes the injurious effect of the presence of such animals upon the morals of the peasantry, and our editor has a note which begins as follows:—"In Gilbert White's time man-traps and spring-guns were probably set for the benefit of the Waltham blacks which he mentions," and he devotes half a page to the description, and another half page to a woodcut illustration of these implements. A mere mention of rabbits leads to a note on a rabbit with deformed teeth, and this again to a description of a curious cavity found in an elephant's tusk, the whole, with its illustrations, occupying about two pages. The mention of considerable lakes in Woolmer Forest calls for a note commencing, "Large lakes such as those mentioned by White often contain one large pike, who is king of the pond;" as an example of which is cited the "huge pike that I obtained through the kindness of His Royal Highness Prince Christian," the account of which makes over a page. White's mention of *coins* found in Woolmer pond leads to a description of an ancient seal and ring shown to the editor at Pilton, near Barnstaple, in Devonshire; his notice of a variety of the common mouse justifies a page of description and figure of a mouse caught by an oyster; a justifiable note on snakes' eggs terminates with a long quotation from Dr Roget on the structure of the vertebral column in serpents; some reference to torpidity furnishes a peg on which to hang an account of the mummy of a marmozet; a note on the viper leads up to one on the rattle of the rattlesnake, and this again to an account of the Wourali poison, illustrated with a representation of a pot of it; and one on earthworms and snails to a description and figure of the "vegetable caterpillar of New Zealand;" and White's account of a supposed leper not only procures a note on leprosy in general, but also one on the "black death." We never saw such a collection of matters *apropos de bottles* as in this appendix of Mr Buckland's, which occupies 134 pages, everything in which, adapted to explain or usefully extend White's statements, might certainly be condensed into one-third of the space. Such an absurd farrago of incongruous materials as the rest ought never to have been foisted upon the public with the prestige of White's name. One thing, however, we have to be thankful for—namely, that the editor (perhaps to save himself trouble) has not appended his notes to the text, nor even inserted references to the appendix in the text, so that the reader's attention is not diverted to useless notes. The text includes the whole of White's original work, with the posthumous "Observations on Various Parts of Nature," broken up into sections, and

placed in brackets at those places in the "Natural History" to which they properly belong. The letters on the "Antiquities of Selborne" are also given, with an excellent appendix on the Romano-British Antiquities, by Lord Selborne.

We need do no more than mention the appearance of a new (sixth) edition of Professor Haeckel's "Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte,"<sup>19</sup> the English translation of which was noticed in our last issue. Essentially the work is unchanged, although, no doubt, a careful comparison with the previous edition would show certain minor alterations.

Dr Wharton Jones takes a very different view from Professor Haeckel of the natural history of creation. He has published two lectures in opposition to the theory of Evolution,<sup>20</sup> in which he professes to prove on scientific grounds that that theory is untenable. We do not think that he has really placed himself in the scientific standpoint; and his title-page, on which "Evolution of the Human Race from Apes, and of Apes from Lower Animals," appears in bold type, whilst the essential words, "a Doctrine unsanctioned by Science," are given in small and thin letters, might almost lead one to think that he was prompted in its invention by a monkey-like spirit of mischief, which might be adduced in support of the doctrine of heredity.

Dr Richardson's book<sup>21</sup> is as bad as a ghost-story at bedtime! His first chapter, by way of a lively opening, is a discourse on euthanasia; then comes a discourse upon disease, and—horrible to relate!—includes "diseases antecedent to birth"! Then we read of all our silly ways, and thoughtless ways, and wicked ways, and of those subtle indications which first reveal the mischief we have prepared for ourselves; and our guilty consciences, hand-in-hand with our awakened fears and newly-discovered morbid sensations, stalk us down to despair. Surely this book should have come from a lean ascetic, who would make of our pleasant sins whips to scourge us, and not from the hand of the genial author whom the world knows so well. Perhaps, like Goethe, he finds that by writing a sorrow down he gets rid of it, and so, vampire-like, he is growing in jollity while he is writing us down into misery. Phenomena of disease from tobacco! Phenomena of disease from railway travelling! One feels the preliminary tinglings in one's spine as one writes, and can only keep up by remembering the goodly face of a Great Northern express guard. But if we make light of Dr Richardson's warnings we may be working out our own condemnation, so we will only say that if any one among us hath a good stomach, let him read; if he

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<sup>19</sup> "Natürliche Schöpfungsgeschichte." Von Dr Ernst Haeckel. Sechste verbesserte Auflage. 8vo. Berlin: G. Reimer. 1875.

<sup>20</sup> "Evolution of the Human Race from Apes, and of Apes from Lower Animals, a Doctrine unsanctioned by Science." By Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S., &c. 8vo. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

<sup>21</sup> "Diseases of Modern Life." By B. W. Richardson, M.D., F.R.S. London. 1876.

hath two thousand a year and no family, let him read ; if he never sits up of nights, let him read ; but, dear reader, if you do have occasional aches in your back, if your food will sometimes do what it should not, if by chance you have many mouths to feed, and hard work to feed them, and feel disposed to get rid of the mouths once for all by "snapping their heads off," then do not read Dr Richardson, or you will give yourself up for lost. It is too clever a book, too graphic, and in not a few places too true (though in others we think fanciful enough), to be tolerable nowadays. For men must work, and women must weep.

In a thin folio with a large map, Mr Haviland<sup>22</sup> has published the results of some of his most laborious researches into the geographical distribution of disease. It is easy to speak slightly of Mr Haviland's method. In dealing, say, with heart-disease, the author is dealing with a term of very loose meaning. Still it would have been quite impossible to make such researches at all had precise terms been made a *sine qua non*. For our parts, we think that Mr Haviland, by attempting some geographical classification of a vast number of facts, has done excellent service, and one which must lead to results of importance. An imperfect classification is better than none ; and we would urge this the more upon our readers, as Mr Haviland's labours can appeal but to a few, and among those few are so many who are hard to please, that we fear he may meet with little immediate reward. For our own part, we receive Mr Haviland's work with cordial thanks, and with great confidence in its value.

Dr Ferber<sup>23</sup> has published his researches on pleurisy with effusion, in a thin well-illustrated quarto volume. His researches are both clinical and experimental, and well deserve attention. To consider them here in detail would, however, lead us into a discussion too technical and special for these pages.

It is contrary to our wont to notice new editions,<sup>24</sup> but in this instance we welcome a cheaper reissue of these admirable lectures. It must be most encouraging to the authoress to find that her little book has run through five editions already. In a former number of this *Review* we spoke so highly of it, that its great success is, we think, a matter upon which the public is also not less to be congratulated.

The gradual enlightenment of the public mind and the advance of the medical mind has compelled Dr Adolph Lion to prepare a second supplement to his original volume<sup>25</sup> on public medicine and public

<sup>22</sup> "The Geographical Distribution of Heart-Disease and Dropsy, Cancer in Females, and Phthisis in Females, in England and Wales." By Alfred Haviland. London. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> "Die Physikalischen Symptome d. Pleuritis Exsudativa." Von Dr Adolph Ferber. Marburg. 1875.

<sup>24</sup> "Health in the House." By Catherine M. Buckton. Sixth Edition. London. 1876.

<sup>25</sup> "Handbuch der Medicinal- und Sanitätspolizei." Von Dr Adolph Lion. Dritter (II. Suppl.) Band. Iserlohn. 1875.



sanitation. Many new Acts have been passed, new regulations have been issued affecting the profession, public sanitation has been almost remodelled, so that a work on these subjects soon becomes comparatively imperfect. In the present little volume, most conveniently arranged, is to be found the last information upon the subjects mentioned; also concerning veterinary medicine, unwholesome occupations, including sponge-diving, adulterations of food and its preservation, and so forth. The number of works issued on these and kindred subjects of late years has grown so large that we hesitate to recommend a new one. Dr Lion, however, is no new authority, and his little book is both cheap, good, and convenient.

On several occasions we have warned the medical reader not to forget these admirable publications,<sup>26</sup> in which essays often appear of a merit which might well command a more general circulation. Although in the present volume we do not find essays of that originality and wide bearing which very commonly appear in the series, yet the papers on special subjects are both interesting and important. Dr Parkes' annual report on Hygiène is always a chief feature in these volumes, and is this year, as always, the most masterly *resumé* of the kind in English literature. As we have said before, these reports of Dr Parkes alone are worth the cost of the issue. The writer makes especial reference to the advance of sanitation from towns to the rural districts, and to the establishment of the Society of Public Analysts. As to the retrograde Adulteration Act of the present Government, we are glad that Dr Parkes thinks it will be still a workable bill, though "it is probable that the old Act was better." "In addition to the new Adulteration Bill (which, however, is not an advance) there is the new consolidating Public Health Bill, the Artisans' Dwellings and the Rivers Pollution Bills, making the last session the most important on sanitary matters since 1848." In speaking of the temperature of the body in mountain-climbing, the reporter cites the new observations of Dr Calberta, who did not find any depressions of temperature such as those noted by Lortet. In citing Clifford Allbutt's observations by the side of those of Lortet, it must be remembered that Clifford Allbutt proves that such depressions are very exceptional, in opposition to Lortet, who declared them to be the rule. Under typhoid fever, the reporter notes that this disease is now admitted to exist in "very great amount" in India. He refers to the several admirable investigations into the propagation of the disease at home and abroad, and shows that altogether they bear out prevailing beliefs, and are on the whole opposed to the hypothesis of Pettenkofer; the same may also be said of the conclusions of the Vienna Conference on cholera. Other papers are concerned with the Ashantee campaign, the microscopical examination of potable water of Cape Coast Castle,

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<sup>26</sup> "Army Medical Department Report for 1873." London. 1875.

While these lines were in the hands of the printer, we heard the sad record of the death of Dr Parkes, in whom we have lost one of the ablest, gentlest, and most accomplished of modern physicians.

a case of aneurism from gunshot wound, enteric fever at Newbridge and at the military prison at Dublin, with the use of chloroform and ether at Netley, and many other subjects. Surgeon-Major Porter, in his report on the anæsthetics, concludes that the danger of ether seems less, and the recovery more rapid; but that pure ether is difficult to get, and the quantities required are very large. These objections, of course, have comparatively little force in civil practice.

This volume<sup>27</sup> is the fifth of the series of reports issued by the staff of the West Riding Asylum, and we do not hesitate to say that a series of such sustained excellence has rarely issued from any medical foundation. The volumes, edited by Dr Crichton Browne, are all full of real work; each writer has interested himself in some particular point; he keeps to his point, and he registers his conclusions tersely and briefly. The volumes of reports issued by the great London hospitals come far below the present series in this respect; for in them there is no very obvious editing, the nominal editors look only to the securing of one or two long papers by able men as the pieces of resistance, and of one or two hasty pages by great men as garnish, and the rest is filled in with the merest padding. Now the West Riding reports, as year by year we have had occasion to say, are the very opposite of this. They record real and organised work, and there is scarcely a page to be spared from the whole. We sincerely hope that the promotion of the able superintendent of this asylum will not withdraw him from those original inquiries for which he is so well fitted, and which he has found time to pursue and to stimulate in others in the midst of the routine work of that office he is now so soon to vacate, to the regret of all Yorkshiremen.

All English schools will receive with cordial thanks from Dr Gamgee this edition of Hermann's<sup>28</sup> well-known physiology. Hermann's treatise came out at a time when the rapid advances of physiology had made the older text-books almost useless, and its own merits were so remarkable that it quickly took the first place among treatises on the subject. A physiologist of the profound scientific knowledge and the clear and masterly grasp of that knowledge possessed by Hermann, rarely undertakes to write a text-book. A text-book by such a teacher is therefore doubly welcome when it appears. The present treatise is too well known to need any praise on our part, or any recommendation to teachers and students in this country. At present our schools are simply without a text-book on physiology, for attempts to make new treatises out of old ones succeed but indifferently where the subject-matter, as in medicine for instance, depends much upon individual art and insight, and fail utterly where, as in physiology, the scientific advance is everything, and the individual way of putting it has no permanent value whatever. Whether

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<sup>27</sup> "The West Riding Lunatic Asylum Reports." Vol. V. London. 1875.

<sup>28</sup> "Elements of Human Physiology." By D. L. Hermann. Translated by Arthur Gamgee, M.D., F.R.S. London. 1875.

Hermann's physiology will satisfy the English students remains to be seen. When Hermann's first edition came into our hands, we felt that a work of this philosophic and thorough character should have been brought out on a fuller scheme, with ampler illustrative matter, and with some wealth of pictorial illustration. Like the original, Gamgee's Hermann is almost devoid of illustrations, and is severe and condensed in style. We fear that to most students it will prove a hard scripture. Marginal references, moreover, are invaluable to a text-book, and might have been added with advantage. The translation is intelligent and good, and so far as printing and paper are concerned the edition is well brought out. The actual contents of the book itself are far above any regulative criticism of ours; but we cannot avoid the expression of some regret that Hermann, like so many of his predecessors, seems never to realise that pathology is the scamy side of physiology, and that although the two subjects may conveniently be divided for purposes of description, yet that physiology can never be set forth with full breadth of treatment until the outlines of pathology are included in the writer's conception. For example, as an illustration of our meaning, we may refer to the omission of any reference to hypertrophy in Hermann's treatise, and such omissions certainly leave our physiological knowledge incomplete.

This volume forms the second part of a work on the "Anatomy of the Lymphatic System,"<sup>29</sup> to the first part of which we gave a cordial welcome, in a recent number of this *Review*. The researches herein chronicled were undertaken for the Medical Department of the Privy Council, and arose out of the inquiry into the mode of propagation of tubercle. Such admirable researches, undertaken with the aid and encouragement of the Privy Council, are most honourable, not only to the author, but to the department from which they took their origin. It seems strange that the Pathological Society of London should have allowed itself to be so wholly eclipsed by a Governmental department; and those who, like ourselves, are disposed to put faith rather in individual than in Governmental initiative, will find in the present instance little to comfort them. We need not say that the volume before us is a model of painstaking and successful investigation: Dr Klein has won so high a reputation in England, that the character of his work may well be anticipated. We would only add, that the practical pathologist and physician must not pass these researches by as somewhat away from the direct line of his work. On the contrary, we, who are not working anatomists, have read the volume with much interest and profit, and the careful inquiry carried out in the second section on the states of the pleura in inflammation, on artificial tuberculosis in animals, and on miliary tubercle in man, are of immediate importance, and cannot be overlooked by any intelligent and instructed practitioner of medicine.

~ Though dated 1873, the first instalment of Dr Rüdinger's "Topogra-

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<sup>29</sup> "The Anatomy of the Lymphatic System." By E. Klein, M.D. London. 1875.



phical-Surgical Anatomy" <sup>30</sup> reached us with the second but a short time ago. We presume, however, from a notice attached to the volume, that the work is now about attaining its completion, and that the whole work, including the head, neck, pelvis, and limbs, may shortly be obtained. Dr Rüdinger is already well known as an editor of illustrated works on anatomy, and his Atlas of the peripheral nervous system has passed through two editions. The object of the present work is to supply, by means of photographic reproduction, a series of pictures of the relations of organs in position one with another, a kind of knowledge often wanting in those whose knowledge of the anatomy of separate organs is adequate enough. The plates are numerous, and well and truthfully executed, for the most part in colour, from life, or rather from nature. The work will no doubt be found of great value, not only to surgeons, but to all persons interested in anatomy.

Dr Carl Weigert, in the first instalment of his essay on the anatomy of small-pox, <sup>31</sup> describes with minute accuracy the changes which go on in the growth and decay of the pustules on the skin. The researches, which occupied some time, were made upon more than 200 cases. The laborious and complete investigations here described do not permit of any short description, nor did they lead to any practical result that can be shortly formulated. The second instalment deals with the pock-like appearances in the parenchymatous organs, and with the colonies of bacteria in relation to them. It would seem that the effect of the specific poison is to produce necrosis of tissue directly, and not indirectly, by stoppage of blood-vessels. The bacteria seem to play a subordinate part, and stand in no special relation to pus formation. Indeed they are often vanishing or absent when pus formation sets in. The essay is well illustrated with drawings of microscopic sections.

This essay is a summary of a long and careful investigation into the qualities of the milk <sup>32</sup> taken from cows in the author's own herd. The results give standards of very great practical value, and we do not know where analysts can find any like them. What can induce Mr Smee to talk about a cream-o-meter?

We are glad to receive a copy of Dr Richardson's Cantor Lectures on Alcohol, <sup>33</sup> published, however, in a paltry form, far below their deserts. These admirable and original lectures attracted so much attention at the time of their delivery, that we need not now describe their contents. It is impossible to over-estimate their practical value, and we strongly urge their perusal upon the public as well as upon the profession.

The retirement of Dr Bennett from the University of Edinburgh was a matter of profound regret, and it is with real sorrow that we receive

<sup>30</sup> 'Topografisch-Chirurgische Anatomie des Menschen.' Von D. Rüdinger. Erste und Zweite Abtheilung (Brust und Bauch). Stuttgart. 1873.

<sup>31</sup> "Anatomische Beiträge z. Lehre v. d. Pocken." Von Dr Carl Weigert. I. und II. Theil. Breslau. 1875.

<sup>32</sup> "Milk in Health and Disease." By A. H. Smee. London. 1875.

<sup>33</sup> "On Alcohol." By B. W. Richardson, M.D. London. 1875.

this last contribution from him in his professorial capacity. A committee, of which Dr Bennett was the chairman, prosecuted for some years, under the auspices of the British Medical Association, a series of researches into the antagonisms of drugs to each other. Their conclusions, which are numerous, and necessarily of a highly technical kind, are contained in the thin volume<sup>34</sup> before us, and refer to strychnine, chloral, atropine, Calabar bean, morphia, codeine, theine, and guaranine.

Dr Falck<sup>35</sup> has published a thin octavo volume, the pages of which are divided into four columns. The first column contains the names of the drugs, the second column the minimum and maximum single dose, the third column the largest amount which should be given in a day, and the fourth contains remarks. All such dose-lists are very unsatisfactory to the practised physician, who learns to manipulate his medicines with the freedom which belongs to his own experience, and with a freedom which would be dangerous if granted indiscriminately to others. For purposes of general reference, however, this list will doubtless prove very valuable in Germany. In England the doses of each remedy are to be found in the pharmacopeia.

Abel, of Leipzig, has published a series of small guides on medical subjects which have been favourably received. The little book before us<sup>36</sup> is the most recent of this series, and seems likely to prove one of the most useful. We, who have had no little experience of electro-therapeutical guides, can speak most favourably of Dr Pierson's compendium, and we believe a translation of it would be very welcome in England. It is astonishing what a quantity of information is contained in its small pages, and the information is admirably put together. The book makes no pretence to original research or to novelty of teaching, but is, as it should be, an accurate and full *résumé* of the prevalent opinions on the subject. Electro-therapeutists are an imaginative race, and Dr Pierson has had no lack of material from which to select. He seems to have been very happy in his compilation; for, while presenting to the reader every opinion and mode of practice which ought to have a hearing, he has at the same time submitted the whole to the control of a sound and critical intelligence. The compendium is of duodecimo size, and contains chapters on physiology, apparatus, and methods of application, as well as on treatment. The last section deals with the surgical and forensic uses of electricity, and with the treatment of insanity. The author shows an extensive knowledge of the literature of his subject, and is well acquainted with Brenner's investigations and methods, as well as with those of more popular authors. The volume contains 164 pages.

Dr Czerwinski is dissatisfied with the words "hydropathy" and "water cure;" still more angry is he with the word "cold-water

<sup>34</sup> "Researches into the Antagonism of Medicines." Reported by J. H. Bennett, M.D. London. 1875.

<sup>35</sup> "Uebersicht d. Normalgaben d. Arzneimittel." Von Dr Carl Philipp Falck. Marburg. 1875.

<sup>36</sup> "Compendium d. Electrotherapie." Von Dr Pierson. Leipzig. 1875. |

So he prefers the term "thermotherapy," which he coined in 1868, and has used ever since with the happiest consequences. His present volume <sup>37</sup> enters fully into the physiology of thermo-therapeutics in general, which shares with electricity the honour of operating by "physical" means. The methods may be divided into the excitant and the sedative, according to the mode of application. In his second section Dr Czerwinski goes completely into the various forms of bath—the full bath, the half bath, the douche, and so forth; also into the mysteries of packs, compresses, and the like. Nor is the internal application of water forgotten. The final chapter proves conclusively in thirty pages that thermotherapy is a panacea, and that no human ailments ought to resist it. The system is indicated for "all acute diseases," for "nervous diseases," and is not found wanting even in cholera. Dr Czerwinski writes a smart style, and is evidently the genial, jaunty director of some "thermo-therapeutical" establishment. He dates from some such institution at a place called Kapfenberg, which he kindly tells us on the title-page is handily near to a railway station. Before we resort to Kapfenberg, or recommend our readers to go there, we should like to know whether the director's experience of scarlet fever, cholera and other similarly interesting disorders, was gained in his own establishment. However this may be, the author certainly writes well upon his subject, and his book is far superior to the many advertising publications which reach us, and which proceed upon the belief that the first virtue of "thermotherapy" is to pay a handsome dividend to some set of shareholders.

Still another book on baths and mineral waters! This seems harder on the critics (who must read or must pretend to read everything) than on the public, which may do as it pleases. But as modern travelling, and modern need of holiday in the midst of modern work and turmoil, makes people wishful to find an object or an excuse for a journey and a changeful rest, so will more virtues be discovered in spa waters, more doctors will extol these virtues, and more valetudinarians will listen to their praises. We are relieved, however, to find that Dr Zinkeisen has not called his friends and his neighbours together to rejoice with him over a new spring of miraculous virtue, but has contented himself with the more modest and useful task of writing a compendium of "balneotherapy" for students and physicians in practice. The book <sup>38</sup> is one which scarcely lends itself therefore to a perusal, but we have formed a favourable opinion of it from a cursory examination. It lacks the critical energy of Braun and the local knowledge and common sense of Macpherson, but it seems, if somewhat too impersonal, to be a conscientious, correct, and concise digest of the existing knowledge on the subject, and will be useful to the practitioner who requires a complete manual in a cheap form.

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<sup>37</sup> "Compendium d. Thermotherapie (Wasserkur)." Von Dr Czerwinski. Wien. 1875.

<sup>38</sup> "Compendium der Balneotherapie." Von Dr Arthur Zinkeisen. Leipzig. 1875.



Dr Fleischmann, who is well known as the editor of the Austrian Year-Book of children's medicine, now publishes the first part of a series of studies and lectures upon the same subject. This first instalment is an effort to establish the nutrition of sucklings upon a scientific basis, and it forms a thin octavo well enriched with illustrations. The work<sup>39</sup> is conceived in a thorough spirit, and promises to be very valuable, as it goes strictly into the matter, and is no mere superficial compilation. For instance, Dr Fleischmann does not attempt to reason upon the nourishment of children until he has gone carefully into the neglected subject of the differential anatomy of the suckling's stomach. This section bears the mark of much work well applied. The second section deals with the general characters of milk, and with the characters of particular milks. Various milks are closely described and compared, and the various substitutes for milk are compared with milk itself and with one another. The third section deals with the laws of the increase of weight and growth. We give this instalment a cordial welcome, and believe it promises to us a complete work which will fill an important gap in medical literature.

Dr Donkin<sup>40</sup> is well known as an energetic believer in the power of skimmed milk to cure diabetes. His therapeutics consist entirely in this one specific ; and as all his physiological chapters are compiled with a single eye to prove the truth of this empirical learning, and as all facts in his hands conspire in beautiful harmony to support his creed, we discover in the present volume at least the modest merit of simplicity. Further experience alone can decide for or against the asserted virtue of milk in this distressing disease ; for our own part, we have, both in our own practice and in that of others, seen so many diabetics die rapidly in the midst of the milk-treatment, that we have been discouraged from further adventure. Rapid death is no doubt common in diabetes under all circumstances, but before we prescribe this exclusive dietary again, we will wait to hear the opinions of others more fortunate than ourselves. That the milk-diet, as prescribed by Dr Donkin, often fails miserably is certain ; but for all that, it may succeed in suitable cases. If the treatment be but half as successful as its author claims for it, we shall not wait long to hear of its success in the hands of others.

Although this pamphlet<sup>41</sup> is but a reprint of an address, and occupies less than fifty pages, it nevertheless deserves notice, as it contains a clever and interesting historical sketch of the rise and progress of military surgery during the last century and a half. The foundation of anything like an organised service of military surgery dates in Prussia from 1713, the first year of the reign of Frederick William. From that time the progress of the service down to the days of Langenbeck and the sick-carriers affords material enough for a most

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<sup>39</sup> "Klinik der Pädiatrik." Von Dr Ludwig Fleischmann. Heft I. Wien. 1875.

<sup>40</sup> "The Relation between Diabetes and Food." By A. S. Donkin, M.D. London. 1875.

<sup>41</sup> "Die Kriegs-Chirurgie der letzten 150 Jahre in Preussen." Von Dr E. Gurlt. Berlin. 1875.

instructive discourse. There is something very striking in the growth of this care for the wounded in battle, which belongs almost wholly to recent times and to Western civilisation.

The palsy of the serratus anticus major muscle, by which the use of the corresponding arm is almost lost, is an affection of great practical importance, as it so often occurs in working men. It seems to have been first described by Velpeau, but since then has been described by many medical writers. The affection depends upon a palsy of the long thoracic nerve, and, if recognised in good time, is curable by electricity. We hope, therefore, that Dr Berger's<sup>42</sup> excellent monograph may be widely read.

The kind of religious humbug which captivates the English people is fortunately not the mystical or miraculous. So it seems a little strange to us—somewhat provocative of smiles—to read the vicious diatribes, the smart epigrams, and the laboured arguments of Dr Charbonnier-Debatty,<sup>43</sup> which he launches forth against the Louise Lateau imposture and all the like impostures which have infested our own times and the generations before us. Yet such writing may be needed in a country nominally Roman Catholic, and not so quietly contemptuous of the matter as ourselves. That all these ecstasies and visions, and so forth, are products of the diseased imaginations of sickly women, seems to us too obvious to need repetition, but it may be well that some one should take the trouble to prove and prove it again, and Dr Charbonnier has done good service in keeping before us the facts of a case of contemporary history which might otherwise be forgotten. He gives a clever and not uninteresting medical sketch of the earlier mystics, and arrives at some general laws concerning them which read somewhat oddly. In the history of St Francis, it is a little discomposing to read that "*les mystiques sont toujours constipés.*" The impression one derives from the whole essay certainly inclines one to agree with Pascal, that "*l'état naturel du Chrétien est d'être malade.*"

When we look back upon what a man has done, and compare it with what he might have done, our record is too often of opportunities wasted, or of the fulfilment of less worthy purposes. There is some sadness in our retrospect of Dr Rumsey's<sup>44</sup> life and work, the sadness which belongs to all retrospection; we fear his work is done, and that we can hope no more to see him foremost in that warfare in which he has so nobly fought. But of other sadness there is none—rejoicing rather. In his modest preface he makes but little reference to himself, and that little is not to glory in his achievements, but to hope for restoration of health and longer life, that he may go forward and do more. And yet no man could have pointed

<sup>42</sup> "*Die Lähmung d. Muskels Serratus Anticus Major.*" Von Dr Oscar Berger. Breslau. 1875.

<sup>43</sup> "*Maladies des Mystiques.*" Par Dr Charbonnier-Debatty. Bruxelles. 1875.

<sup>44</sup> "*Essays and Papers on some Fallacies of Statistics.*" By H. W. Rumsey, M.D., F.R.S. London. 1875.

to a more honourable past. He might have aimed at lower ends, not only without losing reputation, but by gaining a passing success which would have bought immediate adulation and worldly wealth. A physician in the fashionable watering-place of a fashionable county, he had but to cultivate a compliant temper, a soft address, and a love of money, to make himself an enviable career and a substantial fortune. But while doing the work before him heartily and well, he felt also that there were higher things in life than the fashionable world and a banker's balance. With a "cultivated intelligence and an emancipation from narrow interests" he sought to better mankind, and to devise and carry such local and imperial measures as might lessen that bodily suffering and that bitterness of death which is due, not to failure of religious observances, or to deviations from an orthodox creed, but to the ignorance, avarice, and cupidity of man. Devoted to these great purposes, Dr Rumsey forgot his own interests; but we are glad to know that the public, who are his debtors, did not forget him in his need, and that some aid has been at hand in the time of his comparatively early breakdown. Strange to say, however, this aid has come chiefly, not from the public, but from that profession which does not live by a diminution of sickness. We are very glad to have the opportunity of re-reading Dr Rumsey's essays. Too often a man pursuing a somewhat isolated way becomes pedantic and blind to ideas other than his own. But we have, on the contrary, been much struck by the largeness, the common sense, and the quick sympathies which give force and life to the author's masterly grasp of facts and power of organisation. The volume is concerned with the defects of our public records of mortality and sickness, with medico-sanitary police, and with the fallacies of vital and sanitary statistics. No sanitary officer, no publicist, nor indeed any man who cares for his country, can afford to leave the book unread. The volume is handsomely printed and well brought out.

Mr Carmichael left a bequest providing for a prize of £200, to be given every fourth year to the author of the best essay on the state of the profession, its institutions and examinations. The work before us<sup>45</sup> is the prize essay of 1874, and is a very fair specimen of such productions. Like all prize essays, it is written up to a mark by a careful, instructed, and sensible person, who had nothing particular to say, and who otherwise probably would not have said it.

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<sup>45</sup> "Medical Politics." By Isaac Ashe, M.D. Dublin. 1875.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE cannot do better than begin our review with Paul Lacroix's excellent work<sup>1</sup> on the manners of the last century of old France. It is indeed a splendid volume. It boasts a score of the finest chromo-lithographs, nearly 400 high-class woodcuts, luxurious type and paper, and a really artistic binding. And yet, owing to the nature of its subject, it appeals only to a limited class of buyers. The original French publishers have the advantage of a market all over the Continent and throughout the Latin races: let us hope that the publishers of the English edition will find a similar *clientèle* in our colonies and in the United States. In recalling the number of volumes to which we have seen appended the name of Paul Lacroix, or his pseudonym, Bibliophile Jacob, from his edition of Clément Marot, published when he was eighteen, down to these later splendid studies, we are forced to reflect, and wonder if one man can have done all this. The mere enumeration would far surpass even the combined lists of Mr and Mrs S. C. Hall, with whom he has also in common the circumstance of having the aid and the rivalry of an accomplished consort. The chief value of this work consists in its illustrations, which are numerous, excellent, and well chosen. On this point it is to be wished that the authority and date had been added in each case, some of the chromo-lithographs seeming to us later than 1789. In assigning the higher praise to the illustrations, we by no means think lightly of the letter-press, which is full of learning, and is at the same time readable. The chapters on *The People* and *Finance* are especially noteworthy; they throw a bright light on the causes of subsequent horrors. Every artist must possess the book, as should every one who writes or reads of the France of the last century. The man who delights in memoirs will find it an admirable companion and commentator. It will please and interest all, and, let us add, may be safely shown to all.

The *Histoire des Taira*<sup>2</sup> is a French translation of the first part of the "*Nit-pon-Gwai-si*," a history of Japan. It is one of a series of publications called the "*Atsume Gusa* (gathered herbs), *pour servir à la connaissance de l'extrême Orient*," edited by M. Turrettini. The book gives a narrative of the career and fall of the Taira family in the twelfth century. It is not a work which will interest the general reader. The facts follow each other in a disconnected and disproportionate manner, somewhat like the "events of the year" in an almanac. There is a great deal of fighting and conspiring, with plenty of detail; but the detail is not of that human kind which we find in

<sup>1</sup> "The Eighteenth Century, its Institutions, Customs, and Costumes. France, 1700-1789." By Paul Lacroix. London: Chapman & Hall.

<sup>2</sup> "Histoire des Taira." Traduit du Chinois par François Turrettini. Genève: H. Georg.

the Old Testament and in Herodotus. To the sinologist, however, the book will be valuable, for it is edited in a scholarly manner.

A new edition of Charles Kingsley's Cambridge History Lectures<sup>3</sup> is published, in an eloquent preface to which Professor Max Müller makes some touching and judicious remarks on his lamented brother-in-law. In noticing the severe criticism which met the first publication of the book, he proves from the work itself that the *Saturday Review*, who charged Kingsley with making Dietrich a German adaptation of a Greek name Theodoric, from Theodorus, could not have read it. These lectures are by no means a minute comment on a small period. They are sometimes even inaccurate. They would be almost useless to the nowadays rapidly increasing class of students cramming for an examination. Their treatment of the subject (the rise of the Teutonic race in Europe) is undoubtedly what is called popular, or sketchy; but they are at the same time bold and attractive. There is much in them to draw the reader on to further study; and one day this perhaps will be considered not a blemish in a Professor. It is interesting now to note the passages which throw a light on Kingsley's mind. Twice he alludes to slavery as it existed in the then (1863) Confederate States, and speaks of the slaveholders as gentlemen. Did he know how many slaves were owned in towns, where they were hired out by their chivalrous owners to work at various trades, just as cab-horses are let out in London? Did he know that there were slaveowners who actually begot half-breed children for the purpose of selling their own offspring? No; or, with his clear sight and generous sympathies, he could never have believed in a widely-spread spirit of chivalry where such things could be. His views on the position of women were not those of the latest and noisiest reformers. He rather dreaded the loss of the chivalrous feeling in the assumption of legal equality. But he held no theory of inferiority, nor any that was inconsistent with his being the father of a daughter who has already given promise of distinction. Throughout these lectures there runs a strong undercurrent, which attributes the line of events to a Divine interference almost as direct as that which is claimed for the Mosaic occurrences. A cheerful tone, abundance of thoughts and suggestions of thoughts, and a charming style, will make this volume welcome both to the student and to the general reader.

A more professorial, though not a better book than the last, is Dr v. Eicken's narrative of Alaric's struggle with the Romans,<sup>4</sup> an episode which is included in Kingsley's work. \* Dr v. Eicken traces clearly the gradual change in the views of the German invaders, from a mere desire for land on which to settle under the Romans, to a resolve to have a perfectly independent German autonomy. Even Alaric, to his latest day, would have been satisfied with a partial independence under

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<sup>3</sup> "The Roman and the Teuton." Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge. By Charles Kingsley, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>4</sup> "Der Kampf der Westgothen und Römer unter Alarich." Von Dr v. Eicken. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

a Roman hegemony. Athaulf, his successor, first conceived the idea of transferring the *imperium mundi* from the Romans to the Germans, which was fully realised under Charlemagne some four centuries later. The author attributes the fall of Rome to a reaction of the same national pride which had made her great—to the desire and effort to shake off the barbarians when it was too late; and points out how the antagonism of the Romans reunited into nations the clans into which the Germans had been divided by the process of migration. Dr v. Eicken seems to us to take a clear and philosophic view of his subject, and we commend his little work to all students of the period.

Mr Watson has produced a small volume of lectures on Caedmon,<sup>5</sup> whom he styles the first of English poets, which is perhaps a little hard on the author of Beowulf. We gladly welcome any publication which directs attention to our long-neglected ancient treasures; and in the present case we have the pleasure of acknowledging work in a good field well done, and an addition to our information. Mr Watson's comparisons of Milton and Caedmon prove conclusively that the later poet had studied his predecessor thoroughly; and if confirmatory evidence were needed, we have it in the fact of Milton's intimacy with Dujon (Junius), who first published the "Metrical Paraphrase." A poet from whom Milton would borrow for his "Paradise Lost" must be worthy of study. Mr Watson writes clearly and pleasantly. We could wish that, in preparing his lectures for the press, he had inserted a few more references, and, what is far more important, that he had appended some extracts in Caedmon's own language.

Professor Pauli publishes a new edition of his "Bilder aus Alt-England,"<sup>6</sup> a book already too favourably known to require long notice here. We observe that this edition contains a new essay on William the Conqueror, which notices the policy with which he is so rarely credited, that, namely, of grafting the new on the old when he could do so. Due emphasis, too, is given to William's wisdom in exacting from every landholder and vassal, direct or indirect, an oath to protect the king's lands and honour against every foreign or domestic foe. By this every appearance of legality was taken from any attempt of a feudatory to use his power against the sovereign, an occurrence which happened in France and Germany so often as to keep those countries divided for centuries. When the Pope asked for Peter's Pence and an oath of homage, William, we know, granted the former, refusing the latter, because he had not promised it, and because he was persuaded that none of his predecessors had taken it to any of the Popes. Pauli's remarks on this are thoughtful, and pleasant to the Englishman. "Sehr kurz und präcis, nüchtern wie die Denkschrift eines modernen englischen Staatsmanns lautete die Antwort. . . . Nicht ein Wort der Bitterkeit oder unehrbietigen Stolzes floss unter; statt dessen erscheint

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<sup>5</sup> "Caedmon, the First English Poet." By Robert Spence Watson. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

<sup>6</sup> "Bilder aus Alt-England." Von R. Pauli. 2te, veränderte Ausgabe. Gotha: Perthes.



jener bündige Standpunct des historischen Vorgangs, des Präcedens, welcher bis auf diesen Tag die Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte Englands beherrscht." We are surprised that, in his useful map of London in the fifteenth century, Professor Pauli omits to place the Steelyard, on which he has a most interesting paper.

A book which goes well with the "Bilder aus Alt-England" is the late Mr Gough Nichol's translation<sup>7</sup> of Erasmus' dialogue "Peregrinatio Religionis ergo;" for it too, in its original form, is a sketch of old English life by an appreciative foreigner. The first thing that strikes us in regarding the book, is the Falstaffian want of proportion between the bread and the sack; for to 60 pages of Erasmus there are no less than 270 pages of comment. It is, however, fair to say that the notes are exhaustive, and for the most part useful, though we could have dispensed with the long account of the Pontigny and Paray-le-Monial pilgrimages from recent numbers of the *Times*; and, still more willingly, with an unauthentic description of an Irish pilgrimage taken from a comic novel. The dialogue is extremely bright and lively, and wonderfully modern when we think of the date at which it was written (circ. 1523). The pictures of the thought of the time are forcible, and throw a light on the "Canterbury Tales," to which this volume will make a useful companion, both for its text and notes. We shall be glad if it adds a few to the readers of Erasmus, one of the wittiest and freshest of men, though not one of the highest principled.

Two of the last volumes, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, treat of Thomas Becket. The first is an Icelandic biography, with a translation on opposite pages by Mr Magnússon.<sup>8</sup> A second volume will follow, which will, we presume, contain the promised glossary, a work from which the careful editing of the present volume leads us to hope great things. The narrative is evidently genuine, as is to be seen from its close harmony with the work which we notice next. Mr Magnússon's translation deserves the highest praise. He has just hit upon that *nuance* of English which suits the subject best. Mr Robertson's volume<sup>9</sup> contains a Life by William of Canterbury, followed by an account of several hundred miracles performed by the murdered Archbishop, which is also attributed to the same author. Both documents are taken from a MS. at Winchester College, and are in Latin. William was present at the Archbishop's assassination, on which he quaintly says: "Ego qui loquor hoc verbo [equitis] arbitrans me gladio pariter percutiendum, tanquam peccatorum conscius et minus idoneus martyrio, celeri tergiversatione gradus ascendi, complodens manus. . . . Non enim levem omnibus timorem Deus incussit, sed magnum, et qui posset cadere in quemvis constatissimum. Quod enim sub incendio refrigerium, quam sub vibrata

<sup>7</sup> "Pilgrimages to St Mary of Walsingham, &c." By Erasmus. Newly translated, with Notes, by J. Gough Nichols, F.S.A. 2d Ed. London: John Murray.

<sup>8</sup> "Thómas Saga Erkibyskups." With English Translation, &c. Edited by Erikr Magnússon. London: Longman & Co.; Trübner & Co.

<sup>9</sup> "Materials for the History of Thomas Becket." Edited by J. C. Robertson, M.A. London: Longman & Co.; Trübner & Co.

securi securitatem tibi promittis?" The records of the miracles are amusing, and afford a valuable insight into the feelings of the times. The *Saturday Review* has pointed out a good specimen of twelfth-century English in this chronicle. In a story very like that of Potiphar's wife, the woman cries, "'Ware, ware, Lithulf heth his swerd adrage,' quod Latine sonat, cave, cave, Lithulfus eduxit suum gladium."

Mr Stevenson's volume<sup>10</sup> contains five documents. "The Chronicle of Ralph of Coggeshall" contains, in addition to the ordinary gossip of such a work, much detailed information, evidently taken down from eyewitnesses, about Richard Cœur de Lion's campaigns in Palestine, his captivity in Austria, and his death. Ecclesiastical affairs, the weather, plagues, with accounts of a merman, of some green children, and of a house-haunting spirit, make up the chronicle. Of Prester John, the author records in 1221, "Rumores per totam Christianitatem circumquaque dispersi sunt, quod rex David, cognomento Joannes presbyter, de India cum magno exercitu adveniens, multas terras Saracenorum sibi subjugaverat; et quod mandaverat summo papæ Saracenorum, quod eum debellaturus esset atque totum paganismum, nisi se ad fidem Christi convertissent." The Chronicon is followed by "Libellus de Expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum" (1186-88), which is by some attributed also to Ralph of Coggeshall. The narrative is so detailed and exact that it is probable that it was written by an eyewitness. A sermon by Thomas Agnellus, Archdeacon of Wells, follows the Libellus. It talks, in a lively manner, "De morte et sepultura Henrici regis junioris," the eldest son of Henry II., who was crowned, and who died in his father's lifetime. We next come to the "Legend of Fulk Fitz-warin," which is in Norman French, and printed from a thirteenth-century MS. in the British Museum. This is a most interesting document. The earlier portion seems a sober narrative of Fulk's adventures, and of his persecution by King John. Being finally forced to flee his country, he takes to the sea, and meets with as many extraordinary adventures as Jack the Giant-Killer. There is evidence of Fulk's existence, and, indeed, of the accuracy of some parts of this narrative, but the main portion is quite legendary. An old Joe Miller is novel in Norman French. To a sailor, whose fathers to the fourth degree had been drowned, "Certes," dit Fouke, "molt estes fol hardys qe vus osez entrer la mer." "Sire," fet-il "pour quoy? Chescune creature avera la mort qe ly est destinee. Sire, si vus plest . . . ou morust ton pere?" "Certes, en son lyt." "Ou son ael?" "Emsement . . . trestous qe je sai de mon lignage morurent en lur lytz." "Certes, sire" fet Mador, "depus qe tot vostre lignage morust en litz, jay grant merveille qe vos estes osee dentrer nul lyt." The volume ends with some extracts from Gervase of Tilbury's "Otia Imperialia," a work which might well be printed in full. The present extracts relate to Britain, giving a cata-

<sup>10</sup> "Randolphi de Coggeshall Chronicon," &c. Ed. Josephus Stevenson. London: Longman & Co.; Trubner & Co.

*logue raisonné* of our kings, beginning with Brutus, the great-grandson of Æneas, after whom we are said to be named. This prince founded our capital in the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, Eli being high-priest of Israel, the Ark of the Covenant in the hands of the Philistines, and Hector's sons reigning at home in Troy. Well may the author say that few cities have had such a career as London, which has seen the destruction of Nineveh, Babylon, Jerusalem and its temple, Constantinople, and Cologne—to say nothing of the violence of Brennus and Alaric towards Rome, its younger sister (by 354 years). We are glad to be told that Cordoilla reigned after her father Leir, whom her husband, Aganippus, rex Gallia, had replaced on his throne, after his wicked daughters, Gonorilla and Ragon, had banished him. As very curious specimens of history-writing, we quote from the Fulke Legend:—"Le roy Johan fust home santz conscience, mavois, contrarious, e hay de tote bone gent, e lecherous; e, syl poeit oyr de nulle bele dame ou damoisele, femme ou fyle de counte ou de barun e dautre, yl la voleyt a sa volente aver; ou, par promesse ou par don, engyner, ou par force ravyr." Gervase, on the other hand, says—"Illustris rex Johannes, cujus incrementum ac laudes præsentiali inspectioni commendo, ne videar aut ex insufficientia me minus dixisse de eo quam est; aut adulationi deservire in eo quod dixero aliquid quod est." It is a singular irony of fate that has induced the Master of the Rolls to bind these authors in one volume.

The fourth volume of the "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII." <sup>11</sup> consists entirely of an introduction by Mr J. S. Brewer. It "introduces" us only to the period 1524-30, and is, in fact, nothing else than a history of that period by Mr Brewer, and not a remarkably good history, as we think. It contains scarcely any reference to the Calendar, to which it forms an introduction; and to us it seems that to publish a perfectly independent volume by a modern writer on a period which has not lacked historians is to strain rather too far the intention of the Master of the Rolls in 1855 to make "proper Calendars and Indexes," as it certainly is to overload the words "arranged and catalogued."

Dr Killen's "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" <sup>12</sup> is a long and ponderous work, which will probably not be widely read. Dr Killen is President of the Assembly's College at Belfast; accordingly, we are not surprised that he devotes considerable space to showing that in the golden days when Ireland was the Isle of Saints bishops were merely ordained preachers, and that presbyters possessed and exercised the power of ordination. St Patrick, far from having been Archbishop of Armagh, as has been said, was more probably a sort of Presbyterian minister at Downpatrick. Indeed, the case of Columbkille, who resembled Dr Killen not only in being a presbyter, but also in being head of a train-

<sup>11</sup> "Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII." Arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A. Vol. IV. This and the three preceding books published by order of the Master of the Rolls. London: Longman & Co.; Trübner & Co.

<sup>12</sup> "The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland." By W. D. Killen, D.D. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co.



ing college, proves rather too much, for he actually ordained bishops, and even a king. The enormities of the Scarlet Lady upon the Seven Hills are sufficiently dwelt upon. Patrick and the other early Irish saints would have none of her, it appears ; and though she subsequently acquired power in Ireland, her priests were mainly distinguished for ignorance, licentiousness, and simony. This lessens the surprise which at first seized us when we read (i. 352) this passage :—

“It has often been observed that no blood was shed in Ireland on account of religion during the whole of the reign of Henry VIII. This fact, however, does not prove that a tolerant spirit now predominated. It rather indicates that there was at this time in the country very little enlightened and earnest Protestantism.”

Ireland, being divided between scandalous Papists and Protestants who had neither the enlightenment nor the earnestness to burn their rivals, remained in a sad spiritual state for several generations. At last, however, James I. arose, “as the sun in his strength,” and in 1607 he ordered that Catholics should attend Protestant worship if they would avoid the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel left the country. They were, according to Dr Killen, conspirators against whom the Crown had not obtained sufficient proof ; so that “their sudden withdrawal from the country, of their own accord, is one of those strange incidents in which we can scarcely fail to see the finger of Providence.” Their flight led to the seizure of their estates, and brought about the famous Ulster plantation. Many Scotch Presbyterians were appointed to bishoprics and livings. The Acts of Uniformity not being enforced, Scotch congregations followed ; and thus was introduced that form of faith to which Dr Killen attributes everything good in Ireland. Many of these Scotch Presbyterian settlers, he tells us, “had been riotous and profane, and some of them had been obliged to leave their native land in disgrace, under the pressure of debt or the dread of prosecution, but they had the singular advantage of being instructed by able preachers, who laboured diligently to promote their spiritual improvement ;” and we are to believe that they quite belied Horace’s saying about those *qui trans mare currunt*. Swift is mentioned only in a few pages of violent abuse, in which we learn that his promotion was lost by an allusion to the Duchess of Somerset’s red hair. The later events are recorded more simply and briefly, and with more fairness, though a very strong undercurrent of intolerance of the Roman Catholics is visible throughout. When will clergymen learn that they are the most unfit persons to write on their own or hostile sects ?

The “History of America,”<sup>13</sup> in Mr Freeman’s “Historical Course for Schools,” is a book the worst part of which is its name ; for it treats only of the United States. With this preliminary grumble, we are glad to praise the book, which is clear and lively in style, and doubtless duly accurate. The story of the earlier generations of European settlers is most interesting. The author has avoided a common fault

<sup>13</sup> “History of America.” By John A. Doyle. London : Macmillan & Co.

in histories brought down to the present date, by making his account of the War of Secession very brief. We had almost wished the narrative to stop before coming to events so recent. But this objection would apply to almost all the history of the United States; for the emancipation of the slaves is the first great epoch after the Revolution. It is pleasant to think that schoolboys now have so much more variety in their studies than we had, who were turned from Greece to Rome and from Rome to Greece. We cordially commend this book.

Our next volume bears on Prussian history. The Countess Sophie Marie von Voss<sup>14</sup> entered the service of Frederick the Great's mother in 1744 when fifteen years old, married an officer of Frederick's court, and was Oberhofmeisterin of the unfortunate Queen Luise from her marriage in 1793 to her death. The diary of a lady of this extraordinary experience cannot but be of very great interest and value; and we are not disappointed with the present book, except for the fact that it is a selection only. It is by no means a mere dull register of occupations and amusements. While yet a girl, she inspired the King's next brother, the unfortunate August Wilhelm, with a passion. The Prince was married, and was heir-presumptive to the crown, which his son inherited on Frederick's death. The young lady appears to have behaved well in the matter. She owns to loving the Prince. In 1751 her friends hastily married her at the King's request. Seven years later the Prince died, in disgrace with his brother, and the Countess von Voss writes tenderly of his loss. The diary tells us little of Frederick the Great. In the reign of his dissolute nephew, Frederick William II., she had the sorrow of seeing a favourite niece die a broken-hearted victim of the King's lust. It is curious to note, in the frequent allusions to the course of this intrigue, the degrading effect of long personal service about fellow-men. The Countess is a good woman, and is greatly pained by the matter; yet after she has noticed the King's attentions for eighteen months, she can only say, "Es wäre besser sie verliesse auch jetzt noch den Hof;" and she frequently speaks of the King as the best of men. Now Frederick William II. drove his first wife into misconduct and divorce, and treated his second wife scarcely better. From the second year of his first marriage to his death, he was under the influence of the mistress whom he styled Countess von Lichtenau, and was nursed by this woman and his wife on his deathbed. But this questionable constancy in no wise hindered him from seducing our diarist's niece, and leading a generally dirty life. And yet this charming old lady weeps and lies awake at night when this debauchee dies! The most interesting part of the diary is, however, that which details the married life and the misfortunes of the heroic Luise, mother of Kaiser Wilhelm. Of this prince we find recorded (22d March 1797): "At a quarter to two the child was born—a splendid little prince!" The Countess carried the child at that baptism, on the strength of which the Pope lately claimed

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<sup>14</sup> "Neunundsechzig Jahre am Preussischen Hofe. Aus den Erinnerungen der Oberhofmeisterin S. M. Gräfin von Voss." Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

rights over him. After Jena the diary becomes tragic. The writer is always with the Queen in her wretched wanderings; but more of this in our next notice. "1st January 1807, the little Prince William received to-day his first uniform and the grand order, which was a great joy for us all." Full of sympathy, warmly attached to the royal family, who returned her affection, the venerable lady takes us through the sufferings and to the deathbed of the noble queen. After this great blow she still survives to record the Russian campaign, and to see the King rise to his opportunity. She enjoyed the restored life of the nation, and died, active and useful to the last, at the age of eighty-five, while the Congress of Vienna was sitting. The book is interesting and charming in style and tone. We wish the editor had put the year-date on each page.

An essay on Queen Luise by A. Kluckhohn<sup>15</sup> comes suitably after the Countess von Voss's book, which indeed has supplied much of the matter. As we write (10th March 1876), it is a century since the birth of this royal lady, and the present essay professes to be written as a centenary celebration of that sad but ennobling memory. In the thirty-four years of her brief life what sufferings! what patience! what inspiring influences! what wisdom and foresight! Married at seventeen, worshipping her husband, and early the mother of a blooming family, she enjoyed a brief spell of domestic happiness. She was extremely beautiful, and was well-read. She endeavoured to attract Schiller to Berlin, and she was one of the best supporters of Stein. Her martyrdom began in 1806, when Napoleon and the contemptible Haugwitz between them brought about Prussia's humiliation. In his bulletins Napoleon chose to accuse the queen and the king's brother of causing the war, spoke of her haranguing the troops in the uniform of her regiment, and allowed himself other scurrilities about Helen and fair ladies. The fortune of war favoured him for the time, and the king and queen had to abandon their capital and fly to the eastern parts of their kingdom. In this time of trouble she wrote in her diary Goethe's sad lines—

"Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,  
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte  
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,  
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himm'lischen Mächte."

And to her sons, the present and the last rulers of Prussia, she writes—

"Ach, meine Söhne, Ihr seid schon in dem Alter, wo Euer Verstand diese schweren Heimsuchungen fassen kann. Ruft künftig, wenn Eure Mutter und Königin nicht mehr lebt, diese unglückliche Stunde in Euer Gedächtniss zurück, weinet meinem Andenken Thränen . . . aber begnügt Euch nicht mit Thränen allein; handelt, entwickelt Eure Kräfte. . . . Ach, meine Söhne, lasset Euch nicht von der Entartung dieses Zeitalters hinreissen, werdet Männer, und geizet nach dem Ruhm grosser Feldherrn und Helden. . . . Könnt Ihr aber mit aller Anstrengung den nieder-

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<sup>15</sup> "Luise Königin von Preussen." Von August Kluckhohn. Berlin: Carl Habel.



gebeugten Staat nicht wieder aufrichten, so sucht den Tod, wie ihn Louis Ferdinand gesucht hat."

A few months after Jena, she, whom Napoleon had insultingly compared to Helen, had to go before her outrager to implore better terms for her country than he would grant to her husband or his ally Alexander. Here she indeed resembles a princess out of the tale of Troy, but it is Hecuba interceding for Polyxena, not Helen. To Napoleon's brusque demand how Prussia could have ventured on war with him, she made one of the most admirable replies in history: "Sire, the glory of Frederick the Great might well cause us to miscalculate our strength." Napoleon, no gentleman, however great as a genius, allowed her to leave him with hopes which he afterwards dashed. "What he had said to the queen was merely a few polite phrases that could not bind him." The rest of her life was spent in the deepest pain, in ill-health, and in humiliation, if indeed the arrows of fortune can humiliate the magnanimous. Her family was her only comfort. Some letters to her father, which have been preserved, breathe an admirable spirit. She speaks lovingly and proudly of her husband and children. Here is a wonderful passage—

"Although posterity will not name me amongst famous women, yet, when it learns the sufferings of these times, it will know what I have suffered through them, and will say, 'She suffered much, and was steadfast in suffering.' Then I only wish that it may add, 'She gave life to children who were worthy of better times, have striven to bring them on, and have finally gained them.'"

Her main action in politics was to support Stein, and always to cheer and inspire her weak and depressed husband. In 1810 she died after much suffering. Her husband and her two eldest sons arrived just in time to see her die. The cruel scene is well told in the diary of the Countess von Voss. The physicians, after the autopsy, declared her illness to have been caused by her sorrows. She died at the cruellest time. In three years more she would have helped to inspire the War of Liberation, and would have had joy in remembering her sorrows. A few years later, and she would have been happy in the beauty, intelligence, and success of her children, of whom even the revolutionary Heine bursts out into admiration as he sees them in the streets. The popular mourning was boundless. You may see it in Körner's poems. Rough old Blücher said, "Our saint is in heaven;" and when Paris was mastered in 1814, his first words were, "Luise is avenged." A noble story is this life, full of tragic interest, and with a deep lesson. The French declaration of war arrived at Berlin on the anniversary of her death, the 19th July 1870. On that day the old king had, according to his yearly wont, visited the tomb of his heroic mother. Then and after, how often and deeply must he have thought of her, of the sorrows he was just old enough to appreciate, of her solemn warnings and counsels to his brother and himself, of the awful deathbed at which he knelt a boy of thirteen! We thank Herr Kluckhohn for his excellent little setting of this noble story.

Of the volumes which contain the results of Mr Bancroft's <sup>16</sup> zeal, outlay, and labour, it is impossible to speak at all adequately here. Very rarely indeed in modern times has so mighty a task been undertaken, and no one could have faced it without the spur of patriotic feeling in addition to the conditions of energy and wealth. It is of course easy to pick holes in this work, as in any other which covers so much ground; but the judicious critic ignores trifling faults in a work which comprises all that has yet been learned or suggested on a vast subject, and which will be for a very long—perhaps, for all—time an indispensable companion to every student of American archæology. Our own Lord Kingsborough anticipated Mr Bancroft in spending unmeasured toil and money on the antiquities of America, to his own ruin, alas! Mr Bancroft, the head of the great Californian publishing house, has broader shoulders fortunately. His volumes do not look so costly as Lord Kingsborough's, the great outlay on which was caused by their reproduction in colour of the Mexican picture-writings; but their compilation must have involved no less expense, while they are more useful. Mr Bancroft's modesty is as conspicuous as his energy: he professes to have limited himself to the collection of known facts, leaving to others the construction of theories. The earlier part of this work was noticed in our recent article on *Savage Life* (April 1875). Of the three volumes before us the first (vol. iii.) treats of Myths and Languages. The myths, most numerous and various, are well classified under the chief points, on which we find ourselves in contact with the supernatural or unknown. Merely noting that the Ahts of Vancouver Island possess a Darwinian theory that men "first existed as birds, animals, and fishes," we pass on to the languages, which are hopeless in number and variety, though Mr Bancroft thinks that they may be assembled into three great families. Volume IV. treats of Antiquities, fascinating and awing us with its many woodcuts of the weird, long-abandoned buildings and monuments of Central America. In this portion of the work Mr Bancroft owes much (as he acknowledges) to Stephens, Squires, Catherwood, and to M. De Waldeck, who went to America for Lord Kingsborough, and who died a centenarian at Paris last year. With these wondrous buildings and their graceful ornamentation, and the vast quantity of hieroglyphics, some of which are of a date later than the European conquest, it is maddening to think that the superstitious intolerance of the Spaniards has made the knowledge of these nations and their records a thing past hope. In looking at the views of Copan, Uxmal, and Palenque, we are forcibly reminded of the monuments of Southern India. The constant use of relief, and the faulty and singular style of design, are common to the two regions, as is also the frequent rectangular façade. A still more striking resemblance is found in the richness of the architectural details, the character of which is also like. The Indian sitting posture, too, is found in America, notably in the famous Beau-relief at Palenque, the

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<sup>16</sup> "The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America." By H. H. Bancroft. Vols. III., IV., V. London: Longman & Co.

figure in which sat (for it is now destroyed) with one leg bent up, exactly like the Hindu Mahadeva. The sloped ceilings of Uxmal and Palenque are singularly like the well-known Etruscan Regolini Galeassi tomb. Das Buch ist ein neuer Beweis der Allgemeinheit des Phallismus, oder wenigstens des allgemeinen Eifers der Gelehrten den Phallismus überall zu finden. Im Lateinischen zu sagen id quod Teutonice diximus; hoc opus demonstrat aut phallum ubique in veneratione habitum esse aut saltem doctos velle venerationem phalli semper et ubique invenire. The fifth and last volume contains the slight and dubious fragments of the primitive history of America which can be derived from tradition, or from the scanty records which Spanish bigotry has allowed to be handed down. Of these it is impossible to speak here. An ample index fitly ends the work; which needs no word of ours to commend it to all who can reach it. We warmly congratulate Mr Bancroft on his noble monument.

In his "Attic Orators"<sup>17</sup> Professor Jebb has produced a work which has been much needed, and which will enhance his high reputation. He has given us, in his introduction, a bright sketch of the rise and career of Attic oratory, marking clearly the difference between oratory at Athens and oratory in the present day, both in importance and general estimation, and also in the curious fact that the ancient orators carefully prepared their speeches, while we will have none now that we do not at least believe to be extemporaneous. From this practice of the ancients arises the close connection between oratory and other prose; or, as Professor Jebb has it, between the prose that was intended to be spoken (heard?) and the prose that was intended to be read. We own to not understanding the word "plastic" as applied to oratory. After the general review of Attic oratory, we have elaborate treatises on the earlier half of the famous decade—Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates and Isaeos. In each case the author gives a short life of the orator, a review of his style, and an analysis of his works. In the first volume occur Antiphon, whose dignified style and strong religious feeling are emphasised; Andokides, whose excellence is pronounced to lie in plain narrative, often gossiping and comic, but always natural and vivid; and Lysias, ever clear, precise, and studiously simple, to whom Professor Jebb gives the palm for perception and delineation of character. Especially interesting, in this volume, is the discussion of the case of Andokides *περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων*. In the second volume Isokrates and Isaeos are treated at greater length, as might be expected. The so-called "Philosophy" of the former fills an interesting chapter; and that on his style calls attention to that prose-rhythm for which he has been so highly praised; and the author is, we think, right in finding Isokrates too artificial, in spite of his pure diction. The analysis of the *πανηγυρικός* is excellent, and we could wish that that of the *Ἑλένης ἰγκώμιον* had been longer. The treatment of Isaeos is no less interest-

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<sup>17</sup> "The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeos." By R. C. Jebb, M.A., Public Orator in the University of Cambridge, and Professor of Greek in that of Glasgow. London: Macmillan & Co.



ing, with its careful comparison of him with Demosthenes, and its exposition of the decisive transition of oratory into the technical antagonism of advocacy. If some object that they are not the greatest of Attic orators who are discussed in the book, it should be remembered that Dionysius distinguishes three of these five as *εὑρεταί*, originators. Professor Jebb has selected them because of their influence in moulding Greek prose, and also because they are less known than the later orators; reasons which forbid an immediate hope that he will continue these studies. We are sure that the work will be of interest not only to the scholar and student, but to many who have no longer, to many who never had, the power of meeting the orators on their own ground. We must not omit to call attention to the twenty-five useful pages of "Annals," and to some neat Doric verses, which are prefixed to the volume, and which are doubtless from Mr Jebb's own elegant pen.

Messrs Church and Brodribb have completed their English version of Tacitus by the publication of the *Annals*.<sup>18</sup> These gentlemen have long won great distinction in connection with this author, and the present work is quite worthy of what they have done before. The translation is very accurate, and is usefully supplemented with an introduction and some good short notes. The volume also contains several excellent glosses on the Emperor's titles, the word *Delator*, geography, and other difficulties. We are not quite so satisfied with the style as with the exactness of the rendering. It might advantageously have been briefer. There is, however, no doubt that Tacitus is one of the most difficult of all authors to translate; and it is perhaps impossible to reproduce his style in another language. "Il plaide toujours par raisons solides et vigoreuses, d'une façon pinctue, et subtile, suyvnt le style affecté du siècle," says old Montaigne in his sagacious remarks on this author, which are well worth reading (*Essais* iii., 8), if it is only for his prescient criticism, "qu'ayant spécialement à suivre les vies des empereurs de son temps—tant de notables actions que nommeement leur cruauté produisit en leurs subiects, il avoit une matiere plus forte et attirante à discourir et à narrer, que s'il eust eu à dire des batailles et agitations universelles. . . . Cette forme d'histoire est de beaucoup la plus utile." It is to be noted that Tacitus has frequently appeared in an English dress. The versions of old Greenway, Gordon and Murphy are all respectable, though they must expect to be thrust aside by the present translators. The volume is well printed; but the general reader will wish that a rather larger type had been selected.

The fourth volume of Professor Max Müller's "Chips"<sup>19</sup> contains six lectures, two essays, and two contributions to controversial literature. The lecture with which he inaugurated the Oxford Chair of Compara-

<sup>18</sup> "Annals of Tacitus translated into English." By A. J. Church, M.A., and W. J. Brodribb, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

<sup>19</sup> "Chips from a German Workshop." By F. Max Müller, M.A., Foreign Member of the French Institute, &c. Vol. IV. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

tive Philology in 1858 has proved in some measure prophetic; for it speaks of a Chinese professorship, and of the utilisation of the money spent on "that long retinue of non-resident fellows." The two Rede Lectures, and one delivered before the University of Strassburg in 1872, are upon the Professor's own subject. The famous Westminster Abbey Lecture on Missions is followed by a sermon preached there on the same day by the Dean. Lastly, the opening address to the International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in 1874, contains a brief *résumé* of later work in Oriental studies, and the exposition of claims on several corporations for them. The essay on the Migration of Fables is extremely interesting. The most valuable paper in the book, however, is an account of Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1839), whom Professor Max Müller calls "the founder and father of true Sanskrit scholarship in Europe." It is indeed discreditable to us that Colebrooke's name is better known in France, Germany, and Italy than in his own country. Sir William Jones, it is true, was before him, and has connected his name for ever with the study of Sanskrit; yet Colebrooke was at least Sir William's equal. It is, indeed, not quite fair to compare them, because they worked in different fields. Sir William Jones studied Sanskrit as a literary enjoyment; while Colebrooke was a painstaking scholar and critic of the language; and Professor Max Müller is most happy in the thought of appending a list, made by Colebrooke in 1801, of common words with their cognates in Sanskrit and several Indian and European languages, "showing how, long before the days of Bopp and Grimm, Colebrooke had clearly perceived the relationship of all the principal branches of the Aryan family." We cannot read the two last papers in the volume without some regret. Mr G. H. Darwin, in an article in *Fraser* entitled "Professor Whitney on the Origin of Language," had opposed Professor Max Müller's arguments against Darwin's views on language, and quoted the American against the Oxford professor. The latter, in his "Reply to Mr Darwin," said a great deal that was severe upon Professor Whitney; who, in return, according to his wont, publishes a violent and utterly indecent attack upon Professor Max Müller. The Oxford combatant replies with still greater severity, but with good breeding. The contest is still going on. The subject is so complex, and has so much that is personal to so many persons in it, that it is not easy to say if Professor Whitney is alone in the wrong. It is, however, quite clear that he has not the tact and temperance to cope with a polished man of the world like Professor Max Müller, even if the latter were in the wrong. We regret that Professor Max Müller has given so much permanence to the squabble.

The second part of Schmidt's work on "Der Indogermanische Vokalismus" <sup>20</sup> follows the first after an interval of four years. It is impossible in our limited space to discuss a work, a few hundred pages of which represent several years of toil. Professor Schmidt is

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<sup>20</sup> "Zur Geschichte des Indogermanischen Vokalismus." Von Johannes Schmidt. 2 Abtheilungen. Weimar: Böhlau.

favourably known as the *collaborateur* of Schleicher, and is now revising a new posthumous edition of that scholar's well-known "*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen*." The present work is a collection of observations of Sanskrit, and of the old stages of almost every dialect of the Indo-Germanic family, bearing on the extremely difficult and still obscure subject of the vowel sounds. It may be safely pronounced to be the most comprehensive work on this subject, and to contain the latest information. We note that Professor Schmidt, like Schleicher, is one of the innovators in German spelling.

We are glad to welcome a cheap but very excellent new edition of Dr Dyer's "*Pompeii*."<sup>21</sup> The author published his first work on Pompeii many years ago. In 1867 he produced a new book based upon the former, and gained universal praise. The second work has now been revised, and, with additions, correcting its information down to 1874, has been republished in "*Bohn's Illustrated Library*." With its three hundred woodcuts, it is a most interesting book even to the idler; it is, however, only fair to say that it is a thorough description of Pompeii, and is quite suitable for the scholar and archæologist. Independently of its modest price, it is the most comprehensive work on the subject yet published. It deserves a large sale.

The most important literary publication of the last few months is "*Der junge Goethe*,"<sup>22</sup> a collection of all Goethe's writings down to his settling at Weimar. Precisely because it is so important, we say very little about it. Remarks on Shakespeares and Goethes are seldom read with patience. It is the fate of greatness to suffer much idle commentary; but who takes or changes his idea of such men from commentaries? Each man finds his own Shakespeare, his own Goethe, in his own thumbed copy of their works. To praise Goethe simply is to accuse humanity, and that unjustly. We can hardly believe that a still living man had to "write up" Goethe in this country. Heine's words are now true over the whole civilised world: "People cannot well ask you, What do you think of heaven and earth? What are your views on humanity? Are you a rational creature or a stupid fool? All these delicate questions are, however, contained in the simple words, What think you of Goethe?" The present volumes we owe to the munificent zeal of S. Hirzel, the famous publisher of Leipzig, who for years has been collecting every letter or MS., and every edition of every work of the poet on which he could lay hands. They contain every known private or public writing of Goethe down to 1775 in its earliest form, and are an excellent model for a complete edition in the future. Such an edition, however, is not to be hoped for until the now jealously-locked stores of Goethe's literary remains are opened. Most interesting is it to notice from these volumes,

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<sup>21</sup> "*Pompeii; its History, Buildings, and Antiquities*." By Thomas H. Dyer, LL.D. With 300 Engravings. New Edition. London: G. Bell & Sons.

<sup>22</sup> "*Der junge Goethe: Seine Briefe und Dichtungen von 1764-1775*. Mit einer Einleitung von Michael Bernays." Leipzig: S. Hirzel.



printed in every case after the earliest editions, the many changes, additions, excisions, effected by the later taste of the ever-working poet. We find two complete forms of "Goetz," and the original "Werther" and "Die Mitschuldigen," which are both very different from the later editions. An entirely new commentary is created by the juxtaposition of the synchronous letters. These latter, indeed, we consider the more valuable part of the book. Never before has there appeared a general chronological collection; and many are now printed for the first time. Nothing can be more interesting than to read them together with Lewes's life. The editing and arrangement are done with admirable judgment and industry by Michael Bernays, who is known to students of Goethe by his "Kritik und Geschichte des Goetheschen Textes."

A life of Heinrich Heine<sup>23</sup> will attract many eager readers. Of that incomprehensible and tragic existence little is known; and as yet no one has adequately arranged that little. We have no intelligible view of the man, and a few pages might be published any day which would alter our conception of him. There is much to explain this. Heine was a man full of contradictions. He lived most of his life far from those who had known him in early years, and we have not much of his correspondence. The memoirs which we know he wrote would perhaps tell us much, but they are sealed, probably for ever. A Spanish writer (D. José Perrojo) remarks: "Cuando comparamos los juicios que sobre Heine existen, sorprende extraordinariamente hallar en ellos la misma ley de contradiccion que en las producciones del poeta; de manera, que si muy opuestos son los elementos que H. en sus composiciones maneja, no lo son ménos los juicios y análisis que de su obra se hacen." This is true, and is mainly due to the prevalent ignorance about him. The Germans read little except his lyrics. The rest they avoid, accepting the old hireling cry of the days of the censorship, and hating him as a renegade German—*Französisch-gesinnt*. Heine was indeed born a French subject, and for years he idolised Napoleon I. He appreciated the French more than most Germans do; but he lived among them rather from necessity than from choice. The most thorough *Alt-Deutscher* will admit that the certainty of freedom in Paris is better than the chance of confinement in Spandau. He did not love the German Censur, or the Prussian bureaucracy; but throughout his works, where he is satirical, as when he says that the German loves liberty like his old grandmother; when he writes to the French, and warns them of the wrath to come when his countrymen next choose to fight them—he is always affectionate to his country, and proud of it, and of the German characteristics. None but a true German could have been such a German poet. With the spread of liberal ideas, and the decrease of animosity against France, the Germans will be more just to Heine. Mr Stigand's book is the work of a man thoroughly familiar with his subject. It is lively, and brings together the many

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<sup>23</sup> "Life, Work, and Opinions of Heinrich Heine." By William Stigand, author of "Athenais." London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

good glimpses which Heine gives of himself, and the best information from other sources. He describes well his ingratitude towards his uncle, his constant squabbles with all sorts of people, arising from his reluctance to control his stinging pen ; his (occasional) surprising political foresight, his coarse ideas of love, his miserable tone with respect to religion, his awful years in his mattress-grave. Mr Stigand also gives us much just criticism of his works, and dishes up for us all our favourite passages. Yet, we regret to have to find fault with this book. He has filled pages with simple abuse of everything German. He has also allowed himself a strange practice of inserting long and rather dull pieces of verse, apparently his own. With these blots removed, and a better index, the book would be shorter, and not less valuable. Mr Stigand's prose translations are very good, though occasionally hasty. His verse we like less. To his translation of "*Mein süßes Lieb, wenn du im Grab,*" we prefer this :—

"When thou, sweet love, shalt one day lie  
Where death's dark door shall hide thee,  
I, too, will leave the world, and fly  
And lay me down beside thee.  
And as thou liest in pale cold sleep,  
I kiss thee broken-hearted ;  
I sigh, I tremble, I softly weep,  
Till life and I are parted.  
The other ghosts by midnight gloom  
Shall dance in haunted places ;  
We two will linger in the tomb,  
I lie in thy embraces.  
The dead go forth at the judgment-day,  
The day that dooms or blesses ;  
We give no heed to the summons, but stay  
Unmoved in long caresses."

These lines we quote in sadness from a translation of the "*Lyrisches Intermezzo*," made by a rising man of letters, who has often delighted our readers, and who, but for an abrupt and cruel separation, would have written this notice. They show a tragic foreknowledge. Last summer, the translator, a young and strong man, lost a beloved wife ; and within a few weeks he was indeed buried beside her, leaving many friends unable to speak their thoughts of him, and our literature the poorer by one man of very great promise.

Mr Kegan Paul has given us a model biography of William Godwin.<sup>24</sup> The world has hitherto had no good account of this remarkable man, who was interesting not only in himself, but also in his relations with all the talented Liberals of the dark days in which he lived. We still require much light to be thrown on the period between the first movements of the French Revolution and the death of George III. If we look back to the earlier part of the last century, we find English life, *mutatis mutandis*, very like what it is now. We can at

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<sup>24</sup> "William Godwin : his Friends and Contemporaries." By C. Kegan Paul. Vols. I. and II. London : Henry S. King & Co.

least understand the politic views of either party. The liberal ideas which now prevail on such broad questions as religious tolerance, freedom of speech and of the press, government by as well as for the people, were to be found in England in a more or less developed state from Milton's time to that of Johnson. But towards the close of the century a darkness seemed to set in. The liberal, strong sense of our people seemed to have disappeared; and the press and public speech were harassed and prosecuted until they were nearly annihilated. In that time William Godwin lived, and his intercourse was mainly with the persons who felt most oppressed by the political conditions. Born in 1756, the son of a dissenting minister, he at first devoted himself to the same calling. After a few years his views on religious subjects changed, and he took to authorship when about thirty. He wrote much, chiefly on political subjects, and had great influence in his day. His novel, "Caleb Williams," is the only work which can be said to live still. In 1797 he married Mary Wollstonecraft, whom he lost in childbed in the same year. The tragic history of his unhappy and gifted wife is well told. Godwin, in his "Political Justice," had spoken very strongly against marriage, so much so, that he kept his own marriage secret for a time. After his wife's death, however, he still had, as About says, *le mariage en tête, et lorsqu'un homme en est à ce point, il épouserait la famine, la peste, ou la guerre, plutôt que de rester garçon*. Within a year of his wife's death, he had already been rejected by one lady. A year later he proposed to another lady who had been a widow only a month, again unsuccessfully. A year afterwards he had married a widow with two children. He himself had two children, his own daughter Mary, afterwards Mrs Shelley, and Fanny, a child born to his wife before their marriage. The second wife was not a suitable partner; and, indeed, Godwin himself was not a man with whom it was easy to get on. After a few more years of hard literary life, he set up as a bookseller or publisher. In this he was hardly more successful as regards money, and he remained in difficulties almost all his life. In 1833 he was made Yeoman Usher of the Exchequer, which gave him a competence until his death in 1836. It is almost comic to notice how he who waged war on matrimony married twice, and how the fierce old Radical held a sinecure office which was one of the first abolished after the Reform Act. Unadventurous as Godwin's life was, it contains plenty of tragedy. His adopted daughter committed suicide; and his own daughter eloped with Shelley, whom she married as soon as his first wife had by her suicide enabled her to do so. Mr Kegan Paul is far more just to his subject than a biographer generally is; even he is, however, too lenient, we think, in his treatment of the Wollstonecraft failings and horrors. A more detailed account of Godwin's monetary affairs would have been useful. He clearly was apt to depend on others, but the book does not tell us how much. If he had proper feelings about money (of which we cannot quite assure ourselves), then he was certainly a man of most noble generosity. Indeed it is extraordinary to read how these poor struggling Godwins and Wollstone-



crafts stood by one another. These volumes are a treasure-house of interesting letters. Dozens from Mrs Inchbald, which, as well as all her relations with Godwin, are curious; several from Coleridge, Horne Tooke, Shelley, Walter Scott, the young Bulwer Lytton; and, lastly, some fifteen (all new) of Charles Lamb's. Besides these famous names, Godwin's mother contributes a large number of extremely clever misspelt letters, which give us a perfect knowledge of the excellent old lady. The Bulwer correspondence is a peculiarly interesting piece of literary history. The young author (whom Mr Kegan Paul pronounces to be "in his earlier style the direct intellectual descendant of the writer of 'Caleb Williams'") sought and obtained Godwin's acquaintance. The old man left papers showing that he had contemplated and made preparations for a novel on Eugene Aram; and it is more than probable that he suggested the subject to the rising light. Mr Kegan Paul has done his work with rare and skilful modesty, letting Godwin or Godwin's friends tell the story as far as possible. The book is not too long, and yet throws much light over several widely-separated lives. It is one of the most valuable of this quarter's publications.

A memoir of Schopenhauer<sup>25</sup> has been brought out by Miss Zimmern, who honours us by an appreciative acknowledgment of an essay on the philosopher which appeared in this *Review* in April 1853, and is not yet time-worn. Miss Zimmern's work is mainly biographical, though she does not avail herself of the privileges of her sex to avoid the discussion of Schopenhauer's difficult and cruel doctrines. His life had much in it to make him reasonably happy. He possessed a handsome competence and good health. He early enjoyed the advantages of travel. The son of a mother who had gained considerable favour as an author, he became acquainted with many of the most illustrious of his countrymen (notably with Goethe) in her drawing-room at Weimar. He produced his most important work at the age of thirty. His life, however, was miserable, as that of a man must be who holds that the Will being the great underlying principle, and being in itself evil, our highest actual perfection is to exercise this base function for the benefit of our fellow ill-wishers rather than for our own merely; and the highest ideal, that of an ascetic self-denial which would result in that best of all possible boons, annihilation. His temper was comically violent, and caused him much trouble. He was absurdly afraid of poverty and other evils. His dictatorial rudeness made him a species of exhibition where he lived. From youth to age, he never found a *modus vivendi* with his fellow-creatures. His idiosyncrasies make the book a remarkable study of humanity. His fame came late. Whatever the judgment on his theories may be, all must own his wonderful power of illustration, and his admirably clear and elegant style. Unfortunately he thought it necessary to attack a large and interested class, all the past and contemporary professors of philosophy in Germany; and, like our painter Haydon, he was ignored

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<sup>25</sup> "Arthur Schopenhauer: his Life and his Philosophy." By Helen Zimmern. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

in return, as long as it was possible. His great work had been published nearly thirty years before the German world took it up. Schopenhauer, however, again like Haydon, was not the man to lose confidence in himself. He never swerved from his audacious faith in his own work; and when fame came, though he thoroughly enjoyed it, he was not surprised. Schopenhauer forbade the writing of his biography, and despised women. By a curious irony of fate we here have a memoir of him by a lady; and it is so well done that even he will not be troubled in his grave. Let it be noted that he admired this nation enthusiastically. The following extract, concerning one of the very greatest physiologists the world has seen, has a special interest and value now:—

“Blumenbach spoke very seriously about the horrors of vivisection, and explained what a cruel and terrible thing it is, therefore we ought to employ it very seldom, and only in important cases of actual utility. Then, too, it ought to take place with all publicity in the great auditory, and an invitation sent to all the medical students, so that this cruel sacrifice on the altar of science might be of the greatest possible utility. Nowadays every dabbler in surgery thinks himself permitted to practise the most horrible cruelty to animals in his own torture-chamber, to decide problems whose solution has been long written in books he is too lazy or too ignorant to read.”

It is not easy to write, print, and publish a good biography of a man within seven months of his death; and when there is nothing worthy of note about the man, the difficulty of the task is increased. It is only partly for these reasons that the Rev. Mr Baring-Gould's so-called *Life of the late Rev. Mr Hawker*<sup>26</sup> is valueless. It would be less costly and cumbrous, for instance, if he had omitted his history of the Jesuits in Poland, his excursions on the family of St Morwenna, and the career of St Modwenna of Burton, the story of Cruel Coppinger, the life and correspondence of Sir Bevil Grenville, all of which had exactly nothing to do with his subject; while he might well have given us a list of Mr Hawker's publications. We learn from his admiring biographer that Mr Hawker was an extremely offensive practical joker in early life; that under twenty he married his godmother, a lady one year older than his mother, for the sake of her £200 a year; that when she died at eighty-one, he, being then fifty-eight, was so extremely depressed that he took to opium, wrote to somebody twenty months after her death, “If you return next year, you will find me, if I am alive, keeping watch and ward humbly and faithfully by the place where my dead wife still wears her ring in our quiet church;” and married a young governess two months after this letter. On his deathbed he was baptized into the Romish Church. This, says the writer, was not an act of treachery on his part, the priest having been summoned by his wife, and having administered the rite while Mr Hawker was unconscious. Mr Baring-Gould devotes many pages to the wife's religious opinions, which appear to involve a history of those of the Polish nobility from 1564; and as his only direct statement is, that “recently under Unitarian

<sup>26</sup> “The Vicar of Morwenstow: a Life of Robert Stephen Hawker. By S. Baring-Gould, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co.

influences, she now acquiesced in the teaching and ceremonies of the Anglican Church," his explanation of the husband's conversion is at least illogical. Very few letters are given, and Mr Hawker apparently had few friends of long standing, Mr Baring-Gould himself not being in that category. But the volume contains a great deal of irrelevant gossip about Cornish scenery, local stories and superstitions, Wesleyans, 'devil-hunting, and Mr Hawker's funny and occasionally profane stories. In short, Mr Hawker owed a certain notoriety to his eccentric dress, manner, and sayings, to his habit of playing with nine cats in the chancel while reading the service, and similar absurdities, and finally to his conversion. He was a man who shared and increased the gross superstitions of his parish, attributing a farmer's death to his having opposed him, the priest; and actually arguing on a historical point, that "I have twice received supernatural intimation of her identity by dream and suggestion." Down to September 1850 he claimed "forty miracles" on his own private account. To a shallow account of this not very memorable person, Mr Baring-Gould adds some old jokes and many old wives' stories, about as childish and unauthentic as his Legends of the Saints, and so makes up an imposing volume. He gravely mentions, as a thing "not to be wondered at," rumours of Mr Hawker having been seen in his old haunts since his death. To a friend of the present writer who inquired as to these appearances, a woman of the parish replied that she did not believe in anything of the kind. "You see, sir, if he's in the good place, he won't want to come back; and if he's in the bad place, they won't let him." This good woman's tone is wiser than Mr Baring-Gould's. The matter of the whole book would have suited a *Daily Telegraph* holiday-correspondent in Cornwall, and that is the best that can be said of it. Since the above remarks were written the *Athenæum* has given a very authoritative denial to almost all of the few facts stated by Mr Baring-Gould. With reference to the conversion, it asserts so decidedly that Mr Hawker was a traitor for money during many years, that Mr Baring-Gould ought to explain either how he could suppress so much, or how he could presume to write on a matter concerning which he was so ignorant.

Yet another ecclesiastical biography is before us; but Mr Donald Macleod's memoir of his brother, Norman Macleod,<sup>27</sup> is a valuable and interesting book. It is the life of a thorough man. Earnestly pious, and sincerely wedded to his beliefs, he was at the same time a useful and active man of the world, with a large heart and liberal sympathies, whose life is a good model for all priests, a good study for all men. It is not necessary to sympathise with all his opinions, but every man must admire his hearty practical life. The picture we here have of him is derived almost entirely from his own journals and his letters. A man who was proud of the friendship of Dean Stanley and Charles Kingsley, who disapproved of ultra-Sabbatarianism and teetotal intem-

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<sup>27</sup> "A Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains." By the Rev. Donald Macleod, B.A., one of Her Majesty's Chaplains. Two Vols. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.



perance, it is not wonderful that he encountered opposition among his brethren. A few years before his death it was almost a question of "deposing" him ; and yet shortly after he was made Moderator. It was no ordinary man who could thus compel the somewhat intolerant Church of Scotland. The events of his life were not exciting. Like Thackeray, and almost at the same time, he spent a year in early manhood at Weimar. He evidently enjoyed travel, and found many opportunities of seeing foreign countries ; and the illness which finally killed him stopped him during an important journey in India. The feature which strikes us first in these volumes is the humour of his letters, and of the caricatures with which he very frequently adorned them. With boundless fun, there is always strong sense and real earnestness. Next we notice the deep religious feeling, expressed everywhere, and especially in his own journal. It almost provokes a smile to observe how much he considered the publication of *Good Words* as a work of religious duty. He seems to have had a strong foreboding of his death, which was sudden. A few days before, "he talked," says his daughter, "almost always about death and dying ; the dread every one has of the act of dying ; and how merciful it was, that though a man in health fears death, yet when he is weakened by disease he is indifferent to its terror." We get many glimpses of the home-life of the Queen, with whom Dr Macleod stood on the footing of a friend. These extracts have been delicately made, but enough is given to increase our respect for that bereaved lady. We are not often pleased with lives of clergymen, especially when they are written by other clergymen or near relatives. In this case, however, a surviving brother, also a minister, has done his work with taste and ability. He keeps himself in the background, and allows Norman Macleod to describe himself. We can see, moreover, that the editor shares the wholesome and tolerant views of his brother. We read with respect the dedication "to his mother, now in her ninety-first year, in affectionate remembrance of all that her children, and her children's children, owe to her influence."

Dr Hunter's "Life of Lord Mayo" <sup>28</sup> is a well-written narrative of a career of great interest. It is written too soon after the tragic end of the man whom it commemorates ; and its strain is too panegyric, a natural fault, written as it is by one who is proud to have served Lord Mayo's Government, with papers supplied by Lord Mayo's family, and by his heads of departments. Dr Hunter's book is, however, a manly and honest panegyric, and is very pleasant reading. Lord Mayo's earlier years were rather pinched. He was the son of the heir-presumptive of a peerage, but his family was by no means wealthy. For a long period his life was that of a country gentleman—a life in which he undoubtedly found contentment. Circumstances, however, brought him forward in politics, where he maintained a creditable position. His career previous to his appointment to the viceroyalty occupies only about a seventh of Dr Hunter's Life. We all remember what we now consider the cruel outbreak in the press when his

<sup>28</sup> "A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India." By W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D. Two Vols. London : Smith, Elder, & Co.

appointment was announced. It was hinted that the incoming Liberal Government would cancel his appointment, as was done by the Whigs in the case of Lord Heytesbury in 1835. Mr Gladstone's Government, however, followed no such evil precedent; and we are reminded of Mr Disraeli's saying that newspaper abuse "may retard the advancement of a young man, starting in life and untried, but it is harmless after a man has become known; and if unjust, it is in the long-run beneficial." Dr Hunter's account of Lord Mayo's viceroyalty is, as we have hinted, unduly long and weighty. Lord Mayo's foreign policy differed from the more inactive policy of his predecessor, Lord Lawrence; and he anticipated by authoritative declaration the abolition of the income-tax by his successor. These were the great features of his reign. In other respects he toiled with honourable industry in that exhausting function. His tragic end is gracefully narrated. Dr Hunter has not given us a valuable historical work, but an honestly admiring account of a singularly high-minded gentleman of considerable ability.

We next come to a small volume, which consists of sketches<sup>29</sup> of those whom Mr Hinton considers the leaders of the Radical party in England. The sketches are somewhat like those of eminent Frenchmen which we have seen of late in the *Daily News*. They are, however, more personal, more adapted to New York taste. Several persons are included whom we should hardly rank as leaders. Messrs Cowan, Carter, Macdonald, Morley, Henry Richards, Chamberlain, and others. The descriptions are probably not too correct in their facts, and they deal in eulogy with unnecessary liberality. We notice several misstatements, and a tendency, common in American papers, to be surprised by everyday things, and to discover alarming portents in England. Thus we do not remember that the nation has had to pay any debts for the Prince of Wales, far less that "sums more than equal in amount (to \$3,254,515) have been expended on the Heir-Apparent alone, to pay his debts and defray the expenses of his various State tours." This is detailed as in addition to his allowances. Nor do we remember when Parliament and the Press derided Mr Gladstone for thinking that "the unfranchised masses were the same flesh and blood as themselves." When Mr Bradlaugh stated that "the Convention of 1688 had the authority of a Parliament, and that it admitted the right to deprive a living king of his crown, and to treat a Prince of Wales as having no claim to the succession," he was wrong and irrelevant. The Convention Parliament declared that the king had *abdicated*, and the right of the present royal family depends in no way on the Act of 1689, in which it is not named, but entirely on the Act of 1701. And we should be greatly surprised if the doctrine of the omnipotence of Parliament was not taught to the Prince of Wales as soon as he left his nursery. Mr Hinton's book will not be read much on this side of the Atlantic, and we wish that as much time and research had been used in teaching our cousins something of our constitution and something of our national feeling.

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<sup>29</sup> "English Radical Leaders." By R. J. Hinton. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

## BELLES LETTRES.

IF imitation be the sincerest form of flattery, men ought, as far as novels go, to be satisfied. George Eliot set the example of placing a masculine name on the title-page. Just now she has a host of followers, who, however, resemble her in no other way. The name, for instance, of the author of "*Cleveden*"<sup>1</sup> is, we believe, neither Stephen nor Yorke. The disguise in this case is a mistake. The book is essentially a woman's book, and not a man's. There is so much which is true in the account of the feelings of the heroine, that we may hope for still better things from the authoress. The tale, as a love-story, is in fact so good, that it is worth while to spend a little longer time over it than we generally do on such productions. We must begin, however, with the ungracious task of fault-finding. The great mistake in the story is in making the characters talk, so to speak, thoroughly out of character. From the beginning a wrong keynote is struck. We are introduced to the little village of Cleveden, on the River Esk—a village which nobody who knows the district can mistake. We are taken amongst the usual inhabitants of such a place—a dissenting farmer, who speaks broad north-east Yorkshire, his daughter, a miller, and his female cousin. We think we know what style of a person a country miller is, even if "*The Mill on the Floss*" had never been written. We find out, however, that we have been under a thorough delusion. This country miller and his relatives are pictured in "*Cleveden*" as models of refinement and culture. Now the great drawback of living in the country is the lack of decent intelligence, to say nothing of culture and refinement. The country squires are still, as they were in Addison's time, "the unintellectual body of the nation." The farmer is still, as in Bishop Earle's time, "a fellow who manures the ground, but lets himself lie fallow and untilled." The rural clergy are fast divorcing themselves from the intellect of the day, so that intercourse with them is now becoming restricted to mere formal courtesy. We must confess, therefore, that we have our doubts about the intellectual miller. Mr Anthony Rede is an honourable and upright man, but the less that is said about his culture the better. The same remark applies to the other characters. The authoress has fallen into another great mistake, of sprinkling her pages with a number of common French phrases. Cheap jewellery does not generally imply that the wearer is wealthy. The offence in this case is twofold, as it would seem to show that the writer has not sufficient command of her own language to express her ideas, whilst in a tale of simple English village life such

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<sup>1</sup> "*Cleveden*." By Stephen Yorke, author of "*Tales of the North Riding*." London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.



phrases injure the local colouring. The writer, too, not unfrequently falls into the affectation of using uncommon words, for no other reason, which we can perceive, than because they are uncommon. To revive an obsolete word which is wanted is a benefit to literature, but to use it because it is simply unusual, is to injure your own style. Once or twice "Stephen Yorke" introduces local words with really good effect. We are not, however, quite sure whether "plain" for complain, and "perky" for we hardly know what, are improvements; and we think that instead of the rather superfine "marguerite" for daisy, the authoress might have given us the really beautiful local word "bairn-wort"—child's flower.

The heroine, Jenny Kirke, is the real character of the book; all the other characters are too indistinct. The two young men might be labelled the good young man and the bad young man. The other female characters we know only by their names and their dresses. Jenny Kirke, however, stands out individualised. We seem in her to have made, not perhaps exactly a new acquaintance, but to recognise many a living being. She has good natural instincts, but is wayward and impulsive; and these defects have not been counterbalanced by any really sound moral training or discipline. As such a girl always does in real life, she refuses the man who was more than worthy of her, and falls in love with a vain provincial dandy, of the Stephen Guest order. Her lover turns out a thoroughly mean scoundrel, who, when he finds that Jenny Kirke's father is ruined by his losses in some railway, undermines his character. Jenny Kirke's better nature is brought out by her trials and sorrows. This is by far the most interesting part of the tale. It is told with both grace and pathos. The writer succeeds best in describing the various stages of feeling through which Jenny Kirke passes. Some of the touches are very delicate. Here is one: "Real love calls up nothing so soon nor so certainly as real wide charity" (vol. i. p. 115). Again, at p. 122, we find a happy paraphrase of the well-known Italian proverb, "She is beautiful whom you think beautiful;" just as in the second volume (p. 231) we find a good commentary on Juvenal's *nemo repente fuit turpissimus*. Here, again, is a remark which will come home to many—"Jenny is trying not to think of anything, and so thinks of a thousand things." Here, too, is a wise caution, which reads better apart from the context—

"The world, with a kind of vague pietism not rare in it, acknowledges that sorrows are blessings in disguise; but the blessing is not inherent in the sorrow; it has to be watched for, waited for" (vol. i. p. 151).

Here, again, is a saying the truth of which most people unfortunately know—

"The great drawback of the lessons of experience is that they are learnt too late. The life wherein they would have been of use is lived out whilst we are learning them" (vol. i. p. 219).

Coleridge has said the same thing somewhat more poetically: "Human experience, like the stern-lights of a ship at sea, too often

only illuminates the path we have passed over." Not only experience, but joys generally come too late for us to enjoy them. There is, however, in "Clevedon" no trace of cynicism. We must not forget to give a word of praise to the dialect, which is excellent. It is correct, and not overdone. The scenery, too, is firmly drawn. The sketches are evidently taken direct from nature. We shall look forward to the authoress's next work with real interest. We think that she has it in her power to take a high place amongst the female novelists of the day.

Mr Dangerfield<sup>2</sup> writes with real power. He has a style of his own. It is quite a relief to turn to his strong masculine prose after the flabby mawkish stuff of the average novelist. He possesses, too, what they never possess—a knowledge of the world. He knows men and women. He can really draw—and this is, after all, no mean achievement—ladies and gentlemen. They behave in his pages as they do in real life. Yet sometimes we stumble upon passages even in Mr Dangerfield's pages which show how great is the temptation to paint the stern realities of life in far too bright colours. Here, for instance, is a passage from the chapter entitled, "A Literary Hack," which occurs in his first tale, "The Fool of the Family"—

"The Goldsmiths and the Johnsons would run no danger of starvation in these days. Grub Street is a thing of the past. The vineyard has increased faster than the labourers worthy of the hire. Let a man but have the scholarship, the versatility of these men, with ever so little flavour of their genius, and he will find hack literature a paying profession—a lucrative, an independent, and an honourable profession" (vol. i. pp. 47, 48).

We are quite at a loss to understand the meaning of the passage. If Mr Dangerfield simply means to say that hack-writing is better paid than it was in Johnson's day, well and good. But to say that hack-writing—and by this we understand writing for newspapers and publishers—is a lucrative and independent profession, is, we think, a serious mistake. The real truth of the matter was far better stated in Mr Winwood Reade's last novel, "The Outcast"—a novel to which sufficient justice has never been done. The character of Mr Aveling is, however, true to life. "He knew," says Mr Dangerfield, "why it was that some second and third-rate statesmen, authors, and artists are always praised, some good ones mercilessly abused, and some never mentioned at all." We hope that in some future novel Mr Dangerfield will tell us the secrets of the Bohemian prison, and also the real truth about hack-writing, and the exact sums which publishers do really give for hack-books, and especially hack-novels, and not the sums which they are said to give. All the other stories in Mr Dangerfield's two volumes are equally interesting. Perhaps the last, "A Tragedy Queen," is the best.

The critic of the future will probably divide George Eliot's novels

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<sup>2</sup> "The Fool of the Family, and other Tales." By John Dangerfield, author of "Grace Tolmer." London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle. 1876.

into periods. As great painters have their marked periods of style, so also have most great writers of fiction, whether it be in prose or poetry. There will be George Eliot's early style, in which she dealt with rustic life. Of this style "*Adam Bede*" will afford the best specimen. Here George Eliot is without a rival. Mr Hardy has indeed invaded her territory, but only with qualified success. His jokes were too smart and town-made. They had not the genuine bucolic flavour. Then, putting aside "*Romola*," the greatest, in our opinion, of all George Eliot's works, we have her middle period, as seen in "*Middlemarch*." In "*Daniel Deronda*"<sup>3</sup> we have, however, a distinct third style. George Eliot is beating the fashionable novelists on their own ground, just as Thackeray did, though in a different way. George Eliot brings elements which were so conspicuously wanting in "*Vanity Fair*." "*Vanity Fair*" was a photograph, bitter and merciless. In "*Daniel Deronda*" we have the artistic nature of the poet showing itself in passages of supreme beauty, which soften the harsher tones. Of the scope of the work we cannot of course speak from the small instalment before us, but we can speak of the literary workmanship. No novelist can hope to attain any permanent place in English literature who now comes much below the standard George Eliot has set up. This will be one of the least of the requirements of future novelists. In "*Daniel Deronda*" we have, too, that "dazzling fence of rhetoric" which has only been seen in one or two great masters in any language. One word about the form of publication. This is, we suppose, a necessity arising from business. We all of us have to work under conditions. George Eliot's work certainly suffers more than most novels do from this form of publication, simply because it is more artistic—because it in fact observes the laws of proportion and perspective. To judge of "*Daniel Deronda*" by instalments is something like judging of a statue by first seeing its foot and then the back of its head.

\* Everything which Mr M'Donald<sup>4</sup> writes is sure to be full of poetry. Nothing can be more poetical than the way in which "*The Wise Woman*" begins, and as it begins so it finishes. Mr M'Donald calls "*The Wise Woman*" a parable; he should have said a fairy-tale.

The author of "*Dante and Beatrice*"<sup>5</sup> has made a thorough mistake. He has done all which industry can do, but in such a work industry can do but little. Only the highest genius can here be of any avail.

About a year ago Mr Swinburne published a remarkable article

<sup>3</sup> "*Daniel Deronda*." By George Eliot. Books I. and II. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1876.

<sup>4</sup> "*The Wise Woman: a Parable*." By George M'Donald, author of "*Alec Forbes*," "*David Elginbrod*," &c. London: Strahan & Co. 1875.

<sup>5</sup> "*Dante and Beatrice*." From 1282 to 1290. By Roxburghe Lothian. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.



in the *Fortnightly Review* entitled "An Unknown Poet." The poet was Mr Wells, and his poem "Joseph and his Brethren."<sup>6</sup> The great danger when a poet turns critic is that he will trust more to his imagination than he does to his judgment. He reads not only between the lines, but into the lines themselves. Wordsworth saw what nobody else saw in Sir George Beaumont's pictures. Mr Swinburne's critical judgment, however, is in this instance certainly not at fault. He, of course, sees what the ordinary purblind reader will not see when it is pointed out to him. When a lady complained to Turner that she could not see the same brilliant colours in nature which he painted in his pictures, he replied, "Don't you wish you could?" This is the only reply which can be made to the Philistine critic who can see no beauties in "Joseph and his Brethren." That there are in the poem grievous shortcomings, chiefly, however, of workmanship, Mr Swinburne would be the first to admit. He expressly says so in the preface to the present edition. "There is," he writes, "an evident disposition to rest too easily contented with the first forms that offer themselves to clothe the first fancies, an ignorance when to stop and where to breathe, a facile indulgence in superfluity of speech." If a Philistine critic were so disposed, he could undoubtedly preach at great length from this text. What, however, will chiefly militate against the popularity of "Joseph and his Brethren" is the character of Phraxanor, but which is in reality, as Mr Swinburne rightly points out, the glory of the poem. No amount of excellence in the portrait will persuade the British public even to glance at such a character. Mr Swinburne has so fully and so admirably analysed her moods of feeling, as well as the dramatic power and truth with which she is presented, that he has left us nothing to say. We therefore turn to what may be called the softer beauties of the poem, which are likely to be overlooked amidst so much excellence of a far higher order. Here is a thought which will remind the reader of Wordsworth's well-known lines, and also of a very similar thought of Blake's—

"To me a simple flower is clothed with thoughts  
That lead the mind to heaven."—(P. 22.)

Here, again, is a picture clear and distinct as the sky and sunlit clouds themselves—

"Late as I lay upon a shock of corn,  
With musing eye following my dreamy thought,  
Likening the clouds to cities far away,  
A falcon sailed majestic in my view ;  
This way and that he turned his peering head."—(P. 23.)

Once more, here is a passage which would have delighted Keats—

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<sup>6</sup> "Joseph and his Brethren : a Dramatic Poem." By Charles Wells. With an Introduction by Algernon Charles Swinburne. London : Chatto & Windus. 1876.

"The grass is thick with flowers upon crisp stalks,  
Full of the juicy virtues of the place ;  
A rainbow garland for the brow of Spring."—(P. 27.)

These beauties all occur within a few pages at the beginning of the poem, and they keep increasing in beauty and variety as the poem goes on. Mr Wells is always happy when he touches upon the flowers and the clouds. We must, however, cease quoting. In conclusion, we fear that, in spite of Mr Swinburne's elaborate, and, we may add, noble eulogy, "Joseph and his Brethren" will only be popular with a few poets and students of poetry. The reason, apart from the character of Phraxanor, is not hard to see. Mr Swinburne's recently published tragedy of "Erectheus"<sup>7</sup> will in some measure help to explain the cause. What are the chief beauties of "Erectheus?" To give a satisfactory answer would require as much space as Mr Swinburne has devoted to the beauties of "Joseph and his Brethren." We may, however, ask in what way does "Erectheus" differ in its workmanship from Mr Wells's play? Precisely in this, that Mr Swinburne does know when to stay his hand, does know, as he puts it, "when to stop and where to breathe;" that he never indulges in any "superfluity of speech," nor, we may add, in any of that commonplace prosing which disfigures so much of "Joseph and his Brethren." Further, Mr Wells's play is about three times as long as "Erectheus," and is relieved by none of those light touches, none of those delicious lyrics, which in "Erectheus" lift us into the very highest heaven of poetry. Here are lines to Athens which cannot probably be matched for strength, grace, and delicacy, except by the matchless lyrics of Shelley—

"Bloodless are her works, and sweet  
All the ways that feel her feet ;  
From the empire of her eyes  
Light takes life and darkness flies ;  
From the harvest of her hands  
Wealth strikes root in prosperous lands ;  
Wisdom of her word is made ;  
At her strength is strength afraid ;  
From the beam of her bright spear  
War's fleet foot goes back for fear."

And so the poem proceeds, with its perfect form of expression and its perfect melody of rhythm. We think that we have said enough to indicate the high value which we set upon "Erectheus." To enter into its beauties is now impossible. We will merely say that we think it shows the high-tide mark which Mr Swinburne's poetry has at present reached.

Perhaps one of the most noteworthy features in the literature of the day is the number of closet-plays which not only appear but which find readers. There is scarcely one of our poets who has not tried the

<sup>7</sup> "Erectheus : a Tragedy." By Algernon Charles Swinburne. London : Chatto & Windus. 1876.

dramatic form of writing in some shape. We need not now dwell on the advantages of the dramatic form over all other. It simply stands supreme. Mr Gosse some little time ago by a single volume won his spurs in the field of poetry. "On Viol and Flute" was a book full of music and colour. We should as soon have imagined that Herrick would have written a tragedy as Mr Gosse a closet-play. Yet "Eric"<sup>8</sup> is a most undoubted success. Mr Gosse possesses not merely dramatic power, but the gift of individualising his characters. His blank verse, too, is not merely strong, but sweet, full of that indefinable rhythm and cadence which only the best blank verse possesses. Nor has Mr Gosse, whilst attaining this mastery over blank verse, lost the lyrical power which so distinguished "On Viol and Flute." Here are two stanzas which are full of melody and tenderness—

"I bring a garland for your head  
Of blossoms fresh and fair ;  
My own hands wound their white and red  
To ring about your hair :  
Here is a lily, here a rose,  
A warm narcissus, that scarce blows,  
And fairer blossoms no man knows.

"So crowned and chapleted with flowers,  
I pray you be not proud ;  
For after brief and summer hours  
Comes autumn with a shroud ;  
Though fragrant as a flower you lie,  
You and your garland, bye and bye,  
Will fade and wither up and die."

The note is a sad one, the note of Meleager and Rufinus, the note of the pagan world, but it is one which we venture to think will be heard more and more in modern poetry as men's hopes in a future life fade and fail.

Some of Mrs Pfeiffer's<sup>9</sup> lyrics are very charming. They unite ease and freedom with sweetness. Some of the turns of thought, as in a song called "The Message," are very graceful. We should suppose, however, that Mrs Pfeiffer would wish to be judged by her more serious performances than her lighter pieces. In her sonnets she appears to have put forth her strength. They are interesting as showing the attitude of a deeply poetical mind towards modern science. Mrs Pfeiffer must not for one moment be confounded with the crowd of writers who imagine that they can put down the doctrine of natural selection by personal abuse of Darwin and Herbert Spencer. Hers is the cry which we have heard in "In Memoriam," sincere, and worthy of respect. The two best sonnets are decidedly "Past and Future" and "Broken Speech." In these

<sup>8</sup> "King Eric." By Edmund W. Gosse. London : Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>9</sup> "Poems." By Emily Pfeiffer, author of "Gerard's Monument." London : Strahan & Co. 1876.



Mrs Pfeiffer appears to fling away some of the fears and regrets which have held her, and to see some, at least, of the blessings which Science promises the world. We shall hope that in her next volume the strain will be less uncertain and the feeling more assured.

Mr Bayard Taylor<sup>10</sup> is well known as one of the best translators of Goethe's "Faust," and we should have imagined that he would have been imbued with the modern spirit. But he too has his fling at what he supposes to be the teachings of Science. If his humorous piece entitled "Cupids" really does represent the "views of certain women on marriage and divorce," they do not represent those of the men, who have the best claim to be heard, Mr Bayard Taylor is, however, better represented in his Pastorals. Had we space, we would gladly quote some of his spirited descriptions.

Everything which Miss Dora Greenwell<sup>11</sup> writes is sure to be graceful, and bear the marks of thought and culture. Such a piece as "The Blade of Grass" is sure to find admirers, be their creed what it may. The poem entitled "Between two Worlds" shows, however, the greatest power. It is marked by one excessively striking passage.

We should hope that by this time the author of "Christmas Rhymes"<sup>12</sup> has felt some regret for publishing so silly a volume. Once or twice he makes a happy hit, but, as a rule, his attempts at humour are simply painful.

The new edition of Sir Aubrey de Vere's "Sonnets"<sup>13</sup> will be welcomed by his admirers. A graceful life of the author is prefixed. Sir Aubrey de Vere was a great admirer of Wordsworth, and his sonnets breathe not a little of Wordsworth's tenderness of feeling.

Mr Watson's "Legend of the Roses"<sup>14</sup> is founded on a very beautiful story taken from "Mandeville's Travels." The tale, as told in the old traveller's pages, runs that near Bethlehem there is a field full of roses, red and white, called the Field of Blossoms. The tradition is that a girl was condemned to be burnt in this field. When the fire was lighted, and the flames rose round her, she prayed to God, as He knew that she was unjustly condemned, to save her. The flames were suddenly quenched, and from the burning brands blossomed red roses, and from those that were not burnt, white roses; and "theise weren the first Roseres and Roses, both white and Rede, that evere ony Man saughe." It would require a very great poet

<sup>10</sup> "Home Pastorals : Ballads and Lyrics." By Bayard Taylor. Boston, U.S. : Jones R. Osgood & Co. London : Trubner & Co. 1876.

<sup>11</sup> "Camera Obscura." By Dora Greenwell. London : Dalby, Isbister, & Co. 1876.

<sup>12</sup> "Christmas Chimes and New-Year Rhymes. Serious and Comic. With a Gallery of Notables, Drawn and Quartered in Various Verse, Sense and Nonsense." London : Basil Montagu Pickering. 1876.

<sup>13</sup> "Sonnets." By Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart. A New Edition. London : Basil Montagu Pickering. 1876.

<sup>14</sup> "The Legend of the Roses : a Poem." "Ravlan : a Drama." By Samuel James Watson. Toronto : Hunter, Rose, & Co. 1876.

to do justice to so beautiful a legend, and it is no reproach to Mr Wilson to say that he has failed.

Under the title of "*Queen Mary*,"<sup>15</sup> we have an excellent reprint of Dekker and Webster's "*The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*," and Heywood's "*Troubles of Queen Elizabeth*." Both plays possess a great interest for the student of the Elizabethan drama, but hardly any for the general reader. The editor has enriched the volume with a most interesting preface.

The poem of "*Monacella*"<sup>16</sup> is founded on the well-known legend of the saint. The writer shows, in places, real descriptive power, and a love for Nature, especially in her wilder aspects.

"If a speech," said Fox, "reads well, be sure it did not sound well." Something of the same kind may be said of plays. It is precisely the most readable parts of a play which do not act well. Mr Gilbert<sup>17</sup> has therefore achieved a double success, for his plays both act well and read well. Although so utterly different in style, they may be compared with Douglas Jerrold's best efforts, which also both read well and act well. Perhaps "*The Wicked World*," and what Mr Gilbert calls "a respectful parody" on Tennyson's "*Princess*," are the most brilliant. The songs in the "*Trial by Jury*," are as happy as those in "*Alice in Wonderland*." A certain similarity between the two may account for the fact that the authorship of the latter work is so often attributed to Mr Gilbert.

We are glad to see a collected edition of Laman Blanchard's poetry.<sup>18</sup> He is still so often mentioned and quoted by those who belong to an almost past generation of wits, that we are glad to have the opportunity of reading his poems. Mr Blanchard Jerrold has prefixed to the edition a memoir of the poet. The correspondence which is given smacks rather of Bohemia. We must suppose that either time or accident has robbed us of the best of the letters which must have passed between Blanchard and his friends. Those which Mr Jerrold has given are on the most trifling subjects. We turn to the poetry. Charles Lamb praised it. Browning, who ought to know what poetry is, declared Laman Blanchard's volume to be "brimful of the sweetest and truest things in the world." After such praise as this, we must confess to a feeling of disappointment. Blanchard's poems are poetical, but not poetry. Lamb and Browning doubtless perceived promise—a promise which would have been fulfilled under happier circumstances. When we read these poems of Blanchard's, we ought, however, in justice to remember

<sup>15</sup> "*Queen Mary. Two Old Plays by Dekker and Webster, and Thomas Heywood. Newly Edited by William John Blew. With a Prefatory Essay on the Relations of the Old and Modern Drama in this Chapter of History.*" London: Basil Montagu Pickering. 1876.

<sup>16</sup> "*Monacella: a Poem.*" By Agnes Stonehewer. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1876.

<sup>17</sup> "*Original Plays.*" By W. S. Gilbert. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>18</sup> "*The Poetical Works of Laman Blanchard, with a Memoir.*" By Blanchard Jerrold. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

what the first productions of some of his contemporaries were like, even of Byron or Wordsworth, and, coming to our own times, of Tennyson. Bearing this in mind, we think that there is ample justification for the very high opinion in which Blanchard's poetry was held by his contemporaries. But no man can serve two masters. The daily press absorbed all Blanchard's energy. As it is, we see only great power wasted. The finest things in the volume are the "Spirit of Poesy," "A Poet's Bride," and some of the sonnets. Had Blanchard lived, and possessed that leisure which is essential for the cultivation of poetry, he would without doubt have taken a high rank amongst English poets.

Professor Armstrong<sup>19</sup> possesses an unusual command of language, and no slight lyrical power. Nothing, however, short of the highest success could justify the choice of such subjects as he has chosen. Milton alone could here hope to succeed. We have pleasant recollections of Professor Armstrong's "Ugone," but fear that, like it, his present volumes will fall upon deaf ears.

The English Dialect Society is doing good work. For 1875 it has given us four publications, all of real value. The list of the works on English dialects<sup>20</sup> is now completed. Of course, a catalogue of this kind will from time to time require a supplement. So far as we can judge, the present list is very nearly exhaustive. There are one or two slight omissions. Under Warwickshire, for instance, Mr Halliwell's very scarce edition of Sharp's "Warwickshire Glossary" ought to have been mentioned. Only twenty-five copies were printed, and of these fifteen were destroyed. One has since, we believe, been lost by fire. The only copy which has ever come into the market was sold in the Windus sale, at Sotheby's, in 1868, for £2, 14s. Under Somersetshire, Miss Wilson's curious little work, with its humorous sketches, should have been noticed. Under Leicestershire, we miss Cooke's work, which is rightly inserted in the Devonshire list. Under Suffolk, the Glossary of words in Rainbird's "Agriculture of Suffolk," and under Norfolk, Miss Gurney's list of words in the "Proceedings of the Philological Society" should be entered. Under Wiltshire, too, the Glossary in Davis's "Agriculture of Wiltshire" should find a place. Further, there should be an entry of such works as Poole's Glossary of the "Old District of Forth and Bargy," edited by Barnes; and Mr Picton's privately-published work on the same subject. But, as we have said, the list is very full, and has evidently been compiled with very great labour and care. As a work of reference, it is indispensable to every

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<sup>19</sup> "The Tragedy of Israel." Part I. King Saul. Part II. King David. Part III. King Solomon. By George Francis Armstrong, M.A., Professor of History and English Literature in the Queen's College, Cork. London: Longman Green, Pender, & Dyer. 1876.

<sup>20</sup> "A Biographical List of the Works that have been Published, or are known to exist in MS., Illustrative of the Various Dialects in English." Compiled by Members of the English Dialect Society, and edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.



library. The Cornwall, Devonshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland lists are especially well done.

The next work is Mr Robinson's *Whitby Glossary*.<sup>21</sup> We are glad to see that Mr Robinson has acted on Mr Skeat's advice, and given us the whole of the words which he has been able to collect. We dwell upon this because, in a quarter where we should have expected better things, it has been urged that only those words which are peculiar to the district should be given. But how is the collector to know what words are peculiar to his district? Further, we do not want merely to know—although of course this is most important—what words are peculiar to a district, but also what words are common to several districts; and this can only be known by each collector giving the whole of the words in his own locality. More than twenty years ago, Mr Robinson published a *Glossary of Whitby words*. We have carefully compared it with his present work. We are glad to see that he has omitted all the old derivations which were to be found under "Hoppet," "Incars," "Maund," &c. Many of the explanations of the words have been entirely rewritten. But it is in the great additions that the value of the present work consists. In the old *Glossary*, under the letter "A," only sixty-one words were entered, but in the present work we find no less than two hundred and fifty. Under the letter "B," in the old *Glossary*, two hundred and eighteen words were registered, but in the present list the number is increased to seven hundred. The same proportion holds good with regard to other letters. These figures will at once show the great value of Mr Robinson's new work. When completed, it will probably be one of the fullest and richest glossaries in the language. Yet, with all his care, Mr Robinson has made a few omissions. This is inevitable. No one man—and Mr Robinson has been working almost unaided—can hope to glean the whole harvest. In the *Lancashire Glossary*, which we shall notice immediately, the two editors have had the help of many labourers. But Mr Robinson has worked alone. The omissions, however, which we notice are comparatively few. Such words as "foyman," a man who lays on ("foys") or takes off ships from a beach; "dayspring," a place in a field which is wet both in winter and summer; "brich," a fungus used for a razor-strop by the peasantry, and one or two more, should find a place in a supplement. We congratulate Mr Robinson on the way in which he has performed his self-imposed task. We trust, however, that he will not rest content with his labours, but will still keep on at the good work of collecting. The mine is not yet worked out.

If any one wishes to know what is one of the ends of the English Dialect Society, they should turn to the *Lancashire Glossary*,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> "A Glossary of Words used in the Neighbourhood of Whitby." By F. K. Robinson. Part I. The English Dialect Society. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

<sup>22</sup> "A Glossary of the Lancashire Dialect." By John H. Nodal and George

edited by Mr Nodal and Mr Milner. Here we find not merely a collection of words, but illustrations of them placed in chronological order, ranging from Old English down to the present day. The work thus becomes not merely a scientific history of the English language, but throws the greatest light upon many passages in our older authors. Such a work as the present deserves a separate article to itself, dealing as it does with so wide a range of subjects.

The next work issued by the English Dialect Society is Mr Elworthy's "*Dialect of West Somerset*."<sup>23</sup> It deals most elaborately with the pronunciation, and requires a local knowledge, which we do not possess, to enable any one to judge of its merits. In conclusion, we must not forget to mention the labours of Mr Skeat. It is upon him that the whole drudgery—and there is no harder drudgery than that of dictionary and glossary making—has fallen. It is to him that the whole success of the English Dialect Society is due.

Mr Macbeth's "*Might and Mirth of Literature*"<sup>24</sup> is a large and useless volume. In an introductory notice Mr Macbeth is good enough to parade his learning, and boasts of his familiarity with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, Italian, and Spanish. We think it would have shown better taste in Mr Macbeth to have been silent upon his qualifications. We can only say of him, as the Duke of Wellington said of some officer, that he has been over-educated for his intellect. His great familiarity with foreign languages appears to have deprived him of any real acquaintance with his own. His style is of that peculiar kind which we find only, in England at least, in the writings of the most uneducated dissenters—vulgar and blatant. The "*Might*" of his book is shown chiefly by its loud talk, and its "*Mirth*" by its ludicrous mistakes. His judgments on the most common matters are simply astounding. Of Alexander Smith we are told that he "has equalled Teunyson in finish, in delicacy of touch, and in pellucid clearness." This is precisely what Alexander Smith has not done. Of Mrs Craik we are told "that her prose is muscular as the arm of a first-class gladiator." In this judgment both might and mirth are combined, for a more ludicrous statement can scarcely be made. The book, however, is not worth serious criticism.

Dr Dibdin somewhere speaks about a beautifully bound edition of his own works, the sight of which gave him the utmost pleasure. We think, however, that the new edition of his "*Bibliomania*"<sup>25</sup> in

Milner. Part I. Words from A to E Inclusive. English Dialect Society. London: Trübner & Co. 1875.

<sup>23</sup> "*The Dialect of West Somerset*." By Frederic Thomas Elworthy. English Dialect Society. Trübner & Co. 1875.

<sup>24</sup> "*The Might and Mirth of Literature: a Treatise on Figurative Language*." In which upwards of six hundred writers are referred to, and two hundred and twenty figures illustrated, &c. &c. By John Walker Vilant Macbeth. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle. 1876.

<sup>25</sup> "*Bibliomania; or, Book Madness: a Bibliographical Romance*." Illustrated

Roxburgh binding would have also gladdened his heart. About bibliomania we need say nothing. The rage for collecting rare editions is even greater now than it was in Dibdin's day. Messrs Sotheby & Wilkinson's auction-rooms are more crowded than ever. Higher prices are fetched. Rich Americans have raised the market. Dibdin's work will always possess an interest to the collector and the amateur, who generally know more of the outside than the inside of a book. The student, however, must content himself with the thought that the greatest authors can now be procured in better editions, and at cheaper prices, than at any other period of the world's history.

Mr Matthew Arnold has issued "a revised and enlarged" edition of his *Essays*.<sup>26</sup> We need not now say that these essays are, from a literary point of view, the most remarkable which this generation has seen. Mr Saintsbury, in his article on "Modern English Prose," only did Mr Arnold justice when he put him amongst the great masters of English prose. We therefore regret that Mr Arnold has not more carefully revised the present edition. The preface remains as it was. What has Mr Arnold to do with such people as Professors Anderson and Frickel? Keats' lines, too, are still misquoted, as

"Moving waters, at their priest-like task  
Of cold ablution round Earth's human shores."

Keats wrote "pure," not "cold." Keats did not contemplate an elaborate process of "tubbing" for the earth, but of purification, the waves *κλύζοντες τὰ ἀνθρώπων κακά*, as another great poet said before him.

Every one will be glad to have Charles Lamb's works<sup>27</sup> in one volume. The editor has evidently taken considerable pains to bring together all the facts of his life. Many of Lamb's good sayings, too, are for the first time collected. Here is an admirable reply to Johnson's sneer that "nobody ever wished 'Paradise Lost' longer." "No, nor the moon rounder," was Lamb's comment. Here, again, is a happy hit: "He imagined a Caledonian compartment in Hades, where there should be fire without sulphur." This is almost as good as the old definition of Mahomet's hell—"A roomful of ugly women." The only drawback to the present edition is its excessively small print.

*King Lear*<sup>28</sup> is the latest of the select plays of Shakespeare edited by Mr W. A. Wright. We can give it the same high praise which we

with cuts. By Thomas Frognal Dibdin, D.D. New and Improved Edition. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>26</sup> "Essays in Criticism." By Matthew Arnold, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. Macmillan & Co. 1876.

<sup>27</sup> "The Works of Charles Lamb, Poetical and Dramatic, Tales, Essays, and Criticisms." Edited, with Biographical Introduction and Notes, by Charles Kent. London: Routledge & Co. 1876.

<sup>28</sup> "Shakespeare: *King Lear*." Clarendon Press Series of Select Plays. Edited by William Aldis Wright. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1875.



have bestowed on its predecessors. In fact, this Clarendon edition of Shakespeare's plays is nearly the only one which we can conscientiously recommend for the general reader. No liberties are taken with the text. The notes are brief, but yet full. The editor does not seek to display his knowledge. His aim is to enlighten the student on those points which really do present a difficulty. The notes upon "nuncle," "lady the brach," "gasted," and "Lipsbury pifold," are all that could be desired. And here let us call attention to Mr J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps' "Reduced *facsimile* of the first folio of Shakespeare."<sup>29</sup> Mr Halliwell-Phillipps does not at all exaggerate the worth of the first folio when he says, "Its value increases every day, for day by day it is more clearly ascertained that many of the subtler meanings of passages in the works of Shakespeare depend upon minute indications and peculiarities which are alone to be traced in the original text." The present volume will therefore be a great boon to all students.

The Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, has recently been reminding us in his article on Bentley, in the last number of the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that we owe most of Bentley's best works to mere accident. Certainly a mere accident has produced Miss Thackeray's most welcome volume of her father's drawings.<sup>30</sup> Seldom has a bad book produced such a good one. Thackeray's drawings, like his writings, have a style of their own. We may say of them, as Shakespeare says of his own poetry—

"Every word doth almost tell my name,  
Showing their birth, and where they did proceed."

It is precisely the book to lie on a table, and to be taken up at spare moments.

Mr Crane's "Mrs Mundi"<sup>31</sup> is full of fancy, humour, and poetry. It is a book quite by itself. The female figures are all marked by a classic grace. The humour, too, is in places excellent. Nothing can be better than Plate xvi., with its Cook's tourist flying in the air like an elderly cherub; or the last plate, where the sleepy guests are leaving, and *sic transit gloria* Mrs Mundi.

There are several striking things in Mr Russell's "The True Macbeth."<sup>32</sup> The reader should especially turn to page 44. "The National Portrait Gallery"<sup>33</sup> is a useful volume. The portraits are

<sup>29</sup> "The Works of William Shakespeare." In reduced *facsimile*. From the famous First Folio Edition of 1623. With an Introduction. By J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. London: Chatto & Windus. 1876.

<sup>30</sup> "The Orphan of Pinlico, and other Sketches." By W. M. Thackeray. With Notes by A. J. Thackeray. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

<sup>31</sup> "Mrs Mundi at Home." By Walter Crane. London: Marcus Ward & Co. 1876.

<sup>32</sup> "The True Macbeth." By Edward R. Russell. Liverpool: D. Marples & Co. 1876.

<sup>33</sup> "The National Portrait Gallery." London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. 1876.

good and the notices impartial. We have to acknowledge a new edition of Mr Martin's translation of Catullus,<sup>34</sup> and a new translation of Propertius by Dr Cranstoun,<sup>35</sup> whose version of Catullus we prefer to Mr Martin's. Dr Cranstoun's Propertius deserves to be put on the same shelf as his Catullus. The translation will be a boon to all English readers, and the notes of real service to scholars.

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### MISCELLANEA.

THESE admirable Essays<sup>1</sup> deserve the warmest praise: in style, in tone, and in temper they are all that can be desired. There is in them, it is true, none of the magic word-painting which delights us in the pages of Mr Ruskin, but which is as often used to conceal a dangerous and delusive fallacy as to adorn a truth; there is no attempt at rhetoric, but the words are the expression of exquisite taste severely restrained by common sense, and have that highest eloquence of saying in simple form exactly what the author intends to say. While all artists will find much to help and steady them in every page, the book is primarily intended for the lay reader. Now that education and art-education are extending to all classes, we constantly find people who, striving after mental culture, ask why they should admire this rather than that—an Indian rug more than a Brussels carpet, the music of "Figaro's Hochzeit," rather than of "La Belle Hélène;" why the merest rough sketch by Turner is better than the most finished chromo-lithograph; why Lowther Lodge is to be preferred to the neighbouring houses in Rutland or Prince's Gates. These Essays will tell them, plainly, shortly, convincingly; it ought to become at once a text-book for art schools, or at least a valuable prize-book for young students. Of course we differ with Mr Bellars here and there, as when he estimates Longfellow, with his smooth prettinesses, as a great poet; but usually when we differ, we find subjects for thought and wholesome mental disputation. We can say most emphatically this is a book to be bought, and not hired—to be read often, not only once and then forgotten.

"Art Studies of Home Life"<sup>2</sup> is really a most audacious book. Twenty-four photographs of prints from well-known pictures by Landseer, Ward, Mulready, and others, have been put together with no connecting-link whatever, no unity of subject. They are called

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<sup>34</sup> "The Poems of Catullus." Translated into English Verse. By Theodore Martin. Second Edition. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1876.

<sup>35</sup> The Elegies of Propertius." Translated into English Verse. By James Cranstoun, B.A., LL.D. London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1876.

<sup>1</sup> "The Fine Arts and their Uses." Essays by William Bellars. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

<sup>2</sup> "Art Studies of Home Life." By Godfrey Wordsworth Turner. Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. (No date.)

“Studies of Home Life,” but they might have been called Animal Life, or anything else, just as well. The motive for publishing seems to be to advertise the Woodbury-type process. Then to make the volume thick enough to sell, Mr Turner throws in the most worthless essays it has ever been our ill luck to read, some having a faint connection with the subject of the plate, others none at all. For instance, to the photograph of Mulready’s picture of the “Wolf and the Lamb”—a brutal schoolboy bullying a meek companion—we have an essay on Cowper the poet, who once was bullied also. There is an M in Macedon and also in Monmouth. A disquisition on Professor Wilson (Christopher North) is brought in neck and heels, because Mr Frederic Tayler painted a picture which, Mr Turner thinks, Professor Wilson would have liked if he had ever seen it. We have never, we say it deliberately, seen a more flagrant instance of book-making.

The numbers which have been sent us of this publication<sup>3</sup> contain each four Woodbury-type photographs of prints after the pictures of great English masters. The plates are worth examination, though the process by which they are produced is not quite satisfactory to our mind, and flattens the whole subject. The letter-press is sensible, and wholly different to the pretentious inanities of the “Art Studies.” It is a pity, however, that it has not been revised by an educated person, for such an one would not have allowed Sirens to be printed Syrens.

Whatever Mr Skeat<sup>4</sup> undertakes to edit, is sure to be thoroughly done. The reason for dealing with this play so fully is less that it is in itself a masterpiece, which can scarcely be asserted, than that it is a most useful lesson in criticism to endeavour to determine, or follow the arguments of others while they determine, how much is Shakespeare’s and how much Fletcher’s. The Introduction, dealing mainly with this question, is almost all that an introduction should be. But we hold that in every special edition of a play the argument or story of the drama should be given succinctly at the beginning; this is not done here, and the omission is a defect. The notes are careful, interesting, and for the most part necessary, but sometimes overdone. For instance, on the expression “arm your prize” (act v. sc. 3, l. 135), there is no use in giving us Knight’s and Mason’s nonsensical comments, “offer your arm to the lady you have won,” and “take her by the arm,” with the verdict that “perhaps the former is the better explanation.” They are both sheer nonsense, and Mr Skeat gives us the true and only meaning—“Take her in your arms, embrace, like the German *um-armen*.” Editors must be sometimes dogmatic, and surely this is a case in which we could dispense with the crude guesses of non-philological critics.

<sup>3</sup> “The Picture Gallery.” New Series. Nos. 42–45. Sampson Low. 1875.

<sup>4</sup> “The Two Noble Kinsmen.” Edited by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A. Pitt Press Series. Deighton, Cambridge and London. 1875.



## LITERATURE PRIMERS.

Mr Brooke has set himself no light task in undertaking to write a sketch of all English literature<sup>5</sup> in 160 pages. On the whole, he has done his work very well, though we by no means agree with him in all his opinions, and are strongly of opinion that intellectual pemmican of this kind is injurious food for the young mind. To read a few great authors, and from them to work outwards to their surroundings, and see the relation in which they stood to the time, is far better than the reverse principle of first flooding the mind with names of writers and their works, each ticketed with a slap-dash judgment. But if the public will have this sort of thing, few can do it less objectionably than Mr Brooke. There are curious omissions. To speak of Coleridge only as a poet, and so ignore his immense influence on modern philosophy and theology, is wholly misleading; and with the exception of Carlyle and Ruskin, the poets are apparently our only living authors. Much preaching, no doubt, is harmful to style, and leads to exaggeration; but we were scarcely prepared for such slip-slop as "Cowper's first poems were the Olney Hymns, written *along with* John Newton," or for the statement that "few spots on earth are more sacred than Wordsworth's grave." With Mr Brooke's part in the work our praise must end. Nothing can be more slovenly than the outward appearance of the book. There is no fly-leaf at the beginning of the volume, and the final page is pasted on the inside of the cover.

Mr Eve's notes are models of what such should be.<sup>6</sup> Notes, Examination-Papers appended, Glossary, leave nothing to be desired, are never superfluous. It gives a new pleasure to the re-reading of "Waverley" by the adult, will make play learning, and learning play to the child. The book, though cheap, is excellently printed, there is no look of parsimony about it.

This is not nearly so good a book<sup>7</sup> as Mr Eve's "Notes to Waverley." We doubt the "Vicar of Wakefield" making a good schoolbook; the notes are often neither interesting nor correct. For instance, "*Bugle*, a long bead made of black glass." Why *black*? We saw only last night a lady's dress which was almost wholly armour-plated with white bugles. Again, Mr Sankey is certainly wrong when he explains "her nuptials should be consummated" by the gloss "that the wedding ceremony should take place;" and perhaps it would be as well not to set the school boy or girl inquiring too critically what the words *do* mean.

<sup>5</sup> "English Literature." By Stopford Brooke, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1876.

<sup>6</sup> "Notes to Scott's 'Waverley.'" By K. W. Eve, M.A. English School Classics. Rivingtons. 1875.

<sup>7</sup> "Extracts from Goldsmith's 'Vicar of Wakefield.'" By C. Sankey, M.A., Assistant-Master in Marlborough College. English School Classics. Rivington. 1876.

We fail to see for whom this unwieldy book is intended.<sup>8</sup> Too big to read with comfort, Mr and Mrs Cowden Clarke's notes, though often interesting, are yet not sufficiently valuable to cause us to be at the trouble of taking it from the book-shelves, nor are Selous' illustrations likely to aid many in the true understanding of the text. The book is probably made for the same reason as the razors of which we have all heard—

“‘Made,’ said the fellow with a smile, ‘to sell.’”

Professor Mayor<sup>9</sup> is true to his high reputation. We only hope, somewhat against hope, that the toil and research expended on this volume may be properly appreciated. But the very reasons which have led to the preparation of the work seem to show that it cannot expect a large demand—“the discovery in the spring of this year (1865) that many even of our best Cambridge students no longer concern themselves with the general history of Greek and Roman literature.” The work is a list of all the best editions of Latin authors as well as of translations, notes, books serving as introduction to those authors; in fact, all that may help the student who wishes thoroughly to study a Latin writer, or a period or subject of Latin literature. Of course, also, we find here the merest dry bones of literature; but as even the *disjecta ossa* of animals are interesting if arranged with skill by an Owen, so here Mr Mayor has arranged and classified his books and facts with a skill which makes them positively attractive to those who on their parts have the skill to use them. The printer has not entirely seconded his efforts. There is a formidable list of more than sixty errata, which we hesitate to ascribe to one so careful and painstaking as the author.

Here is a most complete treatise<sup>10</sup> on all that remains to us of the Latin tragedies of Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Nævius, and other dramatists of the Roman Republic, even to the minutest fragments. Painstaking and clear, it needs no higher praise from us than to say that it is one of the books recommended by Professor Mayor in his own admirable “Biographical Clue to Roman Literature.”

The whole of this book<sup>11</sup> is excellent. Text, Introduction, and Notes leave nothing to be desired. Of course there are points in the last where doubt is permissible, but Mr Papillon can always give a reason for the faith and scholarship that are in him. Some other publishers of many school-books send them out to the world with a larger flourish of trumpets, none on the whole so well and so

<sup>8</sup> “The Plays of Shakespeare.” Illustrated. Comedies. Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

<sup>9</sup> “Bibliographical Clue to Latin Literature.” By John E. B. Mayor, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1875.

<sup>10</sup> “Die Römische Tragödie im Zeitalter der Republik.” Dargestellt von Otto Ribbeck. B. G. Teubner. Leipzig. 1875.

<sup>11</sup> “P. Terentii Afri Andria.” Edited by T. L. Papillon, M.A. New Edition, with an Introduction on Prosody. Rivingtons. 1875.

thoroughly as Messrs Rivington. The mechanical work, unlike that of Brooke's *Primer of Literature*, is always admirably done, and the books are pleasant to handle and to read.

Mr Simcox<sup>12</sup> has furnished his edition of Tacitus' History with an interesting introduction, for which he will hardly get so much credit as he deserves, because very few have been over the same ground, and can rightly appreciate the pains he has taken. But all who study Tacitus at all will read it with pleasure. He has pieced together the few notices we have of his author, and the few indications of his character ; and without undue assumptions has drawn a sketch—it can be no more—which we feel at once is a likeness of the man who wrote the “*Life of Agricola*,” with his capacity for domestic love and political hate. Two sections of the Introduction are especially valuable, in which Mr Simcox quotes the passages scattered throughout the works illustrative of Tacitus' political, ethical, and religious opinions. These are, indeed, by no means exhaustive, if sufficient ; there are in the “*Agricola*” many epigrammatic phrases, which, read by the light of the then political sky, are very pregnant with hidden meaning, though they do not state opinions distinctly.

So accurate an editor as Mr Simcox ought to make no slips in well-known quotations. We find the old adage in reference to the Bible thus—

“*In hoc libro quærit sua dogmata quisque  
Inque hoc inveniet dogmata quisque sua.*”

It should be—

“*Ille liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque  
Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua.*”

In his treatment of the text, and in the notes, Mr Simcox is very fairly satisfactory. He follows Orelli, but sometimes disregards his spelling, because “it seems a mere affectation to reject the distinction—which the ancient Latin alphabet craved for, and the modern has attained—between the vowels *i* and *u*, and the semi-vowels *j* and *v*. But he admits in regard to other spelling that “it is desirable that what is already known to the learned should as speedily as possible be passed on to the common stock of the well-informed.”

There is, indeed, one shortcoming in the notes. The young student should, in the case of so difficult an author as Tacitus, have occasional helps towards rendering, as well as understanding, an author. Messrs Church and Brodribb, in their edition of the “*Agricola*,” translate epigrammatic sentences of their author in notes, which are often as epigrammatic as the Latin. We do not say we always agree with them, but the thing is done, according to their view of the passage, with great skill. When, for instance, Tacitus says, “*Desilire in vada ultro Germani, retentare puppes, scandere foros*,

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<sup>12</sup> “*Cornelii Taciti Historiæ.*” Edited, with English Notes and Introduction, by William Henry Simcox, M.A. Rivingtons. 1875.



aut *comminus mergere*" (Hist. ii. 35, 3), we should have greatly preferred a translation rather than the explanation "catching hold of the gunwales, and forcing them under water by their weight and strength." For unless the tutor, or the editor, who often stands to the student in place of the tutor, gives instances of terse rendering, there is great reason to fear that the student will too often allow the mere understanding of the general sense of the passage to serve his turn. And if this grow into a habit, there is an end to all hope of accurate scholarship.

A sensible book,<sup>13</sup> in which the sentences given for translation are not foolish, and the notes are simple and terse. It will certainly be found useful.

Good type and simple but effective notes characterise this small volume.<sup>14</sup> We suppose that schoolmasters like a single book of an author at a time, that they may have a term's work complete and alone, and not give boys an expensive book containing more than they need. But if young scholars are advanced enough to profit by a connected narrative at all, they can surely get through more than twenty-nine small pages of very easy Greek in ten weeks. Subdivision is here somewhat overdone.

This is one of the links of the "Catena Classicorum," edited for Messrs Rivington by Mr Arthur Holmes and Mr Charles Bigg. The present volume<sup>15</sup> shows careful and accurate scholarship; students who use it—it is mainly adapted for boys in the fifth forms of our schools—will find enough and not too much help given them towards understanding their author.

If it be well to retain the habit in our schools of translation into the dead languages,—a matter open to serious doubt,—Mr Blomfield Jackson<sup>16</sup> puts young people fairly in the way, though the first steps are very few. The appendices are the best part of the book, one containing in two pages a short and simple explanation of "Grimm's Law."

We have here a little work,<sup>17</sup> consisting of only thirty pages, intended to stand between the early part of the Greek primer and simple delectus with vocabulary at the end, and the difficulties of a real author. It represents a short term's work with a junior class, is intelligently done, and is quite adapted for its purpose.

This work,<sup>18</sup> like so many others of the kind, is useful chiefly to

<sup>13</sup> "A First Latin Exercise-Book." By John Barrow Allen, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1875.

<sup>14</sup> "The Anabasis of Xenophon." Book III. With English Notes. By Alfred Pretor, M.A.. Cambridge: Deighton & Bell.

<sup>15</sup> "The History of the War between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, by Thucydides." Books III. and IV. Edited, with English Notes, by G. A. Simcox, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Rivingtons. 1875.

<sup>16</sup> "First Steps to Greek Prose Composition." By Blomfield Jackson, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1875.

<sup>17</sup> "Zeugma; or, Greek Steps from Primer to Author." By the Rev. Lancelot Sanderson, M.A., and the Rev. F. B. Forman, M.A. Rivingtons. 1875.

<sup>18</sup> "Second French Exercise-Book." By Hermann Breymann, Ph.D. Macmillan & Co. 1875.

the scholars of the teacher who compiles it, far less so to those who do not work on his precise method. That each teacher should select his own exercises, giving passages for translation and retranslation, appears to us the only satisfactory mode. There is more attempt at philology than is usual here, and so far the work is good; but there is no escape from the silly sentences so common in exercise-books, and which drive intelligent children wild; such as "Do not forget my nutcrackers;" "We bought several fly-catchers;" "One must thank God for everything;" "Are all your wines pure?" Neither the English nor Latin is to be trusted. We find, for instance, "signatures in blanc," page 18. "The signatures in blank are perfidious weapons in the hands of a rogue," page 17. What is "a signature in blank"? Probably a blank cheque, but it is no English expression. On page 22 we are told that *arbor* is masculine, whereas it is one of the two Latin words in *or* which are feminine. There are many other inaccuracies, and for some the printer may be responsible equally with the author. But however the blunders occur, they injure the value of the book.

While the taste for historical romances, or tales of which the scene is laid in the distant past, has steadily declined in England, and scarce any such but the classical works of Sir Walter Scott find favour with us, Germany still adheres to this once favourite form. The scene of the first of these tales<sup>19</sup> is Mexico in the year 1513, and the second tells of "the great and puissant Kaiser Carolus who built Karlsburg." The third also is remote from all present interests. The writer is painstaking, and endeavours to reproduce the colours of the places and times; but people called Gunthir and Judith, and all those names imply, can excite little interest in those whose thoughts have drifted away from historical romances, and care little, as we in England do, for historical research, finding romance in the life that lies about us.

What we have said of "Wackere Frauen" applies also to this;<sup>20</sup> it is, however, written with great care, and the illustrative notes show that the history of Bavaria in the eighth century has been carefully studied.

That this work<sup>21</sup> is dedicated to the "Prince of Free Montenegro," "the representative of the strife which has existed for five hundred years against the Asiatic barbarians in Europe," is a sufficient indication of its leaning. Some allowance must be made for the extremely enthusiastic tone in which it is written; but the writer has seen for himself, and has studied carefully the past history of the country visited. Hence a readable little book, which may prove useful in the present ignorance and dearth of good English books on the subject.

<sup>19</sup> "Wackere Frauen." Roman von Ernst Freiherrn von Bibra. Jena. 1876.

<sup>20</sup> "Der Hain der Nornen, Culturgeschichtliche Erzählung aus dem achten Jahrhundert." Von Dr E. A. Quitzmänn.

<sup>21</sup> "Vom Schwarzen Berge, Montenegrische Skizzen." Bilder und Geschichten von Gustav Rasch. Dresden. 1875.

"Sketches of Russian Travel" <sup>22</sup> are not deserving of much attention in England, where the country described is better known, and they are in themselves but trivial. There is no great reason why they should not have been printed, and none at all why they should. The author's wanderings into foreign languages and literature are comic, as when he transforms Campbell's well-known line, "Lochiel, Lochiel, beware of the day!" into "O Lennox! O Lennox! beware of the day!" and corrects the misprint *espiarance* into *espairance*.

The author of these reminiscences <sup>23</sup> was born in St Petersburg in November 1802, two months, as he tells us, earlier than was set down in his mother's "programme;" but by family and life, as well as in death, he was a true German. An artist, and the son of an artist, he gained reputation in his own country, and lived an active, useful, pious life. He died in 1867, unable to recover the shock of losing his eldest son, a Prussian officer, in the war of 1866. His autobiography is concerned only with the seventeen earliest years of his life; but in the stirring and feverish conditions of the then German life, society, and Continental strife, the young came early to maturity of thought, and even children went through the experiences of men. There is, of course, always a slight air of unreality about the recollections of youth written in far later days, and this is not entirely absent from the work before us, but on the whole it is true and lifelike. It may safely be recommended to all who wish an interesting picture of German life in a remarkable period; it is written in a flowing, easy style, and deserves the popularity it has had in Germany. It is full of a simple piety, in which there is no cant. The writer was Protestant.

Readers of the Countess Hahn-Hahn's books will not find any falling-off in her present novel. <sup>24</sup> It is in some respects more French than German, readable throughout, the scenes and dialogue vigorous and lifelike.

These "Humorous and Satirical Sketches" <sup>25</sup> are now somewhat out of date. This generation has left the Crimean war so long behind, that it will scarce care to read the reminiscences of one of the then Foreign Legion. Nor would they have proved interesting nearer the time. The writer quite fails to understand those about whom he writes; still believing that "very shogging" is a common English phrase. We fail to see the humour, and the satire is clumsy.

Pali is the sacred language of Buddhism, and though many centuries have elapsed since it was spoken, it has been carefully handed down to us through its literature by the Buddhist monks of Ceylon, Birma, and Siam, who have done for the language and literature of Buddhism what the monks of the middle ages did in Europe for the languages of Greece and Rome. The study of Pali by European

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<sup>22</sup> "Russische Bilderbogen." Reise-Skizzen mit Rand-Glossen von Ottomar Beta. Leipzig. 1876.

<sup>23</sup> "Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Mannes" (Wilhelm von Kügelgen). Seventh Edition. Berlin. 1874.

<sup>24</sup> "Nirwana." Von Ida Gräfin Hahn-Hahn. Mainz. 1875.

<sup>25</sup> "Unter Englands Fahnen zur Zeit des Krimkrieges." Von Th. Rodowicz von Oswiecinski. Hannover. 1875.



scholars is of recent date, and the progress which Pali scholarship has made is due chiefly to the labours of Continental scholars ; but the increasing interest which it is now attracting in England has been recognised by the creation, at University College, London, of a chair of Pali and Buddhist literature. The origin of Pali, and its relation to Sanskrit, may be best explained by the following brief extracts from Professor Childers' interesting and suggestive preface :<sup>26</sup>—

“The Pali language is one of the Prakrits or Aryan vernaculars of ancient India. It was spoken in the sixth century before Christ, and has therefore been a dead language for considerably over two thousand years. I see no reason to reject the Buddhist tradition that Pali was the dialect of Magadha, and that it was the language in which Gautama Buddha preached. Originally a mere provincial idiom, the Magadhese tongue was raised by the genius of a great reformer to the dignity of a classic language, and is regarded by Buddhists with the same feelings of veneration with which a Jew of the present day looks upon the language of the Pentateuch. . . . Pali cannot be derived from Sanskrit, both, though most intimately connected, being independent corruptions of the lost Aryan speech which is their common parent ; but Pali is on the whole in a decidedly later stage than Sanskrit, and to adopt a metaphor popularised by Max Müller, stands to it in the relation of a younger sister. If the proud boast that the Magadhese is the one primeval language fades in the light of comparative philology, Buddhists may console themselves with the thought that the teaching of Gautama confers upon it a greater lustre than it can derive from any fancied antiquity.”

The literature of the Pali language is very extensive. It consists of the Buddhist scriptures called the Tripitaka, dating in their present form from the third century before Christ ; of the commentaries of Buddhaghosha, which date from the fifth century A.D. ; and of miscellaneous historical and other works belonging to different periods. Linguistically this literature is of the highest interest ; but it is also singularly rich in folklore, and consists in great measure, to use Professor Childers' language, “of stories of Gautama's minority among the people, of narratives and dialogues of the most varied description, of sermons addressed to all classes of men, and abounding in homely yet forcible illustrations drawn from the incidents of everyday life.”

Amongst the historical works, the most important are the *Dîpavansa* and the *Mahâvansa*, belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, and constituting almost our only authority for early Indian history. It is surprising that the study of a language possessing a literature of this extent and importance should have been hitherto limited to a very few Oriental scholars, but this has doubtless been due to the difficulties under which students have laboured from the paucity of printed texts, and from the want of a dictionary. Every year adds to the number of carefully-edited Pali texts, and the valuable Dictionary by Professor Childers

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<sup>26</sup> “A Dictionary of the Pali Language.” By R. C. Childers, late of the Ceylon Civil Service, Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature at University College, London : Trübner & Co. 1875.

will not only meet the wants of the students of classical Pali, but will also be found of the highest value to the Christian missionary and to the student of comparative religion. Care has evidently been taken to make it available for the general student as well as for the Oriental scholar. The words are printed in the Roman character, a course made easier by the fact that Pali has no *special* character of its own; and a useful Key to Subjects is prefixed, which will suffice to guide the reader to the articles under which he will find an account of any Buddhist doctrine respecting which he may require information. The article on Nirvana, which fills seventeen columns, is a lucid and masterly summary of the case as between the Nihilists and the anti-Nihilists, and proves, we think conclusively, that the goal of Buddhism is annihilation, and that Nirvana, as Mr Childers says, is "a brief period of bliss followed by eternal death." This article, which appeared in Part I. of the Dictionary published in 1872, has attracted much attention, and has given rise to an interesting paper by M. Foucaux in the *Revue Bibliographique* for June 15, 1874, in which, from a North-Buddhist point of view, he strongly opposes Mr Childers' theory; on the other hand Mr Childers' arguments appear to meet with the full approval of the Ceylon Buddhists, and to agree with the views expressed by the learned Wesleyan missionary Spence Hardy, and by the native Singhalese scholar Mr James D'Alwis. The articles on Buddhist practice bear evidence of much care and research, and they will be found of value not only for the information they contain, but also for the sake of the references to other authorities. In fact, this work is not only a Dictionary of Pali, but it is also an Index to all that has been written during the last forty years on the subject of Southern Buddhism. Seeing that the compiler has had no previous dictionaries to guide him, that he has had hardly a vocabulary to refer to, and that, as he tells us, seven years ago he hardly knew a word either of Pali or Sanskrit, the accuracy of the work is little short of marvellous. It cannot, however, be expected that as the Dictionary comes into use many errors will not be discovered,—more especially as many terms have reference to Oriental customs the clue to which it is difficult for a writer resident in Europe to obtain; and Mr Childers has already been able to print a short list of errors which he has discovered or has had pointed out to him by his friends. We are glad to know he has not yet attained to middle-age, and that he may therefore hope to add to the service he has already rendered to Oriental scholarship by publishing some years hence a second edition of this work.

We have already, October 1875, spoken generally of the plan of this new edition,<sup>27</sup> in reviewing the two former volumes. The present portion maintains the high standard which has been already set, and the more important articles leave very little to be desired. To review a work like the present would require even more than the enormous range of knowledge which must be taken for granted

<sup>27</sup> "Encyclopædia Britannica." Ninth Edition. Vol. III. Ath—Boi. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1875.

as possessed by the "we" of a quarterly periodical. Little else than omniscience would be needed to criticise on their own special subjects Drs Carpenter and Davidson, Professors Clerk-Maxwell, Croom-Robertson, Colvin, and Huxley, Colonel Chesney, Messrs Sayce and Swinburne. It is, however, the privilege of a layman, in regard to some of the matters discussed, to be the best judge of the work done when he examines how far his own ignorance is enlightened, his own deficiencies supplemented.

The Natural History articles in the present volume are especially strong. Those on the Bee by Mr J. Hunter, on Birds by Professors Parker and Newton, on Biology by Professor Huxley and Mr Thistleton Dyer, leave little or nothing to be desired. The desire to be really scientific is shown by Mr Hunter in the courageous way in which he disregards the letters which Dr Cumming wrote and the *Times* inserted on the subject.

On Banking Mr Leonard Courtney's exhaustive treatise is of great value and interest; Mr Sayce on Babylonia, and Dr Davidson in a short notice, offer us models of learning, of sound sense and judicious compression; Mr Mark Pattison is at his best in an article on Bentley; Mr Reeve sensible and clear, if somewhat dull, on the Balance of Power. But indeed to praise or blame such men on their own special subjects would be to expose ourselves to the old adage "Ne sutor ultra crepidam," or one in the vernacular more vulgar and still more expressive.

The general editing of the volume is not quite so carefully done as it might be. For instance, in a good little essay on "Auscultation," Avenbrugger, who introduced the art of percussion, is called Auenbrugger only, under which name he will not be found if we look for him; neither is there any reference at the end of each article to the other.

If under "Banbury" the old nursery rhyme which makes mention of the town-cross is quoted, the certainly more important lines of Drunken Barnaby should not be forgotten—

"Veni Banbury O profanum  
Ubi vidi Puritanum  
Fecim facientem furem  
Quia Sabbato stravit murem."

Under "Bede," and the epithet "Venerable," we ought surely to find mention of the legend that it was added to the epitaph by an angelic chisel. Berkeley's great experiment in the Bermudas should scarcely be dismissed under "Bermudas" in less than two lines; and under the bishop's own name, his remarkable lines "Westward the course of empire takes its way," &c., should be quoted.

There are also some deficiencies. There is no notice, for instance, of the metal Barium, except under its oxide, Baryta; the article "Automaton" is by no means brought up to date. We are really tired of Kempelen's chess-player, which was no automaton at all. These are, however, slight blemishes—spots, as it were, on the sun, which may easily be removed. There is no sign of falling off in general excellence.



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